

Libertarian Socialism

and related ideas

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0.1 Libertarian socialism

Not to be confused with [liberal socialism](#).

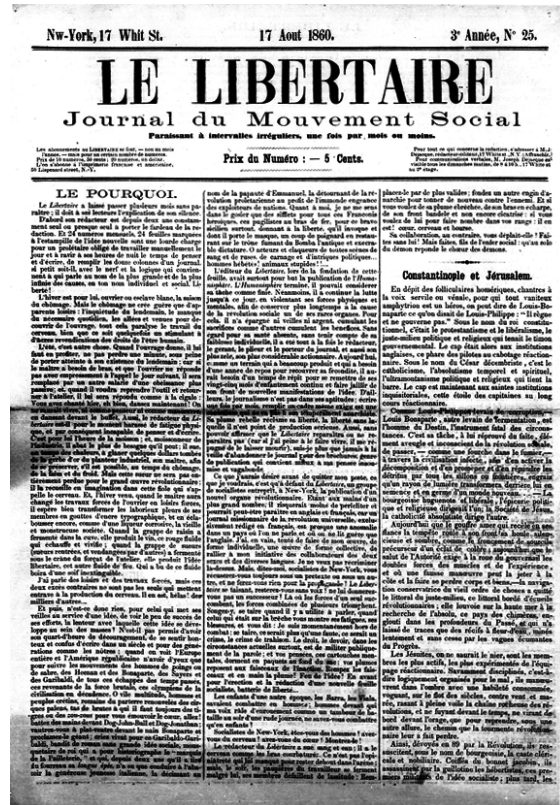
Libertarian socialism (sometimes dubbed **libSoc**, **Socialist libertarianism**,^[1] or **Left-libertarianism**^{[2][3]}) is a group of anti-authoritarian^[4] political philosophies inside the socialist movement that rejects socialism as centralized state ownership and control of the economy,^[5] as well as the state itself.^[6] It criticizes wage labour relationships within the workplace.^[7] Instead, it emphasizes workers' self-management of the workplace^[6] and decentralized structures of political organization.^{[8][9][10]} It asserts that a society based on freedom and justice can be achieved through abolishing authoritarian institutions that control certain means of production and subordinate the majority to an owning class or political and economic elite.^[11] Libertarian socialists advocate for decentralized structures based on direct democracy and federal or confederal associations such as libertarian municipalism, citizens' assemblies, trade unions, and workers' councils.^{[12][13]} All of this is generally done within a general call for libertarian^{[14][15]} and voluntary human relationships^[16] through the identification, criticism, and practical dismantling of illegitimate authority in all aspects of human life.^{[17][18][19][20][21][22][23][24]} As such libertarian socialism, within the larger socialist movement, seeks to distinguish itself both from Leninism/Bolshevism and from social democracy.^{[25][26]}

Past and present political philosophies and movements commonly described as libertarian socialist include anarchism (especially anarchist communism, anarchist collectivism, anarcho-syndicalism,^[27] and mutualism^[28]) as well as autonomism, communalism, participism, guild socialism,^[29] revolutionary syndicalism, and libertarian Marxist^[30] philosophies such as council communism^[31] and Luxemburgism;^[32] as well as some versions of "utopian socialism"^[33] and individualist anarchism.^{[34][35][36][37]}

0.1.1 Overview

Libertarian socialism is a Western philosophy with diverse interpretations, though some general commonalities can be found in its many incarnations. It advocates a worker-oriented system of production and organization in the workplace that in some aspects radically departs from neoclassical economics in favor of democratic cooperatives or common ownership of the means of production (socialism).^[38] They propose that this economic system be executed in a manner that attempts to maximize the liberty of individuals and minimize concentration of power or authority (libertarianism).

Libertarian socialists are strongly critical of coercive institutions, which often leads them to reject the legitimacy of the state in favor of anarchism.^[39] Adherents propose



August 17, 1860 edition of libertarian socialist publication *Le Libéraire* edited by Joseph Déjacque.

achieving this through decentralization of political and economic power, usually involving the socialization of most large-scale private property and enterprise (while retaining respect for personal property). Libertarian socialism tends to deny the legitimacy of most forms of economically significant private property, viewing capitalist property relation as a form of domination that is antagonistic to individual freedom.^{[40][41]}

The first anarchist journal to use the term "libertarian" was *Le Libéraire, Journal du Mouvement Social* and it was published in New York City between 1858 and 1861 by French anarcho-communist Joseph Déjacque.^[42] The next recorded use of the term was in Europe, when "libertarian communism" was used at a French regional anarchist Congress at Le Havre (16–22 November 1880). January the following year saw a French manifesto issued on "Libertarian or Anarchist Communism". Finally, 1895 saw leading anarchists Sébastien Faure and Louise Michel publish *La Libéraire* in France.^[42] The word stems from the French word *libéraire*, and was used to evade the French ban on anarchist publications.^[43] In this tradition, the term "libertarianism" in "libertarian socialism" is generally used as a synonym for anarchism, which some say is the original meaning of the term; hence "libertarian socialism" is equivalent to "socialist anarchism" to these scholars.^{[44][45]} In the context of the European socialist movement, *libertarian* has conventionally been used to describe both who opposed state socialism, such

as Mikhail Bakunin.

The association of socialism with libertarianism predates that of capitalism, and many anti-authoritarians still decry what they see as a mistaken association of capitalism with libertarianism in the United States.^[46] As Noam Chomsky put it, a consistent libertarian “must oppose private ownership of the means of production and wage slavery, which is a component of this system, as incompatible with the principle that labor must be freely undertaken and under the control of the producer.”^[47]

In a chapter recounting the history of libertarian socialism, economist Robin Hahnel relates that thus far the period where libertarian socialism has had its greatest impact was at the end of the 19th century through the first four decades of the twentieth century.

Early in the twentieth century, libertarian socialism was as powerful a force as social democracy and communism. The Libertarian International—founded at the Congress of Saint Imier a few days after the split between Marxists and libertarians at the congress of the Socialist International held in The Hague in 1872—competed successfully against social democrats and communists alike for the loyalty of anticapitalist activists, revolutionaries, workers, unions and political parties for over fifty years. Libertarian socialists played a major role in the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Libertarian socialists played a dominant role in the Mexican Revolution of 1911. Twenty years after World War I was over, libertarian socialists were still strong enough to spearhead the social revolution that swept across Republican Spain in 1936 and 1937.^[48]

On the other hand a libertarian trend also developed within marxism which gained visibility around the late 1910s mainly in reaction against Bolshevism and Leninism rising to power and establishing the Soviet Union.

Anti-capitalism

Main article: [Anti-capitalism](#)

John O’Neil argues that:

It is forgotten that the early defenders of commercial society like (Adam) Smith were as much concerned with criticising the associational blocks to mobile labour represented by guilds as they were to the activities of the state. The history of socialist thought includes a long associational and anti-statist tradition prior to the political victory of the Bolshevism in the east and varieties of Fabianism in the west.^[49]

Libertarian socialists are anti-capitalist, and can thus be distinguished from right-wing libertarians. Whereas capitalist (and right-libertarian) principles concentrate economic power in the hands of those who own the most capital, libertarian socialism aims to distribute power more widely amongst members of society. A key difference between libertarian socialism and capitalist libertarianism is that advocates of the former generally believe that one’s degree of freedom is affected by one’s economic and social status, whereas advocates of the latter focus on freedom of choice within a capitalist framework. This is sometimes characterized as a desire to maximize “free creativity” in a society in preference to “free enterprise.”^[50]

Within anarchism there emerged a critique of wage slavery which refers to a situation perceived as quasi-voluntary slavery,^[51] where a person’s livelihood depends on wages, especially when the dependence is total and immediate.^{[52][53]} It is a negatively connoted term used to draw an analogy between slavery and wage labor by focusing on similarities between owning and renting a person. The term *wage slavery* has been used to criticize economic exploitation and social stratification, with the former seen primarily as unequal bargaining power between labor and capital (particularly when workers are paid comparatively low wages, e.g. in sweatshops),^[54] and the latter as a lack of workers’ self-management, fulfilling job choices and leisure in an economy.^{[55][56][57]} Libertarian socialists believe that valuing freedom, society works towards a system in which individuals have the power to decide economic issues along with political issues. Libertarian socialists seek to replace unjustified authority with direct democracy, voluntary federation, and popular autonomy in all aspects of life,^[58] including physical communities and economic enterprises. With the advent of the industrial revolution, thinkers such as Proudhon and Marx elaborated the comparison between wage labor and slavery in the context of a critique of societal property not intended for active personal use.^{[59][60]} Luddites emphasized the dehumanization brought about by machines while later Emma Goldman famously denounced wage slavery by saying: “The only difference is that you are hired slaves instead of block slaves.”^[61]

Many libertarian socialists believe that large-scale voluntary associations should manage industrial production, while workers retain rights to the individual products of their labor.^[62] They see a distinction between concepts of “private property” and “personal possession”. “Private property” grants an individual exclusive control over a thing whether it is in use or not, and regardless of its productive capacity, “possession” grants no rights to things that are not in use.^[63] Also “the separation of work and life is questioned, and alternatives suggested that are underpinned by notions of dignity, self-realization, and freedom from domination and exploitation. Here, a freedom that is not restrictively negative (as in neo-liberal conceptions) but is, as well, positive – connected, that is, to views

about human flourishing – is important, a profoundly embedded understanding of freedom, which ties freedom to its social, communal conditions and, importantly, refuses to separate questions of freedom from those of equality.”^[64]

Anti-authoritarianism and opposition to the state

Main articles: [Anti-statism](#) and [anti-authoritarianism](#)

Libertarian socialists generally regard concentrations of power as sources of oppression that must be continually challenged and justified. Most libertarian socialists believe that when power is exercised, as exemplified by the economic, social, or physical dominance of one individual over another, the burden of proof is always on the authoritarian to justify their action as legitimate when taken against its effect of narrowing the scope of human freedom.^[65] Libertarian socialists typically oppose rigid and stratified structures of authority, be they [political](#), [economic](#), or [social](#).^[66]

In lieu of corporations and states, libertarian socialists seek to organize society into voluntary associations (usually [collectives](#), [communes](#), [municipalities](#), [cooperatives](#), [commons](#), or [syndicates](#)) that use [direct democracy](#) or [consensus](#) for their decision-making process. Some libertarian socialists advocate combining these institutions using rotating, recallable [delegates](#) to higher-level federations.^[67] [Spanish anarchism](#) is a major example of such federations in practice.

Contemporary examples of libertarian socialist organizational and decision-making models in practice include a number of anti-capitalist and global justice movements^[68] including [Zapatista Councils of Good Government](#) and the [Global Indymedia](#) network (which covers 45 countries on six continents). There are also many examples of [indigenous](#) societies around the world whose political and economic systems can be accurately described as [anarchist](#) or [libertarian socialist](#), each of which is unique and uniquely suited to the culture that birthed it.^[69] For libertarians, that diversity of practice within a framework of common principles is proof of the vitality of those principles and of their flexibility and strength.

Contrary to popular opinion, libertarian socialism has not traditionally been a [utopian](#) movement, tending to avoid dense theoretical analysis or prediction of what a future society would or should look like. The tradition instead has been that such decisions cannot be made now, and must be made through struggle and experimentation, so that the best solution can be arrived at democratically and organically, and to base the direction for struggle on established historical example. They point out that the success of the [scientific method](#) comes from its adherence to open rational exploration, not its conclusions, in sharp contrast to [dogma](#) and predetermined predictions. Noted

anarchist [Rudolf Rocker](#) once stated, “I am an anarchist not because I believe anarchism is the final goal, but because there is no such thing as a final goal”.^[70]

Because libertarian socialism encourages exploration and embraces a diversity of ideas rather than forming a compact movement, there have arisen inevitable controversies over individuals who describe themselves as libertarian socialists but disagree with some of the core principles of libertarian socialism. For example, [Peter Hain](#) interprets libertarian socialism as minarchist rather than anarchist, favoring radical decentralization of power without going as far as the complete abolition of the state^[71] and libertarian socialist Noam Chomsky supports dismantling all forms of unjustified social or economic power, while also emphasizing that state intervention should be supported as a temporary protection while oppressive structures remain in existence.

Proponents are known for opposing the existence of states or government and refusing to participate in coercive state institutions. Indeed, in the past many refused to swear oaths in court or to participate in trials, even when they faced imprisonment^[72] or deportation.^[73] For Chamsy el-Ojeili “it is frequently to forms of working-class or popular self-organization that Left communists look in answer to the questions of the struggle for socialism, revolution and post-capitalist social organization. Nevertheless, Left communists have often continued to organize themselves into party-like structures that undertake agitation, propaganda, education and other forms of political intervention. This is a vexed issue across Left communism and has resulted in a number of significant variations – from the absolute rejection of separate parties in favour of mere study or [affinity groups](#), to the critique of the naivety of pure spontaneism and an insistence on the necessary, though often modest, role of disciplined, self-critical and popularly connected communist organizations.”^[74]

Civil liberties and individual freedom

Main articles: [Free love](#), [Anarchism and issues related to love and sex](#), [Anarchism and religion](#), [Anarcha-feminism](#), [Anarchism and education](#), [Queer anarchism](#), and [Individualist anarchism](#)

Libertarian socialists have been strong advocates and activists of [civil liberties](#) that provide an individual specific rights such as the freedom in issues of love and sex ([free love](#)) (see [Anarchism and issues related to love and sex](#)) and of thought and conscience ([freethought](#)). In this activism they have clashed with state and religious institutions which have limited such rights (see [Anarchism and religion](#)). [Anarchism](#) has been an important advocate of free love since its birth. Later a strong tendency of free love appeared alongside [anarcha-feminism](#) and advocacy of [LGBT rights](#) (see [Anarchism and issues related](#)

to LGBTI persons). In recent times anarchism has also voiced opinions and taken action around certain sex related subjects such as pornography,^[75] BDSM^[76] and the sex industry.^[76]



American anarchist Emma Goldman, prominent anarchist-feminist, free love and freethought activist

Anarcha-feminism developed as a synthesis of radical feminism and anarchism that views patriarchy (male domination over women) as a fundamental manifestation of compulsory government. It was inspired by the late 19th-century writings of early feminist anarchists such as Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre and Virginia Bolten. Anarcha-feminists, like other radical feminists, criticise and advocate the abolition of traditional conceptions of family, education and gender roles. Also the council communist Sylvia Pankhurst was a feminist activist as well as a libertarian marxist. Anarchists also took a pioneering interest in issues related to LGBTI persons. An important current within anarchism is free love.^[77] Free love advocates sometimes traced their roots back to the early anarchist Josiah Warren and to experimental communities, viewed sexual freedom as a clear, direct expression of an individual's self-ownership. Free love particularly stressed women's rights since most sexual laws discriminated against women: for example, marriage laws and anti-birth control measures.^[78]

Libertarian socialists have traditionally been skeptical of and opposed to organized religion.^[79] Freethought is a philosophical viewpoint that holds opinions should be formed on the basis of science, logic, and reason, and

should not be influenced by authority, tradition, or other dogmas.^{[80][81]} The cognitive application of freethought is known as "freethinking," and practitioners of freethought are known as "freethinkers."^[80] In the United States, "freethought was a basically anti-Christian, anti-clerical movement, whose purpose was to make the individual politically and spiritually free to decide for himself on religious matters. A number of contributors to *Liberty* (anarchist publication) were prominent figures in both freethought and anarchism. The individualist anarchist George MacDonald was a co-editor of *Freethought* and, for a time, *The Truth Seeker*. E.C. Walker was co-editor of the...free-thought / free love journal *Lucifer, the Light-Bearer*".^[82] *Free Society* (1895–1897 as *The Firebrand*; 1897–1904 as *Free Society*) was a major anarchist newspaper in the United States at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.^[83] The publication staunchly advocated free love and women's rights, and critiqued "Comstockery" – censorship of sexual information. In 1901, Catalan anarchist and free-thinker Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia established "modern" or progressive schools in Barcelona in defiance of an educational system controlled by the Catholic Church.^[84] The schools' stated goal was to "educate the working class in a rational, secular and non-coercive setting". Fiercely anti-clerical, Ferrer believed in "freedom in education", education free from the authority of church and state^[85] (see *Anarchism and education*). Later in the 20th century Austrian freudo-marxist Wilhelm Reich became a consistent propagandist for sexual freedom going as far as opening free sex-counselling clinics in Vienna for working-class patients^[86] as well as coining the phrase "sexual revolution" in one of his books from the 1940s.^[87] During the early 1970s the anarchist and pacifist Alex Comfort achieved international celebrity for writing the sex manuals *The Joy of Sex* and *More Joy of Sex*.

Violent and non-violent means

See also: *Anarchism and violence*

Some libertarian socialists see violent revolution as necessary in the abolition of capitalist society, while others advocate non-violent methods. Along with many others, Errico Malatesta argued that the use of violence was necessary; as he put it in *Umanità Nova* (no. 125, September 6, 1921):

It is our aspiration and our aim that everyone should become socially conscious and effective; but to achieve this end, it is necessary to provide all with the means of life and for development, and it is therefore necessary to destroy with violence, since one cannot do otherwise, the violence that denies these means to the workers.^[88]

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon argued in favor of a **non-violent revolution** through a process of **dual power** in which libertarian socialist institutions would be established and form associations enabling the formation of an expanding network within the existing state-capitalist framework with the intention of eventually rendering both the state and the capitalist economy obsolete. The progression towards violence in anarchism stemmed, in part, from the massacres of some of the communes inspired by the ideas of Proudhon and others. Many anarcho-communists began to see a need for revolutionary violence to counteract the violence inherent in both capitalism and government.^[89]

Anarcho-pacifism is a tendency within the anarchist movement which rejects the use of violence in the struggle for social change.^{[90][91]} The main early influences were the thought of **Henry David Thoreau**^[91] and **Leo Tolstoy**.^{[90][91]} It developed “mostly in **Holland** [*sic*], Britain, and the United States, before and during the Second World War”.^[92] Opposition to the use of violence has not prohibited anarcho-pacifists from accepting the principle of resistance or even **revolutionary action** provided it does not result in violence; it was in fact their approval of such forms of opposition to power that lead many anarcho-pacifists to endorse the **anarcho-syndicalist** concept of the general strike as the great revolutionary weapon. Later anarcho-pacifists have also come to endorse to non-violent strategy of dual power.

Other anarchists have believed that violence (especially **self-defense**) is justified as a way to provoke social upheaval which could lead to a social revolution.

Environmental issues

See also: **Green anarchism** and **Eco-socialism**

Green anarchism, or ecoanarchism, is a **school of thought** within anarchism which puts a particular emphasis on **environmental issues**. An important early influence was the thought of the American anarchist **Henry David Thoreau** and his book *Walden*,^[93] as well as **Leo Tolstoy**^[94] and **Elisee Reclus**.^{[95][96]} In the late 19th century there emerged **anarcho-naturism** as the fusion of anarchism and **naturist** philosophies within **individualist anarchist circles** in France, Spain, Cuba^[97] and Portugal.^{[93][94]} Important contemporary currents are **anarcho-primitivism** and **social ecology**.^[98] An important meeting place for international libertarian socialism in the early 1990s was the journal *Democracy & Nature* in which prominent activists and theorists such as **Takis Fotopoulos**, **Noam Chomsky**,^[99] **Murray Bookchin** and **Cornelius Castoriadis**^[100] wrote. The journal promoted a green libertarian socialism when it manifested as its aims that:

...the public realm has to be extended beyond the traditional political domain to the

economic and broader social domains so that the reintegration of society with the economy, polity and Nature can be achieved. In this sense, democracy should be seen as irreconcilable with any form of inequity in the distribution of power, that is, with any concentration of power, political, social or economic. Consequently, democracy is incompatible with commodity and property relations, which inevitably lead to concentration of power. Similarly, it is incompatible with hierarchical structures implying domination, either institutionalised (e.g., domination of women by men), or “objective” (e.g., domination of the South by the North in the framework of the capitalist division of labour), and the implied notion of dominating the natural world. Finally, democracy is fundamentally incompatible with any closed system of beliefs, dogmas, or ideas. So, democracy, for us, has nothing to do with the present dominant liberal conception of democracy....^[101]

0.1.2 Political roots

Within early modern socialist thought



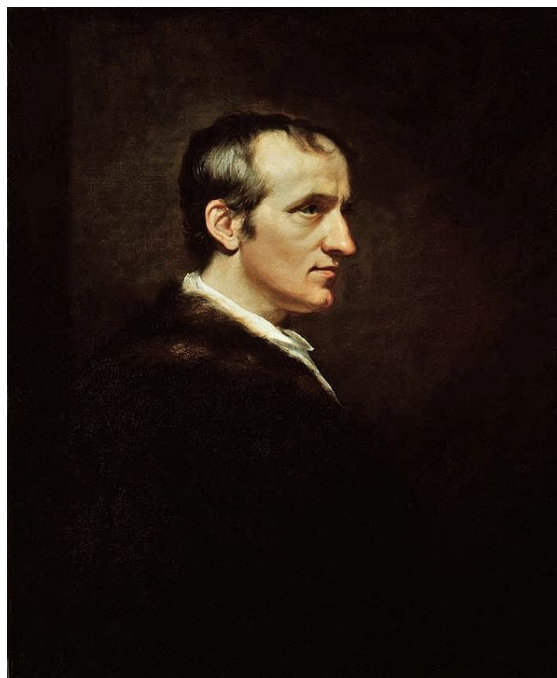
Woodcut from a Diggers document by William Everard.

Peasant revolts in the post-reformation era For **Roderick T. Long** libertarian socialists claim the seventeenth century **English Levellers** among their ideological forebears.^[102] Various libertarian socialist authors have identified the written work of English Protestant social reformer **Gerrard Winstanley** and the social ac-

tivism of his group, the **Diggers**, as anticipating this line of thought.^{[103][104]} For anarchist historian **George Woodcock** although **Pierre-Joseph Proudhon** was the first writer to call himself an anarchist, at least two predecessors outlined systems that contain all the basic elements of anarchism. The first was **Gerrard Winstanley** (1609–c. 1660), a linen draper who led the small movement of the Diggers during the Commonwealth. Winstanley and his followers protested in the name of a radical Christianity against the economic distress that followed the **Civil War** and against the inequality that the **grande**s of the New Model Army seemed intent on preserving.^[105]

In 1649–1650 the Diggers squatted on stretches of common land in southern England and attempted to set up communities based on work on the land and the sharing of goods. The communities failed, but a series of pamphlets by Winstanley survived, of which *The New Law of Righteousness* (1649) was the most important. Advocating a rational Christianity, Winstanley equated Christ with “the universal liberty” and declared the universally corrupting nature of authority. He saw “an equal privilege to share in the blessing of liberty” and detected an intimate link between the institution of property and the lack of freedom.^[105] For **Murray Bookchin** “In the modern world, anarchism first appeared as a movement of the peasantry and yeomanry against declining feudal institutions. In Germany its foremost spokesman during the Peasant Wars was **Thomas Muenzer**. The concepts held by Muenzer and Winstanley were superbly attuned to the needs of their time – a historical period when the majority of the population lived in the countryside and when the most militant revolutionary forces came from an agrarian world. It would be painfully academic to argue whether Muenzer and Winstanley could have achieved their ideals. What is of real importance is that they spoke to their time; their anarchist concepts followed naturally from the rural society that furnished the bands of the peasant armies in Germany and the New Model in England.”^[106]

The Enlightenment For **Roderick T. Long** libertarian socialists also often share a view of anarchy in the eighteenth century French encyclopedists alongside **Thomas Jefferson**^{[107][108][109]} and **Thomas Paine**.^[102] A more often mentioned name is that of English enlightenment thinker **William Godwin**.^[110] For Woodcock a more elaborate sketch of anarchism, although still without the name, was provided by **William Godwin** in his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793). Godwin was a gradualist anarchist rather than a revolutionary anarchist; he differed from most later anarchists in preferring above revolutionary action the gradual and, as it seemed to him, more natural process of discussion among men of good will, by which he hoped truth would eventually triumph through its own power. Godwin, who was influenced by the English tradition of Dissent and the French philosophy of the Enlightenment, put forward in a developed form the basic anarchist criticisms of the state, of ac-



William Godwin

cumulated property, and of the delegation of authority through democratic procedure.”^[105]

During the **French Revolution**, **Sylvain Maréchal**, in his *Manifesto of the Equals* (1796), demanded “the communal enjoyment of the fruits of the earth” and looked forward to the disappearance of “the revolting distinction of rich and poor, of great and small, of masters and valets, of governors and governed.”^{[32][111]} The term “anarchist” first entered the English language in 1642, during the **English Civil War**, as a term of abuse, used by **Royalists** against their **Roundhead** opponents.^[112] By the time of the **French Revolution** some, such as the *Enragés*, began to use the term positively,^[113] in opposition to Jacobin centralisation of power, seeing “revolutionary government” as oxymoronic.^[112] By the turn of the 19th century, the English word “anarchism” had lost its initial negative connotation.^[112]

The Romantic era and “utopian socialism” Kent Bromley, in his preface to **Peter Kropotkin**'s book *The Conquest of Bread*, considered early French socialist **Charles Fourier** to be the founder of the libertarian branch of socialist thought, as opposed to the authoritarian socialist ideas of **Babeuf** and **Buonarroti**.^[114] Anarchist **Hakim Bey** describes Fourier's ideas as follows: “In Fourier's system of Harmony all creative activity including industry, craft, agriculture, etc. will arise from liberated passion – this is the famous theory of “attractive labor.” Fourier sexualizes work itself – the life of the **Phalanstery** is a continual orgy of intense feeling, intellection, & activity, a society of lovers & wild enthusiasts.” Fourierism manifested itself “in the middle of the 19th century (where) literally hundreds of communes



Charles Fourier

(phalansteries) were founded on fourierist principles in France, N. America, Mexico, S. America, Algeria, Yugoslavia, etc. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Friedrich Engels, and Peter Kropotkin all read him with fascination, as did André Breton and Roland Barthes.^[115] Herbert Marcuse in his influential work *Eros and Civilization* praised Fourier saying that “Fourier comes closer than any other utopian socialist to elucidating the dependence of freedom on non-repressive sublimation.”^[116]

Anarchist Peter Sabatini reports that in the United States “of early to mid-19th century, there appeared an array of communal and “utopian” counterculture groups (including the so-called free love movement). William Godwin's anarchism exerted an ideological influence on some of this, but more so the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of this commune was Josiah Warren (1798–1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist”.^[117]

Anarchism

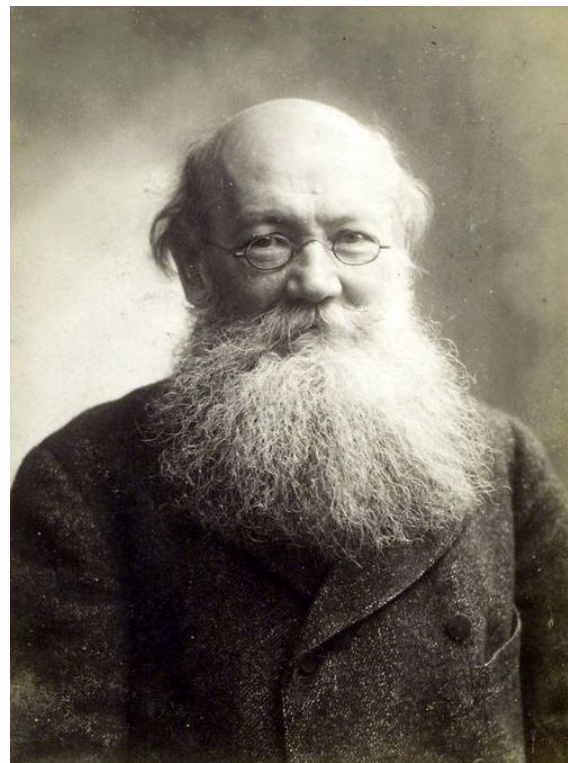
Main article: [Anarchism](#)

As Albert Meltzer and Stuart Christie stated in their book *The Floodgates of Anarchy*, anarchism has:

...its particular inheritance, part of which it shares with socialism, giving it a family

resemblance to certain of its enemies. Another part of its inheritance it shares with liberalism, making it, at birth, kissing-cousins with American-type radical individualism, a large part of which has married out of the family into the Right Wing and is no longer on speaking terms.^[118]

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who is often considered the father of modern anarchism, coined the phrase “Property is theft” to describe part of his view on the complex nature of ownership in relation to freedom. When he said property is theft, he was referring to the capitalist who he believed stole profit from laborers. For Proudhon, the capitalist's employee was “subordinated, exploited: his permanent condition is one of obedience.”^[119]



Peter Kropotkin, main theorist of anarcho-communism

Seventeen years (1857) after Proudhon first called himself an anarchist (1840), anarchist communist Joseph Déjacque was the first person to describe himself as a libertarian.^[120] Outside the United States, “libertarian” generally refers to anti-authoritarian anti-capitalist ideologies.^[121]

Libertarian socialism has its roots in both classical liberalism and socialism, though it is often in conflict with liberalism (especially neoliberalism and right-libertarianism) and authoritarian State socialism simultaneously. While libertarian socialism has roots in both socialism and liberalism, different forms have different levels of influence from the two traditions. For instance mutualist anarchism is more influenced by liberalism while communist and

syndicalist anarchism are more influenced by socialism. It is interesting to note, however, that mutualist anarchism has its origins in 18th- and 19th-century European socialism (such as Fourierian socialism)^{[122][123]} while communist and syndicalist anarchism has its earliest origins in early 18th-century liberalism (such as the French Revolution).^[111]

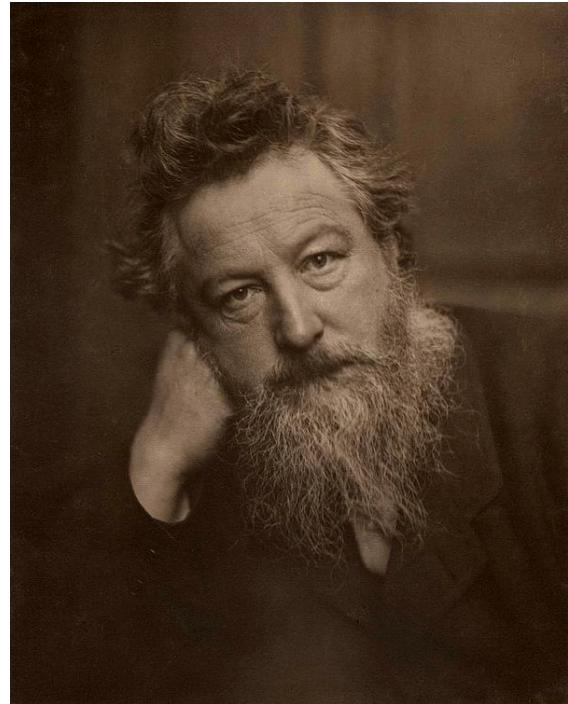
Anarchism posed an early challenge to the vanguardism and statism it detected in important sectors of the socialist movement. As such “The consequences of the growth of parliamentary action, ministerialism, and party life, charged the anarchists, would be de-radicalism and *embourgeoisement*. Further, state politics would subvert both true individuality and true community. In response, many anarchists refused Marxist-type organisation, seeking to dissolve or undermine power and hierarchy by way of loose political-cultural groupings, or by championing organisation by a single, simultaneously economic and political administrative unit (Ruhle, *Syndicalism*). The power of the intellectual and of science were also rejected by many anarchists: “In conquering the state, in exalting the role of parties, they [intellectuals] reinforce the hierarchical principle embodied in political and administrative institutions”.^[47] Revolutions could only come through force of circumstances and/or the inherently rebellious instincts of the masses (the “instinct for freedom” (Bakunin, Chomsky)). Thus, in Bakunin’s words: “All that individuals can do is to clarify, propagate, and work out ideas corresponding to the popular instinct”.^[124]

Marxism

Main article: *Libertarian Marxism*

See also: *Anarchism and Marxism*

Marxism started to develop a libertarian strand of thought after specific circumstances. “One does find early expressions of such perspectives in (William) Morris and the Socialist Party of Great Britain (the SPGB), then again around the events of 1905, with the growing concern at the bureaucratisation and de-radicalisation of international socialism”.^[124] Morris established the *Socialist League* in December 1884, which was encouraged by Friedrich Engels and Eleanor Marx. As the leading figure in the organization Morris embarked on a relentless series of speeches and talks on street corners, in working men’s clubs and lecture theatres across England and Scotland. From 1887, anarchists began to outnumber socialists in the Socialist League.^[125] The 3rd Annual Conference of the League, held in London on 29 May 1887 marked the change, with a majority of the 24 branch delegates voting in favor of an anarchist-sponsored resolution declaring that “This conference endorses the policy of abstention from parliamentary action, hitherto pursued by the League, and sees no sufficient reason for altering it.”^[126] Morris played peacemaker but sided with the anti-Parliamentarians, who won control of the League, which consequently lost the support of Engels and saw the de-



William Morris, early English libertarian Marxist

parture of Eleanor Marx and her partner Edward Aveling to form the separate *Bloomsbury Socialist Society*.

However, “the most important ruptures are to be traced to the insurgency during and after the First World War. Disillusioned with the capitulation of the social democrats, excited by the emergence of workers’ councils, and slowly distanced from Leninism, many communists came to reject the claims of socialist parties and to put their faith instead in the masses.” For these socialists, “The intuition of the masses in action can have more genius in it than the work of the greatest individual genius”. Luxemburg’s workerism and spontaneism are exemplary of positions later taken up by the far-left of the period – Pannekoek, Roland Holst, and Gorter in the Netherlands, Sylvia Pankhurst in Britain, Gramsci in Italy, Lukacs in Hungary. In these formulations, the dictatorship of the proletariat was to be the dictatorship of a class, “not of a party or of a clique”.^[124] However within this line of thought “The tension between anti-vanguardism and vanguardism has frequently resolved itself in two diametrically opposed ways: the first involved a drift towards the party; the second saw a move towards the idea of complete proletarian spontaneity...The first course is exemplified most clearly in Gramsci and Lukacs...The second course is illustrated in the tendency, developing from the Dutch and German far-lefts, which inclined towards the complete eradication of the party form.”^[124]

In the emerging Soviet state there appeared Left-wing uprisings against the Bolsheviks which were a series of rebellions and uprisings against the Bolsheviks led or supported by left wing groups including Socialist Revolutionaries,^[127] Left Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks,

and anarchists.^[128] Some were in support of the **White Movement** while some tried to be an independent force. The uprisings started in 1918 and continued through the **Russian Civil War** and after until 1922. In response the Bolsheviks increasingly abandoned attempts to get these groups to join the government and suppressed them with force. *“Left-Wing” Communism: An Infantile Disorder* is a work by Vladimir Lenin himself attacking assorted critics of the **Bolsheviks** who claimed positions to their left.

For “many Marxian libertarian socialists, the political bankruptcy of socialist orthodoxy necessitated a theoretical break. This break took a number of forms. The **Bordigists** and the SPGB championed a super-Marxian intransigence in theoretical matters. Other socialists made a return “behind Marx” to the anti-positivist programme of **German idealism**. Libertarian socialism has frequently linked its anti-authoritarian political aspirations with this theoretical differentiation from orthodoxy... Karl Korsch... remained a libertarian socialist for a large part of his life and because of the persistent urge towards theoretical openness in his work. Korsch rejected the eternal and static, and he was obsessed by the essential role of practice in a theory’s truth. For Korsch, no theory could escape history, not even Marxism. In this vein, Korsch even credited the stimulus for Marx’s Capital to the movement of the oppressed classes.”^[124]

In rejecting both capitalism and the state, some libertarian marxists align themselves with anarchists in opposition to both capitalist representative democracy and to authoritarian forms of **Marxism**. Although anarchists and Marxists share an ultimate goal of a stateless society, anarchists criticise most Marxists for advocating a transitional phase under which the state is used to achieve this aim. Nonetheless, libertarian Marxist tendencies such as autonomist Marxism and council communism have historically been intertwined with the anarchist movement. Anarchist movements have come into conflict with both capitalist and Marxist forces, sometimes at the same time, as in the **Spanish Civil War**, though as in that war Marxists themselves are often divided in support or opposition to anarchism. Other political persecutions under bureaucratic parties have resulted in a strong historical antagonism between anarchists and libertarian Marxists on the one hand and **Leninist** Marxists and their derivatives such as **Maoists** on the other. In recent history, however, libertarian socialists have repeatedly formed temporary alliances with Marxist-Leninist groups for the purposes of protest against institutions they both reject. Part of this antagonism can be traced to the **International Workingmen’s Association**, the *First International*, a congress of radical workers, where Mikhail Bakunin, who was fairly representative of anarchist views, and Karl Marx, whom anarchists accused of being an “authoritarian”, came into conflict on various issues. Bakunin’s viewpoint on the illegitimacy of the state as an institution and the role of electoral politics was starkly counterposed to Marx’s views in the First International. Marx and Bakunin’s dis-

putes eventually led to Marx taking control of the First International and expelling Bakunin and his followers from the organization. This was the beginning of a long-running feud and schism between libertarian socialists and what they call “authoritarian communists”, or alternatively just “authoritarians”. Some Marxists have formulated views that closely resemble syndicalism, and thus express more affinity with anarchist ideas. Several libertarian socialists, notably Noam Chomsky, believe that anarchism shares much in common with certain variants of Marxism such as the council communism of Marxist Anton Pannekoek. In Chomsky’s *Notes on Anarchism*,^[129] he suggests the possibility “that some form of council communism is the natural form of revolutionary socialism in an industrial society. It reflects the belief that democracy is severely limited when the industrial system is controlled by any form of autocratic elite, whether of owners, managers, and technocrats, a ‘vanguard’ party, or a State bureaucracy.”

In the mid-20th century some libertarian socialist groups emerged from disagreements with **Trotskyism** which presented itself as leninist anti-stalinism. As such the french group *Socialisme ou Barbarie* emerged from the **Trotskyist Fourth International**, where Cornelius Castoriadis and Claude Lefort constituted a Chaulieu–Montal Tendency in the French **Parti Communiste Internationaliste** in 1946. In 1948, they experienced their “final disenchantment with Trotskyism”,^[130] leading them to break away to form *Socialisme ou Barbarie*, whose journal began appearing in March 1949. Castoriadis later said of this period that “the main audience of the group and of the journal was formed by groups of the old, radical left: Bordigists, council communists, some anarchists and some offspring of the German “left” of the 1920s”.^[131] Also in the United Kingdom the group **Solidarity** was founded in 1960 by a small group of expelled members of the **Trotskyist Socialist Labour League**. Almost from the start it was strongly influenced by the French *Socialisme ou Barbarie* group, in particular by its intellectual leader Cornelius Castoriadis, whose essays were among the many pamphlets **Solidarity** produced. The intellectual leader of the group was Chris Pallis (who wrote under the name Maurice Brinton).^[132]

In the **People’s Republic of China (PRC)** since 1967, the terms **Ultra-Left** and left communist refers to political theory and practice self-defined as further “left” than that of the central **Maoist** leaders at the height of the GPCR (“**Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution**”). The terms are also used retroactively to describe some early 20th-century Chinese anarchist orientations. As a slur, the **Communist Party of China (CPC)** has used the term “ultra-left” more broadly to denounce any orientation it considers further “left” than the party line. According to the latter usage, in 1978 the CPC **Central Committee** denounced as “ultra-left” the line of **Mao Zedong** from 1956 until his death in 1976. “Ultra-Left” refers to those GPCR rebel positions that diverged from the

central Maoist line by identifying an **antagonistic contradiction** between the CPC-PRC **party-state** itself and the **masses** of workers and “peasants”^[133] conceived as a single proletarian class divorced from any meaningful control over production or distribution. Whereas the central Maoist line maintained that the masses controlled the means of production through the Party’s mediation, the Ultra-Left argued that the objective interests of bureaucrats were structurally determined by the centralist state-form in direct opposition to the objective interests of the masses, regardless of however “red” a given bureaucrat’s “thought” might be. Whereas the central Maoist leaders encouraged the masses to criticize reactionary “ideas” and “habits” among the alleged 5% of bad cadres, giving them a chance to “turn over a new leaf” after they had undergone “**thought reform**”, the Ultra-Left argued that “cultural revolution” had to give way to “political revolution” – “in which one class overthrows another class”.^{[134][135]}

In 1969 french **platformist** anarcho-communist **Daniel Guerin** published an essay called “Libertarian Marxism?” in which he dealt with the debate between Karl Marx and **Mikhail Bakunin** at the **First International** and afterwards he suggested that “Libertarian marxism rejects determinism and fatalism, giving the greater place to individual will, intuition, imagination, reflex speeds, and to the deep instincts of the masses, which are more far-seeing in hours of crisis than the reasonings of the ‘elites’; libertarian marxism thinks of the effects of surprise, provocation and boldness, refuses to be cluttered and paralysed by a heavy ‘scientific’ apparatus, doesn’t equivocate or bluff, and guards itself from adventurism as much as from fear of the unknown.”^[136] In the US from 1970 to 1981 there existed the publication *Root & Branch*^[137] which had as a subtitle “A Libertarian Marxist Journal”.^[138] In 1974 the journal *Libertarian Communism* was started in the United Kingdom by a group inside the Socialist Party of Great Britain.^[139]

Autonomist Marxism, **Neo-Marxism** and **Situationist theory** are also regarded as being **anti-authoritarian** variants of Marxism that are firmly within the libertarian socialist tradition. As such “In New Zealand, no situationist group was formed, despite the attempts of Grant McDonagh. Instead, McDonagh operated as an individual on the periphery of the anarchist milieu, co-operating with anarchists to publish several magazines, such as *Anarchy* and *KAT*. The latter called itself ‘an anti-authoritarian spasmodical’ of the ‘libertarian ultra-left (situationists, anarchists and libertarian socialists)’.”^[140] “For libcom.org “In the 1980s and 90s, a series of other groups developed, influenced also by much of the above work. The most notable are Kolinko, Kurasje and Wildcat in Germany, *Aufheben* in England, *Theorie Communiste* in France, TPTG in Greece and *Kamunist Kranti* in India. They are also connected to other groups in other countries, merging autonomia, operaismo, Hegelian Marxism, the work of the JFT, **Open Marxism**, the ICO, the

Situationist International, anarchism and post-68 German Marxism.”^[141] Related to this were intellectuals who were influenced by Italian left communist **Amadeo Bordiga** but who disagreed with his leninist positions and so these included the french publication *Invariance* edited by **Jacques Camatte**, published since 1968 and **Gilles Dauve** who published *Troploin* with Karl Nesic.

0.1.3 Notable libertarian socialist tendencies

Classical anarchist tendencies

In a chronological and theoretical sense, there are classical – those created throughout the 19th century – and post-classical anarchist schools – those created since the mid-20th century and after.

Mutualism Main article: **Mutualism (economic theory)**

Mutualism is a political and economic theory largely as-



Proudhon and his children, by Gustave Courbet (1865)

sociated with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Proudhon argued that “all capital, whether material or mental, being the result of collective labour, is, in consequence, collective property.”^[142] This meant that artisans would manage the tools required for their own work while, in large-scale enterprises, this meant replacing wage labour by workers’ co-operatives. He argued “it is necessary to form an ASSOCIATION among workers... because without that, they would remain related as subordinates and superiors, and there would ensue two... castes of masters and wage-workers, which is repugnant to a free and democratic society.”^[143] As he put it in 1848:

“Under the law of association, transmission of wealth does not apply to the instruments of labour, so cannot become a cause of inequality.... We are socialists... under universal association, ownership of the land and of the instruments of labour is *social* ownership... We want the mines, canals, railways handed over to democratically

organised workers' associations... We want these associations to be models for agriculture, industry and trade, the pioneering core of that vast federation of companies and societies, joined together in the common bond of the democratic and social Republic."^[144]

Mutualists believe that a free labor market would allow for conditions of equal income in proportion to exerted labor.^{[145][146]} As Jonathan Beecher puts it, Proudhon's aim was to, "emancipate labor from the constraints imposed by capital".^[147] Proudhon supported individual possession of land and argued that the "land is indispensable to our existence, consequently a common thing, consequently insusceptible of appropriation."^[142] He believed that an individual only had a right to land while he was using or occupying it. If the individual ceases doing so, it reverts to unowned land.^[148] Mutualists hold a **labor theory of value**, arguing that in exchange labor should always be worth "the amount of labor necessary to produce an article of exactly similar and equal utility,"^[149] and considering anything less to be exploitation, theft of labor, or **usury**. Mutualists oppose the institutions by which individuals gain income through loans, investments, and rent, as they believe the income received through these activities is not in direct accord with labor spent.^{[150][151]} In place of these capitalist institutions they advocate **labor-owned cooperative firms** and associations.^{[152][153]} Mutualists advocate mutual banks, owned by the workers, that do not charge interest on secured loans. Most mutualists believe that anarchy should be achieved gradually rather than through revolution.^[154] Some **individualist anarchists**, such as **Benjamin Tucker**, were influenced by Proudhon's Mutualism, but unlike Proudhon, they did not call for "association" in large enterprises.^[155]

Mutualist ideas found a fertile ground in the 19th century in Spain. In Spain Ramón de la Sagra established anarchist journal *El Porvenir* in La Coruña in 1845 which was inspired by Proudhon's ideas.^[156] The **catalan** politician **Francesc Pi i Margall** became the principal translator of Proudhon's works into Spanish^[157] and later briefly became president of Spain in 1873 while being the leader of the Democratic Republican Federal Party. According to **George Woodcock** "These translations were to have a profound and lasting effect on the development of Spanish anarchism after 1870, but before that time Proudhonian ideas, as interpreted by Pi, already provided much of the inspiration for the federalist movement which sprang up in the early 1860's."^[158] According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* "During the Spanish revolution of 1873, Pi y Margall attempted to establish a decentralized, or "cantonalist", political system on Proudhonian lines."^[156] **Kevin Carson** is a contemporary mutualist theorist who is the author of *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*.^[159]

Collectivist anarchism Main article: **Collectivist anarchism**

Collectivist anarchism (also known as anarcho-

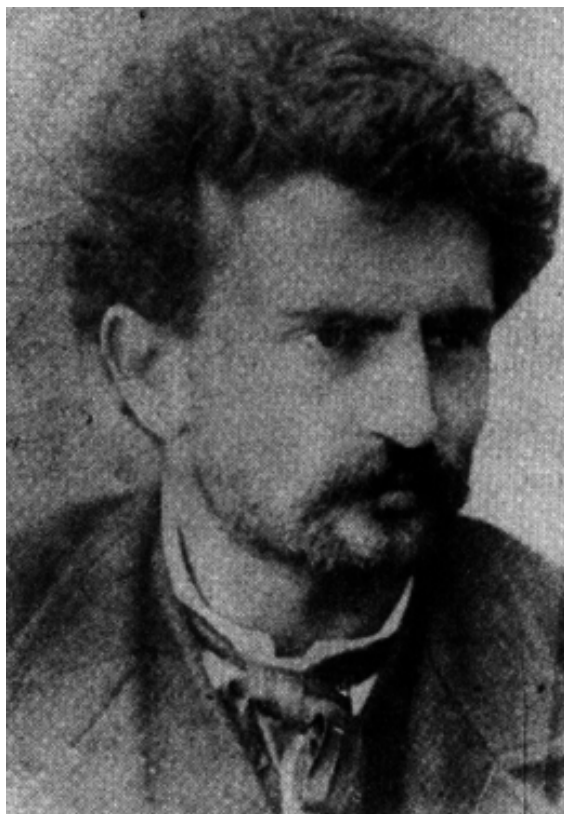


Mikhail Bakunin

collectivism) is a revolutionary^[160] doctrine that advocates the abolition of the **state** and **private ownership** of the **means of production**. Instead, it envisions the means of production being owned collectively and controlled and managed by the producers themselves. For the **collectivization** of the means of production, it was originally envisaged that workers will revolt and forcibly collectivize the means of production^[160] Once collectivization takes place, workers' salaries would be determined in democratic organizations based on the amount of time they contributed to production. These salaries would be used to purchase goods in a communal market.^[161] This contrasts with **anarcho-communism** where wages would be abolished, and where individuals would take freely from a storehouse of goods "to each according to his need." Thus, Bakunin's "Collectivist Anarchism", notwithstanding the title, is seen as a blend of **individualism** and **collectivism**.^[162] Collectivist anarchism is most commonly associated with **Mikhail Bakunin**, the **anti-authoritarian** sections of the **First International**, and the early **Spanish anarchist movement**.

Anarchist communism Main article: **Anarchist communism**

Anarchist communism (also known as anarcho-communism and occasionally as free communism) is a theory of **anarchism** which advocates the abolition of the state, markets, money, capitalism and private property (while retaining respect for **personal property**),^[163] in favor of **common ownership** of the means of production,^{[164][165]} **direct democracy** and a horizontal network of **voluntary associations** and **workers' councils**



Errico Malatesta, 1891, influential Italian activist and theorist of anarcho-communism

with production and consumption based on the guiding principle: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need".^{[166][167]}

Anarcho-communism developed out of radical socialist currents after the French revolution^{[32][111][168]} but was first formulated as such in the Italian section of the **First International**.^[169] The theoretical work of **Peter Kropotkin** took importance later as it expanded and developed pro-organizationalist and **insurrectionary anti-organizationalist** sections.^[170] Some forms of anarchist communism, such as **insurrectionary anarchism**, are strongly influenced by **egoism** and radical **individualism**, believing anarcho-communism is the best social system for the realization of individual freedom.^{[171][172][173][174]} Most anarcho-communists view anarcho-communism as a way of reconciling the opposition between the individual and society.^{[175][176][177]}

To date, the best known examples of an anarchist communist society (i.e., established around the ideas as they exist today and achieving worldwide attention and knowledge in the historical canon), are the anarchist territories during the **Spanish Revolution**^[178] and the **Free Territory** during the **Russian Revolution**. Through the efforts and influence of the **Spanish Anarchists** during the **Spanish Revolution** within the **Spanish Civil War**, starting in 1936 anarchist communism existed in most of Aragon, parts of the Levante and Andalusia, and in the stronghold of

Anarchist Catalonia before being crushed by the combined forces of **Francoism**, **Adolf Hitler**, **Benito Mussolini**, **Spanish Communist Party** repression (backed by the USSR) as well as economic and armaments blockades from the capitalist countries and the **Spanish Republic** itself.^[179] During the **Russian Revolution**, anarchists such as **Nestor Makhno** worked to create and defend – through the **Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine** – anarchist communism in the **Free Territory** of the Ukraine from 1919 before being conquered by the **Bolsheviks** in 1921. Anarcho-communist currents include **platformism** and **insurrectionary anarchism**.

Within individualist anarchism Main article: **Individualist anarchism**

Individualist anarchism refers to several traditions of thought within the anarchist movement that emphasize the individual and his or her will over external determinants such as groups, society, traditions, and ideological systems.^{[180][181]}

Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist,^[182] and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833, *The Peaceful Revolutionist*, was the first anarchist periodical published.^[183] For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster "It is apparent...that **Proudhonian Anarchism** was to be found in the United States at least as early as 1848 and that it was not conscious of its affinity to the Individualist Anarchism of **Josiah Warren** and **Stephen Pearl Andrews**...**William B. Greene** presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form."^[184] Later the American individualist anarchist **Benjamin Tucker** "was against both the state and capitalism, against both oppression and exploitation. While not against the market and property he was firmly against capitalism as it was, in his eyes, a state-supported monopoly of social capital (tools, machinery, etc.) which allows owners to exploit their employees, i.e., to avoid paying workers the full value of their labour. He thought that the "labouring classes are deprived of their earnings by usury in its three forms, interest, rent and profit."... Therefore "**Liberty** will abolish interest; it will abolish profit; it will abolish monopolistic rent; it will abolish taxation; it will abolish the exploitation of labour; it will abolish all means whereby any labourer can be deprived of any of his product."...This stance puts him squarely in the libertarian socialist tradition and, unsurprisingly, Tucker referred to himself many times as a socialist and considered his philosophy to be "Anarchistic socialism."^{[185][186]}

French individualist anarchist Emile Armand shows clearly opposition to capitalism and centralized economies when he said that the individualist anarchist "inwardly he remains refractory – fatally refractory – morally, intellectually, economically (The capitalist economy and the directed economy, the speculators



Oscar Wilde, famous anarchist Irish writer who published the libertarian socialist work titled *The Soul of Man under Socialism*

and the fabricators of single are equally repugnant to him.)”^[187] The spanish individualist anarchist Miguel Gimenez Igualada thought that “capitalism is an effect of government; the disappearance of government means capitalism falls from its pedestal vertiginously...That which we call capitalism is not something else but a product of the State, within which the only thing that is being pushed forward is profit, good or badly acquired. And so to fight against capitalism is a pointless task, since be it State capitalism or Enterprise capitalism, as long as Government exists, exploiting capital will exist. The fight, but of consciousness, is against the State.”^[188] His view on class division and technocracy are as follows “Since when no one works for another, the profiteer from wealth disappears, just as government will disappear when no one pays attention to those who learned four things at universities and from that fact they pretend to govern men. Big industrial enterprises will be transformed by men in big associations in which everyone will work and enjoy the product of their work. And from those easy as well as beautiful problems anarchism deals with and he who puts them in practice and lives them are anarchists.... The priority which without rest an anarchist must make is that in which no one has to exploit anyone, no man to no man, since that non-exploitation will lead to the limitation of property to individual needs”.^[189]

The anarchist^[190] writer and bohemian Oscar Wilde wrote in his famous essay *The Soul of Man under Socialism* that “Art is individualism, and individualism is a disturbing and disintegrating force. There lies its immense value. For what it seeks is to disturb monotony of type, slavery of custom, tyranny of habit, and the reduction of man to the level of a machine.”^[191] For anarchist historian George Woodcock “Wilde’s aim in *The Soul of Man under Socialism* is to seek the society most favorable to the artist... for Wilde art is the supreme end, containing within itself enlightenment and regeneration, to which all else in society must be subordinated.... Wilde represents the anarchist as aesthete.”^[192] In a socialist society, people will have the possibility to realise their talents; “each member of the society will share in the general prosperity and happiness of the society.” Wilde added that “upon the other hand, Socialism itself will be of value simply because it will lead to individualism” since individuals will no longer need to fear poverty or starvation. This individualism would, in turn, protect against governments “armed with economic power as they are now with political power” over their citizens. However, Wilde advocated non-capitalist individualism: “of course, it might be said that the Individualism generated under conditions of private property is not always, or even as a rule, of a fine or wonderful type” a critique which is “quite true.”^[193] In this way socialism, in Wilde’s imagination, would free men from manual labour and allow them to devote their time to creative pursuits, thus developing their soul. He ended by declaring “The new individualism is the new hellenism”.^[193]

Anarcho-syndicalism Main article: **Anarcho-syndicalism**

Anarcho-syndicalism is a branch of anarchism that fo-



May day demonstration of Spanish anarcho-syndicalist trade union CNT in Bilbao, Basque Country in 2010. The red and black flag is often used by anarcho-syndicalists and anarcho-communists

cuses on the labor movement.^[194] Anarcho-syndicalists view labor unions as a potential force for revolutionary social change, replacing capitalism and the state with a new society democratically self-managed by workers.

The basic principles of anarcho-syndicalism are Workers' solidarity, Direct action and Workers' self-management. Workers' solidarity means that anarcho-syndicalists believe all workers – no matter their race, gender, or ethnic group – are in a similar situation in regard to their boss (class consciousness). Furthermore, it means that, within capitalism, any gains or losses made by some workers from or to bosses will eventually affect all workers. Therefore, to liberate themselves, all workers must support one another in their class conflict. Anarcho-syndicalists believe that only direct action – that is, action concentrated on directly attaining a goal, as opposed to indirect action, such as electing a representative to a government position – will allow workers to liberate themselves.^[195] Moreover, anarcho-syndicalists believe that workers' organizations (the organizations that struggle against the wage system, which, in anarcho-syndicalist theory, will eventually form the basis of a new society) should be self-managing. They should not have bosses or "business agents"; rather, the workers should be able to make all the decisions that affect them themselves.

Rudolf Rocker was one of the most popular voices in the anarcho-syndicalist movement. He outlined a view of the origins of the movement, what it sought, and why it was important to the future of labor in his 1938 pamphlet *Anarcho-Syndicalism*. The International Workers Association is an international anarcho-syndicalist federation of various labor unions from different countries. The Spanish Confederación Nacional del Trabajo played and still plays a major role in the Spanish labor movement. It was also an important force in the Spanish Civil War.

Libertarian Marxist tendencies

Main article: [Libertarian Marxism](#)

Libertarian Marxism refers to a broad scope of economic and political philosophies that emphasize the anti-authoritarian aspects of Marxism.^[196] Early currents of libertarian Marxism, known as left communism,^[197] emerged in opposition to Marxism–Leninism^[198] and its derivatives, such as Stalinism, Maoism, and Trotskyism.^[199] Libertarian Marxism is also critical of reformist positions, such as those held by social democrats.^[200] Libertarian Marxist currents often draw from Marx and Engels' later works, specifically the *Grundrisse* and *The Civil War in France*;^[201] emphasizing the Marxist belief in the ability of the working class to forge its own destiny without the need for a revolutionary party or state to mediate or aid its liberation.^[202] Along with anarchism, Libertarian Marxism is one of the main currents of libertarian socialism.^[203]

Libertarian Marxism includes such currents as Luxemburgism, council communism, left communism, *Socialisme ou Barbarie*, the Johnson–Forest

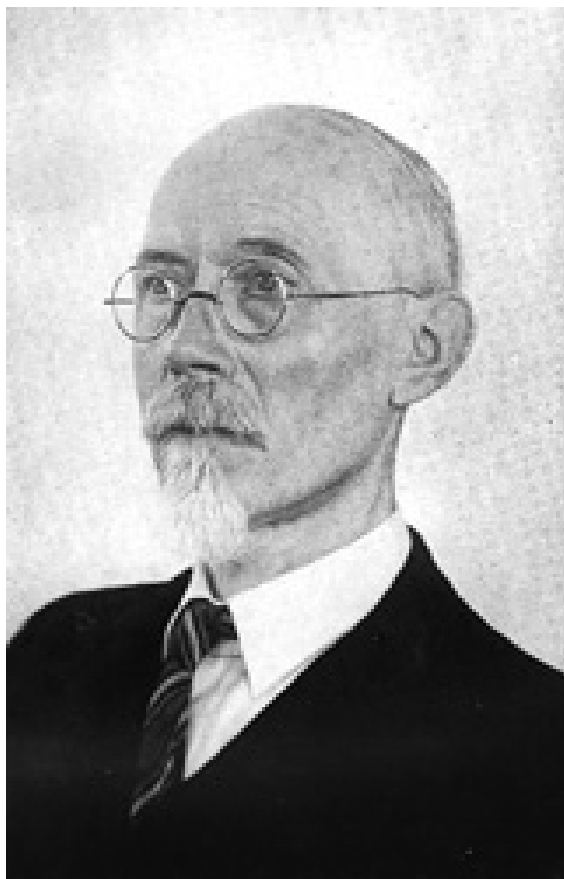
tendency, world socialism, Lettrism/Situationism and operaismo/autonomism, and New Left.^[204] Libertarian Marxism has often had a strong influence on both post-left and social anarchists. Notable theorists of libertarian Marxism have included Anton Pannekoek, Raya Dunayevskaya, CLR James, Antonio Negri, Cornelius Castoriadis, Maurice Brinton, Guy Debord, Daniel Guérin, Ernesto Screpanti and Raoul Vaneigem.

De Leonism Main article: [De Leonism](#)

De Leonism, occasionally known as Marxism-De Leonism, is a form of syndicalist Marxism developed by Daniel De Leon. De Leon was an early leader of the first United States socialist political party, the Socialist Labor Party of America. De Leon combined the rising theories of syndicalism in his time with orthodox Marxism. According to De Leonist theory, militant industrial unions (specialized trade unions) are the vehicle of class struggle. Industrial Unions serving the interests of the proletariat will bring about the change needed to establish a socialist system. The only way this differs from some currents in anarcho-syndicalism is that, according to De Leonist thinking, a revolutionary political party is also necessary to fight for the proletariat on the political field. De Leonism lies outside the Leninist tradition of communism. It predates Leninism as De Leonism's principles developed in the early 1890s with De Leon's assuming leadership of the Socialist Labor Party; Leninism and its vanguard party idea took shape after the 1902 publication of Lenin's "What Is to Be Done?". The highly decentralized and democratic nature of the proposed De Leonist government is in contrast to the democratic centralism of Marxism–Leninism and what they see as the dictatorial nature of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and other "communist" states. The success of the De Leonist plan depends on achieving majority support among the people both in the workplaces and at the polls, in contrast to the Leninist notion that a small vanguard party should lead the working class to carry out the revolution.

Council communism Main article: [Council Communism](#)

Council communism was a radical Left movement originating in Germany and the Netherlands in the 1920s. Its primary organization was the Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD). Council communism continues today as a theoretical and activist position within Marxism, and also within libertarian socialism. The central argument of council communism, in contrast to those of Social democracy and Leninist communism, is that workers' councils arising in the factories and municipalities are the natural and legitimate form of working class organisation and government power. This view is opposed to the reformist and Bolshevik stress on vanguard parties, parliaments, or the state. The core principle of



Antonie Pannekoek, one of the main theorists of council communism

council communism is that the state and the economy should be managed by **workers' councils**, composed of delegates elected at workplaces and recallable at any moment. As such, council communists oppose state-run "bureaucratic socialism". They also oppose the idea of a "revolutionary party", since council communists believe that a revolution led by a party will necessarily produce a party dictatorship. Council communists support a workers' democracy, which they want to produce through a federation of workers' councils.

The Russian word for council is "soviet", and during the early years of the revolution worker's councils were politically significant in Russia. It was to take advantage of the **aura** of workplace power that the word became used by Vladimir Lenin for various political organs. Indeed, the name "Supreme Soviet", by which the parliament was called; and that of the Soviet Union itself make use of this terminology, but they do not imply any decentralization. Furthermore, council communists held a critique of the Soviet Union as a capitalist state, believing that the Bolshevik revolution in Russia became a "bourgeois revolution" when a party bureaucracy replaced the old feudal aristocracy. Although most felt the Russian Revolution was working class in character, they believed that, since capitalist relations still existed (because the workers had no say in running the economy),

the Soviet Union ended up as a **state capitalist** country, with the state replacing the individual capitalist. Thus, council communists support workers' revolutions, but oppose one-party dictatorships. Council communists also believed in diminishing the role of the party to one of **agitation** and **propaganda**, rejected all participation in elections or parliament, and argued that workers should leave the reactionary trade unions and form one big revolutionary union.

Left communism Main article: [Left communism](#)

"Left communism" is the range of communist viewpoints held by the communist left, which criticizes the political ideas of the **Bolsheviks** at certain periods, from a position that is asserted to be more authentically **Marxist** and proletarian than the views of Leninism held by the **Communist International** after its first and during its second congress. Left Communists see themselves to the left of Leninists (whom they tend to see as 'left of capital', not socialists), **Anarchists** (some of whom they consider internationalist socialists) as well as some other revolutionary socialist tendencies (for example **De Leonists**, who they tend to see as being internationalist socialists only in limited instances). Although she lived before left communism became a distinct tendency, Rosa Luxemburg has heavily influenced most left communists, both politically and theoretically. Proponents of left communism have included Amadeo Bordiga, Herman Gorter, Anton Pannekoek, Otto Rühle, Karl Korsch, Sylvia Pankhurst and Paul Mattick.

Prominent left communist groups existing today include the International Communist Current and the International Bureau for the Revolutionary Party. Also, different factions from the old Bordigist International Communist Party are considered left communist organizations.

Johnson–Forest tendency Main article: [Johnson–Forest Tendency](#)

The Johnson–Forest tendency, sometimes called the Johnsonites, refers to a radical left tendency in the United States associated with Marxist theorists C.L.R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya, who used the pseudonyms J.R. Johnson and Freddie Forest respectively. They were joined by Grace Lee Boggs, a Chinese-American woman who was considered the third founder. After leaving the trotskist Socialist Workers Party, Johnson–Forest founded their own organization for the first time, called Correspondence. This group changed its name to the Correspondence Publishing Committee the next year. However, tensions that had surfaced earlier presaged a split, which took place in 1955. Through his theoretical and political work of the late 1940s, James had concluded that a **vanguard party** was no longer necessary, because

its teachings had been absorbed in the masses. In 1956, James would see the **Hungarian Revolution of 1956** as confirmation of this. Those who endorsed the politics of James took the name **Facing Reality**, after the 1958 book by James co-written with Grace Lee Boggs and Pierre Chaulieu, a pseudonym for **Cornelius Castoriadis**, on the Hungarian working class revolt of 1956.

Socialisme ou Barbarie Main article: **Socialisme ou Barbarie**

Socialisme ou Barbarie (Socialism or Barbarism) was



Cornelius Castoriadis, libertarian socialist theorist

a French-based radical libertarian socialist group of the post-World War II period (the name comes from a phrase Friedrich Engels used, and was cited by Rosa Luxemburg in a 1916 essay, 'The Junius Pamphlet'^[205]). It existed from 1948 until 1965. The animating personality was **Cornelius Castoriadis**, also known as Pierre Chaulieu or Paul Cardan.^[206] Because he explicitly both rejected Leninist vanguardism and criticised spontaneism...(for) Cornelius Castoriadis the emancipation of the mass of people was the task of those people; however, the socialist thinker could not simply fold his or her arms. Castoriadis argued that the special place accorded to the intellectual should belong to each autonomous citizen. However, he rejected *attentisme*, maintaining that, in the struggle for a new society, intellectuals needed to "place themselves at a distance from the everyday and from the real".^[124] Political philosopher **Claude Lefort** was impressed by Cornelius Castoriadis when he first met him. They published *On the Regime and Against the Defence of the USSR*, a critique of both the **Soviet Union** and its Trotskyist supporters. They suggested that the **USSR** was dominated by a social layer of bureaucrats, and that it consisted of a new kind of society as aggressive as Western European

societies. Later he also published in *Socialisme ou Barbarie*.

Situationist International Main article: **Situationist International**

The Situationist International was a restricted group of international revolutionaries founded in 1957, and which had its peak in its influence on the unprecedented **general wildcat strikes of May 1968 in France**.

With their ideas rooted in Marxism and the 20th-century European artistic *avant-gardes*, they advocated experiences of life being alternative to those admitted by the capitalist order, for the fulfillment of human primitive desires and the pursuing of a superior passional quality. For this purpose they suggested and experimented with the *construction of situations*, namely the setting up of environments favorable for the fulfillment of such desires. Using methods drawn from the arts, they developed a series of experimental fields of study for the construction of such situations, like **unitary urbanism** and **psychogeography**. In this vein a major theoretical work which emerged from this group was **Raoul Vaneigem's** *The Revolution of Everyday Life*.^[207]

They fought against the main obstacle on the fulfillment of such superior passional living, identified by them in **advanced capitalism**. Their critical theoretical work peaked on the highly influential book *The Society of the Spectacle* by **Guy Debord**. Debord argued in 1967 that spectacular features like **mass media** and advertising have a central role in an advanced capitalist society, which is to show a fake reality in order to mask the real capitalist degradation of human life. To overthrow such a system, the Situationist International supported the May '68 revolts, and asked the workers to **occupy the factories** and to run them with direct democracy, through **workers' councils** composed by instantly revocable delegates.

After publishing in the last issue of the magazine an analysis of the May 1968 revolts, and the strategies that will need to be adopted in future revolutions,^[208] the SI was dissolved in 1972.^[209]

Autonomism Main article: **Autonomism**

Autonomism refers to a set of **left-wing** political and social movements and theories close to the **socialist movement**. As an identifiable theoretical system it first emerged in **Italy in the 1960s** from **workerist** (*operaismo*) **communism**. Through translations made available by Danilo Montaldi and others, the Italian autonomists drew upon previous activist research in the United States by the **Johnson–Forest Tendency** and in France by the group **Socialisme ou Barbarie**. Later, post-Marxist and anarchist tendencies became significant after influence from the **Situationists**, the failure of Italian **far-left** movements in the 1970s, and the emergence of a number of im-



Antonio Negri, main theorist of Italian autonomism

portant theorists including Antonio Negri, who had contributed to the 1969 founding of *Potere Operaio* as well as Mario Tronti, Paolo Virno, Franco Berardi “Bifo” etc.

Unlike other forms of Marxism, autonomist Marxism emphasises the ability of the working class to force changes to the organization of the capitalist system independent of the state, trade unions or political parties. Autonomists are less concerned with party political organization than other Marxists, focusing instead on self-organized action outside of traditional organizational structures. Autonomist Marxism is thus a “bottom up” theory: it draws attention to activities that autonomists see as everyday working class resistance to capitalism, for example absenteeism, slow working, and socialization in the workplace.

All this influenced the German and Dutch Autonomien, the worldwide Social Centre movement, and today is influential in Italy, France, and to a lesser extent the English-speaking countries. Those who describe themselves as autonomists now vary from Marxists to post-structuralists and anarchists. The Autonomist Marxist and *Autonomien* movements provided inspiration to some on the revolutionary left in English speaking countries, particularly among anarchists, many of whom have adopted autonomist tactics. Some English-speaking anarchists even describe themselves as *Autonomists*. The Italian *operaismo* movement also influenced Marxist academics such as Harry Cleaver, John Holloway, Steve Wright, and Nick Dyer-Witheford. Today it is associated also with the publication *Multitudes*.^[210]

Other tendencies

This section is dedicated to post-classical anarchist tendencies as well as tendencies which cannot be easily classified within the anarchist/marxist division presented before.

Within the labour movement and parliamentary politics

Main article: [Libertarian possibilism](#)

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon ran for the french constituent



Francesc Pi i Margall, Catalan follower and translator of Proudhon and libertarian socialist theorist who briefly became President of Spain

assembly in April 1848, but was not elected, although his name appeared on the ballots in Paris, Lyon, Besançon, and Lille, France. He was successful, in the complementary elections of June 4. The catalan politician Francesc Pi i Margall became the principal translator of Proudhon’s works into Spanish^[157] and later briefly became president of Spain in 1873 while being the leader of the Democratic Republican Federal Party. For prominent anarcho-syndicalist Rudolf Rocker: “The first movement of the Spanish workers was strongly influenced by the ideas of Pi y Margall, leader of the Spanish Federalists and disciple of Proudhon. Pi y Margall was one of the outstanding theorists of his time and had a powerful influence on the development of libertarian ideas in Spain. His political ideas had much in common with those of Richard Price, Joseph Priestly (sic), Thomas Paine, Jefferson, and other representatives of the Anglo-American liberalism of the first period. He wanted to

limit the power of the state to a minimum and gradually replace it by a Socialist economic order.”^[211] Pi i Margall was a dedicated theorist in his own right, especially through book-length works such as *La reacción y la revolución* (en: "Reaction and revolution" from 1855), *Las nacionalidades* (en: "Nationalities" from 1877), and *La Federación* from 1880. On the other hand **Fermín Salvochea** was a mayor of the city of **Cádiz** and a president of the province of **Cádiz**. He was one of the main propagators of anarchist thought in that area in the late 19th century and is considered to be “perhaps the most beloved figure in the Spanish Anarchist movement of the 19th century”.^{[212][213]} Ideologically, he was influenced by **Bradlaugh**, **Owen** and **Paine**, whose works he had studied during his stay in **England**, and **Kropotkin**, whom he read later. In **Spain** he had contact with the anarchist thinkers and members of the **Bakuninist Alliance**, including **Anselmo Lorenzo** and **Francisco Mora**.^[212]



Federica Montseny in 1977 in Barcelona. She was minister of health during Spanish Second Republic.

Libertarian possibilism was a political current within the early 20th century **spanish anarchist movement** which advocated achieving the anarchist ends of ending the state and capitalism with participation inside structures of contemporary parliamentary democracy.^[214] The name of this political position appeared for the first time between 1922–1923 within the discourse of catalan **anarcho-syndicalist** **Salvador Seguí** when he said “We have to intervene in politics in order to take over the positions of the bourgeoisie”^[215] During autumn of 1931 the “Manifesto of the 30” was published by militants of the anarchist trade union **Confederación Nacional del Trabajo**. Among those who signed it there was the CNT General Secretary (1922–23) **Joan Peiro**, **Angel Pestaña** CNT (General Secretary in 1929), and **Juan Lopez Sanchez**. They were called *treintismo* and they were calling for a more moderate political line within the spanish anarchist movement. In 1932 they establish the **Syndicalist Party** which participates in the 1936 spanish general elections and proceed to be a part of the leftist coalition of parties known as the **Popular Front** obtaining 2 congressmen (**Pestaña** and **Benito Pabon**). In 1938 **Horacio Prieto**, general secretary of the CNT, proposes that the **Iberian Anarchist Federation** transforms itself into a “**Libertarian Socialist Party**”

and that it participates in the national elections.^[216] In November 1936 the **Popular Front government** appointed the prominent anarcho-feminist **Federica Montseny** as Minister of Health. In doing so, she became the first woman in Spanish history to be a cabinet minister.^[217] When the republican forces lost the Spanish Civil War, the city of Madrid was turned over to the francoist forces in 1939 by the last non-francoist mayor of the city, the anarchist **Melchor Rodríguez García**.^[218]

In 1950 a clandestine group formed within the francophone **Anarchist Federation** called **Organisation Pensée Bataille (OPB)** led by the platformist **George Fontenis**.^[219] The OPB pushed for a move which saw the FA change its name into the **Fédération Communiste Libertaire (FCL)** after the 1953 Congress in Paris, while an article in *Le Libertaire* indicated the end of the cooperation with the French **Surrealist Group** led by **André Breton**. The new decision making process was founded on unanimity: each person has a right of veto on the orientations of the federation. The FCL published the same year the *Manifeste du communisme libertaire*. Several groups quit the FCL in December 1955, disagreeing with the decision to present “revolutionary candidates” to the legislative elections. On 15–20 August 1954, the Ve intercontinental plenum of the CNT took place. A group called **Entente anarchiste** appeared which was formed of militants who didn’t like the new ideological orientation that the OPB was giving the FCL seeing it was authoritarian and almost marxist.^[220] The FCL lasted until 1956 just after it participated in state legislative elections with 10 candidates. This move alienated some members of the FCL and thus produced the end of the organization.^[219]

There was a strong left-libertarian current in the British labour movement and the term *libertarian socialist* has been applied to a number of democratic socialists, including some prominent members of the **British Labour Party**. The **Socialist League** was formed in 1885 by **William Morris** and others critical of the authoritarian socialism of the **Social Democratic Federation**. It was involved in the **New Unionism**, the rank and file union militancy of the 1880s–90s, which anticipated syndicalism in some key ways (**Tom Mann**, a New Unionist leader, was one of the first British syndicalists). The **Socialist League** was dominated by anarchists by the 1890s.^[221]

The **Independent Labour Party**, formed at that time, drew more on the **Non-Conformist** religious traditions in the British working class than on Marxist theory, and had a libertarian socialist strain. Others in the tradition of the ILP, and described as libertarian socialists **Michael Foot** and most importantly, **G. D. H. Cole**. Labour Party minister **Peter Hain**^[222] has written in support of libertarian socialism, identifying an axis involving a “bottom-up vision of socialism, with anarchists at the revolutionary end and democratic socialists [such as himself] at its reformist end”, as opposed to the axis of **state socialism** with Marxist-Leninists at the revolutionary end and so-

cial democrats at the reformist end.^[223] Another recent mainstream Labour politician who has been described as a libertarian socialist is **Robin Cook**.^[224]

Defined in this way, libertarian socialism in the contemporary political mainstream is distinguished from modern social democracy and democratic socialism principally by its political decentralism rather than by its economics. The multi-tendency **Socialist Party USA** also has a strong libertarian socialist current.

Katja Kipping and Julia Bonk in Germany, Femke Halsema^[225] in the Netherlands and Ufuk Uras and the **Freedom and Solidarity Party** in Turkey, are examples of a contemporary libertarian socialist politicians and parties operating within a mainstream government. In Chile the autonomist organization *Izquierda Autónoma* (Autonomous Left) in the Chilean general election, 2013 gained a seat in the Chilean Parliament through Gabriel Boric, ex leader of the 2011–13 Chilean student protests.^[226] In 2016 Boric, alongside other persons such as Jorge Sharp, left the party *Izquierda Autónoma* in order to establish the *Movimiento Autonomista*^[227] In the 2016 Chilean municipal elections of October Sharp was elected Mayor of Valparaíso with a vote of 53%.^{[227][228]}

Georgism Main articles: **Georgism** and **Henry George**

Georgism (also called Geoism or Geonomics) is an economic philosophy and ideology which holds that people own what they create, but that things found in nature, most importantly land, belong equally to all.^[229] The Georgist philosophy is based on the writings of the economist **Henry George** (1839–1897), and is usually associated with the idea of a single tax on the value of land. His most famous work, *Progress and Poverty* (1879), is a treatise on inequality, the cyclic nature of industrialized economies, and the use of the land value tax as a remedy. Georgists argue that a tax on land value is economically efficient, fair, and equitable; and that it can generate sufficient revenue so that other taxes (e.g. taxes on profits, sales or income), which are less fair and efficient, can be reduced or eliminated. A tax on land value has been described by many as a progressive tax, since it would be paid primarily by the wealthy, and would reduce economic inequality.^[230]

Georgist ideas heavily influenced the politics of the early 20th century. Political parties that were formed based on Georgist ideas include the **Commonwealth Land Party**, the **Justice Party of Denmark**, the **Henry George Justice Party**, and the **Single Tax League**. Several communities were also initiated with Georgist principles during the height of the philosophy's popularity. Two such communities that still exist are **Arden**, Delaware, which was founded in 1900 by **Frank Stephens** and **Will Price**, and **Fairhope**, Alabama, which was founded in 1894 by the auspices of the **Fairhope Single Tax Corporation**.^[231] Christian anarchist **Leo Tolstoy** was enthused by the eco-

nomic thinking of **Henry George**, incorporating it approvingly into later works such as *Resurrection*, the book that played a major factor in his excommunication.^[232]

Guild socialism Main article: **Guild socialism**

Guild socialism is a political movement advocating



G. D. H. Cole, theorist of guild socialism

workers' control of industry through the medium of trade-related guilds "in an implied contractual relationship with the public".^[233] It originated in the **United Kingdom** and was at its most influential in the first quarter of the 20th century.^[233] It was strongly associated with **G. D. H. Cole** and influenced by the ideas of **William Morris**.

Guild socialism was partly inspired by the guilds of craftsmen and other skilled workers which had existed in England during the Middle Ages. In 1906, **Arthur Pentty** published *Restoration of the Gild System* in which he opposed factory production and advocated a return to an earlier period of artisanal production organised through guilds. The following year, the journal *The New Age* became an advocate of guild socialism, although in the context of modern industry rather than the medieval setting favoured by Pentty. The Guild Socialists "stood for state ownership of industry, combined with "workers' control" through delegation of authority to national guilds organized internally on democratic lines. About the state itself they differed, some believing it would remain more or less in its existing form and others that it would be

transformed into a federal body representing the workers' guilds, consumers' organizations, local government bodies, and other social structures."^[233] In 1914, S. G. Hobson, a leading contributor to *The New Age*, published *National Guilds: An Inquiry into the Wage System and the Way Out*. In this work, guilds were presented as an alternative to state-control of industry or conventional trade union activity. Guilds, unlike the existing trade unions, would not confine their demands to matters of wages and conditions but would seek to obtain control of industry for the workers whom they represented. Ultimately, industrial guilds would serve as the organs through which industry would be organised in a future socialist society. The theory of guild socialism was developed and popularised by G. D. H. Cole who formed the National Guilds League in 1915 and published several books on guild socialism, including *Self-Government in Industry* (1917) and *Guild Socialism Restated* (1920). For scholar Charles Masquerade "It is by meeting such a twofold requirement that the libertarian socialism of G.D.H. Cole could be said to offer timely and sustainable avenues for the institutionalization of the liberal value of autonomy...By setting out to 'destroy this predominance of economic factors' (Cole 1980, 180) through the re-organization of key spheres of life into forms of associative action and coordination capable of giving the 'fullest development of functional organisation'...Cole effectively sought to turn political representation into a system actually capable of giving direct recognition to the multiplicity of interests making up highly complex and differentiated societies."^[234]

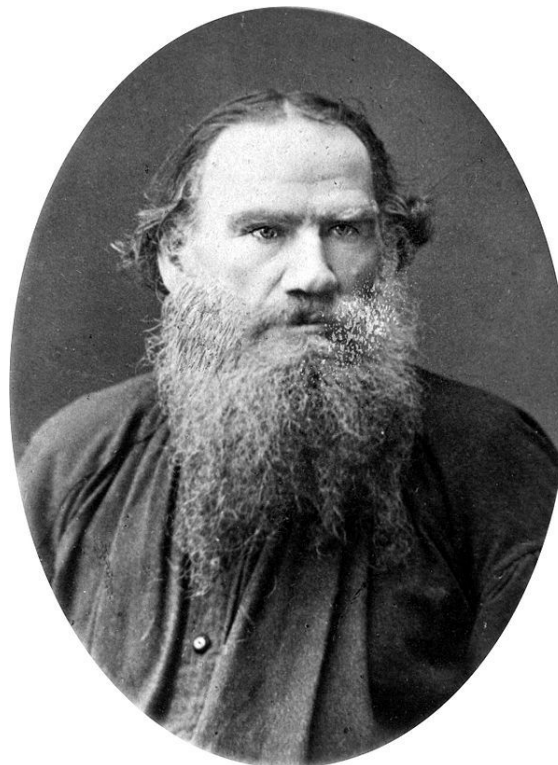
Revolutionary syndicalism Main article: Revolutionary syndicalism

Revolutionary syndicalism is a type of economic system proposed as a replacement for capitalism and an alternative to state socialism, which uses federations of collectivised trade unions or industrial unions. It is a form of socialist economic corporatism that advocates interest aggregation of multiple non-competitive categorised units to negotiate and manage an economy.^[235] For adherents, labour unions are the potential means of both overcoming economic aristocracy and running society fairly in the interest of the majority, through union democracy. Industry in a syndicalist system would be run through co-operative confederations and mutual aid. Local syndicates would communicate with other syndicates through the Bourse du Travail (labor exchange) which would manage and transfer commodities. Syndicalism is also used to refer to the tactic of bringing about this social arrangement, typically expounded by anarcho-syndicalism and De Leonism, in which a general strike begins and workers seize their means of production and organise in a federation of trade unionism, such as the CNT.^[236] Throughout its history, the reformist section of syndicalism has been overshadowed by its revolutionary section, typified by the Confédération Générale du Tra-

vail (CGT) in France, IWW, the Federación Anarquista Ibérica section of the CNT.,^[237] the Unione Sindacale Italiana and the Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden (SAC).

Christian anarchism Main article: Christian anarchism

Christian anarchism is a movement in political theology



Leo Tolstoy, important theorist of Christian anarchism and anarcho-pacifism

that combines anarchism and Christianity.^[238] It is the belief that there is only one source of authority to which Christians are ultimately answerable, the authority of God as embodied in the teachings of Jesus. More than any other Bible source, the Sermon on the Mount and Jesus' call to not resist evil but turn the other cheek, are used as the basis for Christian anarchism.^[239]

Christian anarchists are pacifists and oppose the use of violence, such as war.^[240] The foundation of Christian anarchism is a rejection of violence, with Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* regarded as a key text.^{[240][241]} Christian anarchists denounce the state as they claim it is violent, deceitful and, when glorified, a form of idolatry.^{[240][242]}

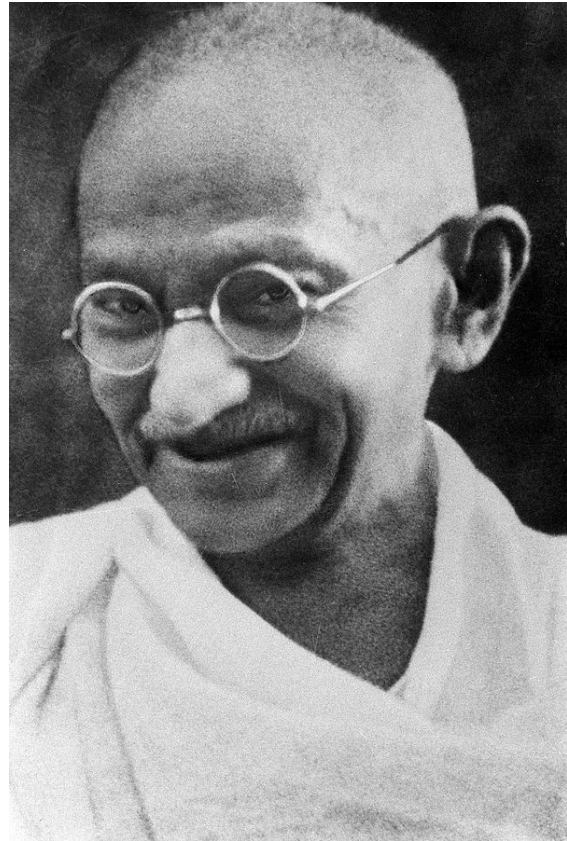
The Tolstoyans were a small Christian anarchist group formed by Tolstoy's companion, Vladimir Chertkov (1854–1936), to spread Tolstoy's religious teachings. Prince Peter Kropotkin wrote of Tolstoy in the article on anarchism in the 1911 Encyclopædia Britannica while in hundreds of essays over the last twenty years

of his life, Tolstoy reiterated the anarchist critique of the state and recommended books by Kropotkin and Proudhon to his readers, whilst rejecting anarchism's espousal of violent revolutionary means.^[243] Dorothy Day was an American journalist, social activist, devout Catholic convert; she advocated the Catholic economic theory of distributism. Day "believed all states were inherently totalitarian,"^[244] and was a self-labeled anarchist.^{[245][246][247][248]} In the 1930s, Day worked closely with fellow activist Peter Maurin to establish the Catholic Worker movement, a nonviolent, pacifist movement that continues to combine direct aid for the poor and homeless with nonviolent direct action on their behalf. The importance of Day within catholicism goes to the extent that the cause for Day's canonization is open in the Catholic Church, and she is thus formally referred to as a Servant of God.^[249] Ammon Hennacy was an Irish American pacifist, Christian, anarchist, social activist, member of the Catholic Worker Movement and a Wobbly. He established the "Joe Hill House of Hospitality" in Salt Lake City, Utah.^[250]

Gandhism Main articles: Gandhism, Gandhian economics, and Gandhian socialism

Gandhism is the collection of inspirations, principles, beliefs and philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi (Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi), who was a major political leader of India and the Indian Independence Movement. It is a body of ideas and principles that describes the inspiration, vision and the life work of Gandhi. It is particularly associated with his contributions to the idea and practice of nonviolent resistance, sometimes also called civil resistance. Gandhian economics are the socio-economic principles expounded by Mohandas Gandhi. It is largely characterised by its affinity to the principles and objectives of nonviolent humanistic socialism, but with a rejection of violent class war and promotion of socio-economic harmony. Gandhi's economic ideas also aim to promote spiritual development and harmony with a rejection of materialism. The term "Gandhian economics" was coined by J. C. Kumarappa, a close supporter of Gandhi.^[251] Gandhian economics places importance to means of achieving the aim of development and this means must be non-violent, ethical and truthful in all economic spheres. In order to achieve this means he advocated trusteeship, decentralization of economic activities, labour intensive technology and priority to weaker sections. Gandhi also had letter communication with Christian anarchist Leo Tolstoy and saw himself as his disciple.^[252]

Gandhi challenged future Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the modernizers in the late 1930s who called for rapid industrialization on the Soviet model; Gandhi denounced that as dehumanizing and contrary to the needs of the villages where the great majority of the people lived.^[253] After Gandhi's death



Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

Nehru led India to large-scale planning that emphasized modernization and heavy industry, while modernizing agriculture through irrigation. Historian Kuruvilla Pandikattu says "it was Nehru's vision, not Gandhi's, that was eventually preferred by the Indian State."^[254] Gandhi was a self-described philosophical anarchist,^[255] and his vision of India meant an India without an underlying government.^[256] He once said that "the ideally nonviolent state would be an ordered anarchy."^[257] While political systems are largely hierarchical, with each layer of authority from the individual to the central government have increasing levels of authority over the layer below, Gandhi believed that society should be the exact opposite, where nothing is done without the consent of anyone, down to the individual. His idea was that true self-rule in a country means that every person rules his or herself and that there is no state which enforces laws upon the people.^[258]

Gandhian activists such as Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan were involved in the Sarvodaya movement, which sought to promote self-sufficiency amidst India's rural population by encouraging land redistribution, socio-economic reforms and promoting cottage industries. The movement sought to combat the problems of class conflict, unemployment and poverty while attempting to preserve the lifestyle and values of rural Indians, which were eroding with industrialisation and modernisation. Sarvodaya also included Bhoodan, or the gift-

ing of land and agricultural resources by the landlords (called *zamindars*) to their tenant farmers in a bid to end the medieval system of *zamindari*. *The Conquest of Violence: an Essay on War and Revolution* is a book written by dutch anarcho-pacifist Bart de Ligt which deals with non-violent resistance in part inspired by the ideas of Gandhi.^[259] Anarchist historian George Woodcock reports that *The Conquest of Violence* “was read widely by British and American pacifists during the 1930s and led many of them to adopt an anarchistic point of view”.^[260]

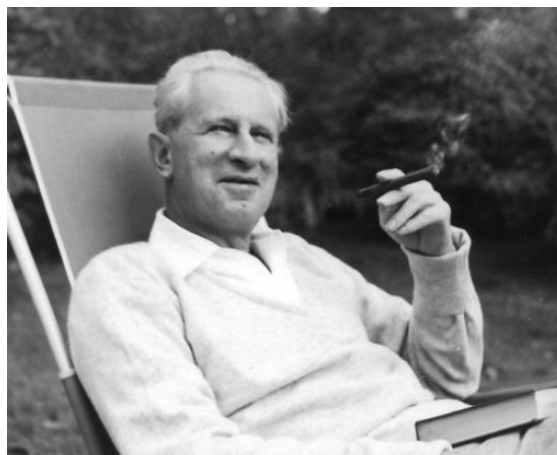
Platformism Main article: Platformism

Platformism is a tendency within the wider anarchist movement based on the organisational theories in the tradition of Dielo Truda's *Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)*.^[261] The document was based on the experiences of Russian anarchists in the 1917 October Revolution, which led eventually to the victory of the Bolsheviks over the anarchists and other groups. The *Platform* attempted to address and explain the anarchist movement's failures during the Russian Revolution. Today there are platformist groups in many countries including the Workers Solidarity Movement in Ireland, North Eastern Federation of Anarchist Communists (NEFAC, or *Fédération des Communistes Libertaires du Nord-Est*) in the northeastern US, the *Union Communiste Libertaire* in Quebec, Common Cause in Ontario, the *Organización Comunista Libertaria* (OCL) in Chile, the Federation of Anarchists of Greece (OAE) in Greece, *Anarchist Communist Initiative* (AKI) in Turkey, *Organizacion Socialista Libertaria* (OSL) in Argentina, the *Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchici* (FdCA) in Italy, the *Coletivo pró Organização Anarquista em Goiás* in Brazil, *Grupo Qhispikay Llaqta* in Peru, the Libertarian Communist Organization (France) in France, the *Alianza de los Comunistas Libertarios* (ACL) in Mexico, Melbourne Anarchist Communist Group (MACG) and Sydney Anarchist Communist Trajectory (SACT) in Australia, the Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front (ZACF) in South Africa, and Revolutionary Confederation of Anarcho-syndicalists (RKAS) by the name of N.I. Makhno (Революционная конфедерация анархо-синдикалистов им. Н. И. Махно) – an international anarcho-syndicalist, platformist confederation (sections and individual members of RKAS exist in Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Germany, Latvia, Bulgaria and Israel).

Platformist organizations also founded the now defunct International Libertarian Solidarity. The website Anarkismo.net is run collaboratively by Platformist organisations from all over the world.

Within the New Left Main article: New Left

The emergence of the New Left in the 1950s and 1960s led to a revival of interest in libertarian socialism.^[263]



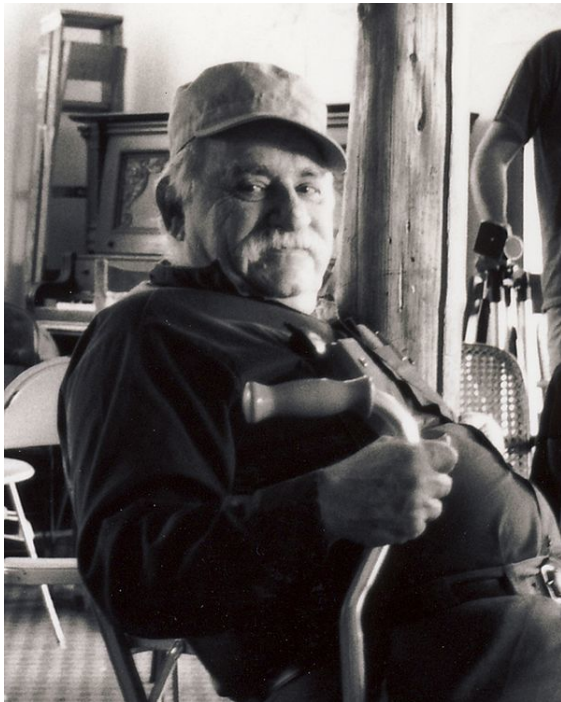
Herbert Marcuse, associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory, was an influential libertarian socialist philosopher of the New Left.^[262]

The New Left's critique of the Old Left's authoritarianism was associated with a strong interest in personal liberty, autonomy (see the thinking of Cornelius Castoriadis) and led to a rediscovery of older socialist traditions, such as left communism, council communism, and the Industrial Workers of the World. In the United States this was caused by a renewal of anarchism from the 1950s forward through writers such as Paul Goodman and anarcho-pacifism which became influential in the Anti-nuclear movement and anti war movements of the time and which incorporated both the influences of gandhism and tolstoyan Christian anarchism.^[264]

In Australia the Sydney Push was a predominantly left-wing intellectual subculture in Sydney from the late 1940s to the early 1970s which became associated with the label “Sydney libertarianism”.^[265] The New Left also led to a revival of anarchism in the 1960s in the United States. Journals like *Radical America* and *Black Mask* in America, *Solidarity*, *Big Flame* and *Democracy & Nature*, succeeded by *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*,^[266] in the UK, introduced a range of left-libertarian ideas to a new generation. Social ecology, autonomism and, more recently, participatory economics (parecon), and Inclusive Democracy emerged from this. The New Left in the United States also included anarchist, countercultural and hippie-related radical groups such as the Yippies who were led by Abbie Hoffman, The Diggers,^[267] Up Against the Wall Motherfuckers and the White Panther Party. By late 1966, the Diggers opened free stores which simply gave away their stock, provided free food, distributed free drugs, gave away money, organized free music concerts, and performed works of political art.^[268] The Diggers took their name from the original English Diggers led by Gerrard Winstanley^[269] and sought to create a mini-society free of money and capitalism.^[270] On the other hand the Yippies employed theatrical gestures, such as advancing a pig (“Pigasus the Immortal”) as a candidate for President in 1968, to mock

the social status quo.^[271] They have been described as a highly theatrical, **anti-authoritarian** and anarchist^[272] youth movement of “symbolic politics”.^[273] Since they were well known for street theater and politically themed pranks, many of the “old school” **political left** either ignored or denounced them. According to **ABC News**, “The group was known for street theater pranks and was once referred to as the ‘**Groucho Marxists**’.”^[274]

Social ecology and Communalism Main articles: **Social ecology and Communalism (Political Philosophy)**
Social ecology is closely related to the work and ideas



Murray Bookchin

of **Murray Bookchin** and influenced by anarchist **Peter Kropotkin**. Social ecologists assert that the present **ecological crisis** has its roots in human social problems, and that the domination of human-over-nature stems from the domination of human-over-human.^[275]

Bookchin later developed a political philosophy to complement social ecology which he called Communalism (spelled with a capital C to differentiate it from other forms of **communalism**). While originally conceived as a form of **social anarchism**, he later developed Communalism into a separate ideology which incorporates what he saw as the most beneficial elements of anarchism, Marxism, syndicalism, and radical ecology.

Politically, Communalists advocate a network of directly democratic citizens’ assemblies in individual communities or cities organized in a confederated fashion. The method used to achieve this is called **libertarian municipalism** and involves the establishment of face-to-face democratic institutions which grow and expand confeder-

ally with the goal of eventually replacing the nation-state. Unlike anarchists, Communalists are not opposed to taking part in parliamentary politics—especially municipal elections—as long as candidates are libertarian socialist and anti-statist in outlook.

Participism Main article: **Participism**

Participism is a twenty-first century form of libertarian



Michael Albert

socialism. It comprises two related economic and political systems called **Participatory economics** or “Parecon” and **Participatory politics** or “Parpolity”.

Parecon is an economic system proposed primarily by activist and political theorist **Michael Albert** and radical economist **Robin Hahnel**, among others. It uses participatory decision making as an economic mechanism to guide the production, consumption and allocation of resources in a given society. Proposed as an alternative to contemporary capitalist market economies and also an alternative to centrally planned socialism or coordinatorism, it is described as “an anarchistic economic vision”, and it could be considered a form of socialism as under Parecon, the means of production are owned by the workers. It proposes to attain these ends mainly through the following principles and institutions: Workers’ and consumers’ councils utilizing self-managerial methods for decision making, balanced job complexes, remuneration according to effort and sacrifice, and Participatory Planning. Under Parecon, the current monetary system would be replaced with a system of non-transferable “credit” which would cease to exist upon purchase of a commodity.

Parpolity is a theoretical political system proposed by

Stephen R. Shalom. It was developed as a political vision to accompany Parecon. Participism as a whole is critical of aspects of modern **representative democracies** and **capitalism** arguing that the level of political control by the people isn't sufficient. To address this problem Parpolity suggests a system of "Nested Councils", which would include every adult member of a given society. Under **Participism**, the state as such would dissolve into a mere coordinating body made up of delegates which would be recallable at any time by the nested council below them.

Inclusive Democracy Main article: **Inclusive Democracy**

Inclusive Democracy is a political theory and political project that aim for direct democracy, **economic democracy** in a **stateless**, moneyless and marketless economy, **self-management** (democracy in the social realm) and ecological democracy. The theoretical project of Inclusive Democracy (ID), as distinguished from the political project which is part of the democratic and autonomy traditions, emerged from the work of political philosopher, former academic and activist Takis Fotopoulos in *Towards An Inclusive Democracy* and was further developed by him and other writers in the journal *Democracy & Nature* and its successor *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*, an **electronic** journal freely available and published by the International Network for Inclusive Democracy.

According to Arran Gare, *Towards an Inclusive Democracy* "offers a powerful new interpretation of the history and destructive dynamics of the market and provides an inspiring new vision of the future in place of both neo-liberalism and existing forms of socialism".^[276] Also, as David Freeman points out, although Fotopoulos' approach "is not openly anarchism, yet anarchism seems the formal category within which he works, given his commitment to direct democracy, municipalism and abolition of state, money and market economy".^[277]

An artificial market is proposed by this tendency as a solution to the problem of maintaining freedom of choice for the consumer within a marketless and moneyless economy, an artificial market operates in much the same way as traditional markets, but uses **labour vouchers** or personal credit in place of traditional money. According to Takis Fotopoulos, an artificial market "secures real freedom of choice, without incurring the adverse effects associated with real markets".^[278]

Insurrectionary anarchism Main article: **Insurrectionary anarchism**

Insurrectionary anarchism is a revolutionary theory, practice and tendency within the anarchist movement which

emphasizes the theme of **insurrection** within anarchist practice. It is critical of formal organizations such as labor unions and federations that are based on a political programme and periodic congresses. Instead, insurrectionary anarchists advocate informal organization and small **affinity group**-based organization. Insurrectionary anarchists put value in attack, permanent **class conflict**, and a refusal to negotiate or compromise with class enemies.

Contemporary insurrectionary anarchism inherits the views and tactics of anti-organizational anarcho-communism^[279] and **illegalism**. So, "between 1880 and 1890",^[170] with the "perspective of an **immanent revolution**",^[170] who was "opposed to the official workers' movement, which was then in the process of formation (general **Social Democratisation**). They were opposed not only to political (statist) struggles but also to strikes which put forward wage or other claims, or which were organised by trade unions."^[170] But "While they were not opposed to strikes as such, they were opposed to trade unions and the struggle for the **eight-hour day**. This anti-reformist tendency was accompanied by an **anti-organisational tendency**, and its partisans declared themselves in favour of agitation amongst the unemployed for the expropriation of foodstuffs and other articles, for the expropriatory strike and, in some cases, for '**individual recuperation**' or acts of terrorism."^[170] A resurgence of such ideas happened "in the peculiar conditions of post war Italy and Greece."^[280]

Neozapatismo and Magonism Main articles: **Zapatista Army of National Liberation**, **Emiliano Zapata**, **Magonism**, and **Neozapatismo**

The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, EZLN) often referred to as the *Zapatistas* is a **revolutionary leftist** group based in **Chiapas**, the southernmost state of **Mexico**. Since 1994, the group has been in a declared war "against the Mexican state," though this war has been primarily **nonviolent** and defensive against **military**, **paramilitary**, and **corporate** incursions into Chiapas. Their social base is mostly rural **indigenous people** but they have some supporters in urban areas and internationally. Their main spokesperson is Subcomandante Marcos (currently a.k.a. Delegate Zero in relation to "the Other Campaign"). Unlike other Zapatista spokespeople, Marcos is not an indigenous **Maya**. Since December 1994, the Zapatistas had been gradually forming several autonomous municipalities, called Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities (MAREZ). In these municipalities, an assembly of local representatives forms the *Juntas de Buen Gobierno* or **Councils of Good Government** (JBGs). These are not recognized by the federal or state governments; they oversee local community programs on food, health and education, as well as taxation. The EZLN political formations have happened in two phases generally called *Aquascalientes* and *Caracoles*.



Subcomandante Marcos in 1996

The group takes its name from **Emiliano Zapata**, the agrarian reformer^[281] and commander of the **Liberation Army of the South** during the **Mexican Revolution**, and sees itself as his ideological heir. *Zapatista* originally referred to a member of the revolutionary **guerrilla** movement founded about 1910 by Zapata. His Liberation Army of the South (**Ejército Libertador del Sur**) fought during the Mexican Revolution for the **redistribution of agricultural land**. Zapata and his army and allies, including **Pancho Villa**, fought for agrarian reform in Mexico. Specifically, they wanted to establish **communal land rights** for Mexico's **indigenous** population, which had mostly lost its land to the wealthy elite of European descent. Zapata was partly influenced by an **anarchist** from **Oaxaca** named **Ricardo Flores Magón**. The influence of Flores Magón on Zapata can be seen in the Zapatistas' **Plan de Ayala**, but even more noticeably in their slogan (this slogan was never used by Zapata) "*Tierra y libertad*" or "land and liberty", the title and maxim of Flores Magón's most famous work. Zapata's introduction to anarchism came via a local schoolteacher, Otilio Montaña Sánchez – later a general in Zapata's army, executed on May 17, 1917 – who exposed Zapata to the works of **Peter Kropotkin** and Flores Magón at the same time as Zapata was observing and beginning to participate in the struggles of the peasants for the land.

In reference to inspirational figures, in nearly all EZLN villages exist murals accompanying images of Zapata, **Che Guevara**, and **Subcomandante Marcos**.^[282] The ideology of the Zapatista movement, **Zapatismo**, synthesizes traditional Mayan practices with elements of **libertarian socialism**, **anarchism**,^{[283][284]} and **Marxism**.^[285]

The historical influence of **Mexican Anarchists** and various Latin-American Socialists is apparent on **Zapatismo**; with the positions of **Subcomandante Marcos** also adding a distinct Marxist, according to the *New York Times*.^[286] element to the movement. A Zapatista slogan is in harmony with the concept of **mutual aid**: "For everyone, everything. For us, nothing" (*Para todos, todo. Para nosotros, nada*).

Left wing market anarchism Main article: **Left-wing market anarchism**

Left wing market anarchism, a form of **left-libertarianism**, **individualist anarchism**^[287] and **libertarian socialism**^{[288][289]} is associated with scholars such as **Kevin Carson**,^{[290][291]} **Roderick T. Long**,^{[292][293]} **Charles Johnson**,^[294] **Brad Spangler**,^[295] **Samuel Edward Konkin III**,^[296] **Sheldon Richman**,^{[297][298][299]} **Chris Matthew Sciabarra**,^[300] and **Gary Chartier**,^[301] who stress the value of radically free markets, termed *freed markets* to distinguish them from the common conception which these libertarians believe to be riddled with statist and capitalist privileges.^[302] Referred to as **left-wing market anarchists**^[303] or **market-oriented left-libertarians**,^[299] proponents of this approach strongly affirm the classical liberal ideas of **self-ownership** and free markets, while maintaining that, taken to their logical conclusions, these ideas support **anti-capitalist**,^{[304][305][306]} **anti-corporatist**, **anti-hierarchical**, **pro-labor** positions in economics; **anti-imperialism** in foreign policy; and thoroughly liberal or radical views regarding such cultural issues as gender, sexuality, and race.

The genealogy of contemporary market-oriented left-libertarianism – sometimes labeled "left-wing market anarchism"^[307] – overlaps to a significant degree with that of **Steiner–Vallentyne left-libertarianism** as the roots of that tradition are sketched in the book *The Origins of Left-Libertarianism*.^[308] Carson–Long-style left-libertarianism is rooted in 19th-century **mutualism** and in the work of figures such as **Thomas Hodgskin** and the **individualist anarchists** **Benjamin Tucker** and **Lysander Spooner**. While, with notable exceptions, market-oriented libertarians after Tucker tended to ally with the political right, relationships between such libertarians and the **New Left** thrived in the 1960s, laying the groundwork for modern left-wing market anarchism.^[309] Left wing market anarchism identifies with **Left-libertarianism** (or left-wing libertarianism)^[310] which names several related but distinct approaches to **politics**, **society**, **culture**, and **political and social theory**, which stress both **individual freedom** and **social justice**. Unlike **right-libertarians**, they believe that neither claiming nor **mixing one's labor** with **natural resources** is enough to generate full **private property rights**,^{[311][312]} and maintain that natural resources (land, oil, gold, trees) ought to be held in some **egalitarian** manner, either **unowned** or **owned collectively**.^[312] Those

left-libertarians who support private property do so under the condition that recompense is offered to the local community.

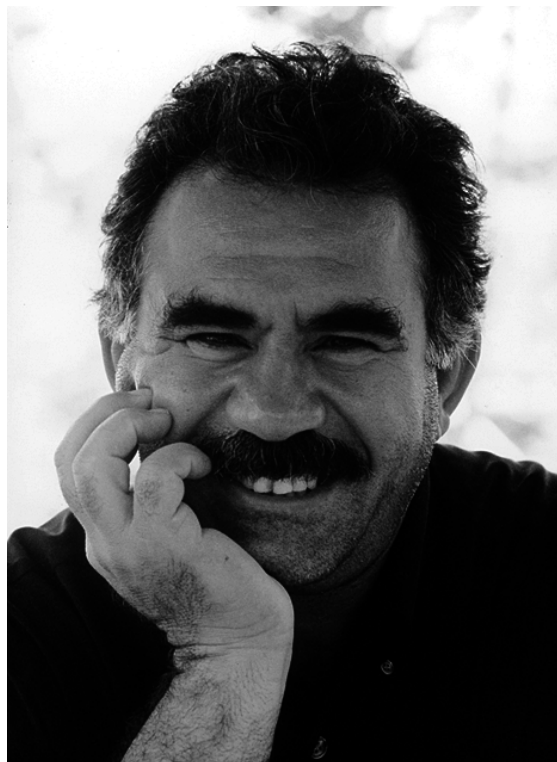
Communization Main article: Communization

Communization mainly refers to a contemporary communist theory in which we find is a “mixing-up of insurrectionist anarchism, the communist ultra-left, post-autonomists, anti-political currents, groups like the Invisible Committee, as well as more explicitly ‘communizing’ currents, such as *Théorie Communiste* and *Endnotes*. Obviously at the heart of the word is communism and, as the shift to communization suggests, communism as a particular activity and process....”^[313]

The association of the term communization with a self-identified “ultra-left” was cemented in France in the 1970s, where it came to describe not a transition to a higher phase of communism but a vision of communist revolution itself. Thus the 1975 Pamphlet *A World Without Money* states: “insurrection and communisation are intimately linked. There would not be first a period of insurrection and then later, thanks to this insurrection, the transformation of social reality. The insurrectional process derives its force from communisation itself.”^[314] The term is still used in this sense in France today and has spread into English usage as a result of the translation of texts by Gilles Dauvé and *Théorie Communiste*, two key figures in this tendency. In collaboration with other left communists such as François Martin and Karl Nesic, Dauvé has attempted to fuse, critique, and develop different left communist currents, most notably the Italian movement associated with Amadeo Bordiga (and its heretical journal *Invariance*), German-Dutch council communism, and the French perspectives associated with *Socialisme ou Barbarie* and the Situationist International.^[315]

In the late 1990s a close but not identical sense of “communization” was developed by the French post-situationist group Tiquun. In keeping with their ultra-left predecessors, Tiquun’s predilection for the term seems to be its emphasis on communism as an immediate process rather than a far-off goal, but for Tiquun it is no longer synonymous with “the revolution” considered as an historical event, but rather becomes identifiable with all sorts of activities – from squatting and setting up communes to simply “sharing” – that would typically be understood as “pre-revolutionary.”^[316] From an ultra-left perspective such a politics of “dropping-out” or, as Tiquun put it, “desertion” – setting up spaces and practices that are held to be partially autonomous from capitalism – is typically dismissed as either naive or reactionary.^[317] Due to the popularity of the Tiquun-related works *Call* and *The Coming Insurrection* in US anarchist circles it tended to be this latter sense of “communization” that was employed in US anarchist and “insurrectionist” communiques, no-

tably within the Californian student movement of 2009–2010.^[318]



Abdullah Öcalan, leader and theorist of the Kurdistan Workers' Party

Democratic Confederalism Main article: Democratic Confederalism

Democratic Confederalism is the proposal of a libertarian socialist political system that “is open towards other political groups and factions. It is flexible, multi-cultural, anti-monopolistic, and consensus-oriented.”^[319] Abdullah Öcalan, who is the leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party, founded this ideology while in prison. While originally a Marxist–Leninist organization, the organization modified their views as Öcalan began corresponding with Murray Bookchin and incorporating his ideology. The central pillars of democratic confederalism are social ecology and anarchist feminism.^[320] According to Abdullah Öcalan, his ideology is rooted in participatory democracy and autonomy at the local level. In his book he says that “The stronger the participation the more powerful is this kind of democracy. While the nation-state is in contrast to democracy, and even denies it, democratic confederalism constitutes a continuous democratic process.”^[321]



The global Occupy movement is noted to have distinct libertarian socialist principles.

0.1.4 Contemporary libertarian socialism

See also: [Contemporary anarchism](#)

A surge of popular interest in libertarian socialism occurred in western nations during the 1960s and 1970s.^[322] Anarchism was influential in the [Counterculture of the 1960s](#)^{[323][324][325]} and anarchists actively participated in the late sixties students and workers revolts.^[326] In 1968 in Carrara, Italy the International of Anarchist Federations was founded during an international anarchist conference held there in 1968 by the three existing European federations of France, the Italian and the Iberian Anarchist Federation as well as the Bulgarian federation in French exile.^{[327][328]} The uprisings of May 1968 also led to a small resurgence of interest in left communist ideas. Various small left communist groups emerged around the world, predominantly in the leading capitalist countries. A series of conferences of the communist left began in 1976, with the aim of promoting international and cross-tendency discussion, but these petered out in the 1980s without having increased the profile of the movement or its unity of ideas.^[329] Prominent left communist groups existing today include the International Communist Party, International Communist Current and the Internationalist Communist Tendency.

The housing and employment crisis in most of Western Europe led to the formation of [communes](#) and [squatter](#) movements like that of [Barcelona](#), Spain. In Denmark, squatters occupied a disused military base and declared the [Freetown Christiania](#), an autonomous haven in central Copenhagen.

Around the turn of the 21st century, libertarian socialism grew in popularity and influence as part of

the anti-war, anti-capitalist, and anti-globalisation movements.^[330] Anarchists became known for their involvement in protests against the meetings of the [World Trade Organization \(WTO\)](#), [Group of Eight](#), and the [World Economic Forum](#). Some anarchist factions at these protests engaged in rioting, property destruction, and violent confrontations with police. These actions were precipitated by ad hoc, leaderless, anonymous cadres known as [black blocs](#); other organisational tactics pioneered in this time include [security culture](#), [affinity groups](#) and the use of decentralised technologies such as the internet.^[330] A significant event of this period was the confrontations at [WTO conference in Seattle in 1999](#).^[330] For english anarchist scholar [Simon Critchley](#) “contemporary anarchism can be seen as a powerful critique of the pseudo-libertarianism of contemporary neo-liberalism...One might say that contemporary anarchism is about responsibility, whether sexual, ecological or socio-economic; it flows from an experience of conscience about the manifold ways in which the West ravages the rest; it is an ethical outrage at the yawning inequality, impoverishment and disenfranchisement that is so palpable locally and globally.”^[331] This might also have been motivated by “the collapse of ‘really existing socialism’ and the capitulation to neo-liberalism of Western social democracy.”^[332]

International anarchist federations in existence include the [International of Anarchist Federations](#), the [International Workers’ Association](#), and [International Libertarian Solidarity](#). The largest organised anarchist movement today is in Spain, in the form of the [Confederación General del Trabajo \(CGT\)](#) and the [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo \(CNT\)](#). CGT membership was estimated to be around 100,000 for 2003.^[333] Other active syndicalist movements include in Sweden the [Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden](#) and the [Swedish Anarcho-syndicalist Youth Federation](#); the [CNT-AIT in France](#);^[334] the [Union Sindicale Italiana](#) in Italy; in the US [Workers Solidarity Alliance](#) and the UK [Solidarity Federation](#). The revolutionary industrial unionist [Industrial Workers of the World](#), claiming 2,000 paying members, and the [International Workers Association](#), an anarcho-syndicalist successor to the [First International](#), also remain active.

Libertarian socialists in the early 21st century have been involved in the [alter-globalization](#) movement, [squatter](#) movement; [social centers](#); [infoshops](#); anti-poverty groups such as [Ontario Coalition Against Poverty](#) and [Food Not Bombs](#); [tenants’ unions](#); [housing cooperatives](#); [intentional communities](#) generally and [egalitarian communities](#); anti-sexist organizing; grassroots media initiatives; digital media and computer activism; experiments in [participatory economics](#); anti-racist and anti-fascist groups like [Anti-Racist Action](#) and [Anti-Fascist Action](#); activist groups protecting the rights of [immigrants](#) and promoting the free movement of people, such as the [No Border network](#); [worker co-operatives](#), [countercultural](#) and [artist groups](#);

and the peace movement etc.

Libertarian socialism has also more recently played a large part in the global Occupy movement,^{[335][336]} in particular its focus on direct participatory democracy.

0.1.5 Libertarian socialist periodicals

• Ongoing

- *Anarcho-Syndicalist Review* (US, 1986–present)
- *Freedom newspaper* (UK)
- *New Internationalist* (UK)
- *Red and Black Notes* features Cajo Brendel, Cornelius Castoriadis, Martin Glaberman, CLR James, Larry Gambone and others^[337] (Toronto, 1997 2006–present)
- *Red & Black Revolution* (Publication of The Workers Solidarity Movement, Ireland)
- *Red Pepper* (UK, 1995–present)^[338]
- *ROAR Magazine* (2010–present)
- *Social Anarchism (journal)*, a Baltimore-based journal (1981–present)
- *Socialist Standard* (UK, 1904–present)
- *The Libertarian Communist* (UK, 2008–present)
- *Workers Solidarity* (Publication of the Workers Solidarity Movement, Ireland)
- *Turnusol* (Turkey, 2008)^[339]
- *Z Magazine* (US, 1987–present)

• Discontinued

- *Against the Grain: a libertarian socialist newspaper* (US, 1976–1978)^[340]
- *Big Flame* (UK, 1960s–70s)
- *Comment: New Perspectives in Libertarian Thought* (US, 1960s, edited by Murray Bookchin)^[341]
- *The Commune* (UK, 2008–2013)^[342]
- *Democracy & Nature* (US/UK) – succeeded by *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy* (belongs to the direct democratic, libertarian socialist and autonomy traditions)^[343]
- *Contemporary Issues-Dinge der Zeit* (English and German language "magazine for a democracy of content, 1947–1997 published by Joseph Weber, Murray Bookchin's mentor)^[344]
- *Flash Point: a libertarian socialist newsjournal* (Saskatoon, Canada, 1970s)^[340]
- *Heatwave* (UK, 1960s)^[345]

- *Leeds Other Paper* (UK, 1974–1991)^[346]
- *Libertarian Communism* (UK, 1974–1976)
- *Liberty* (US, 1881–1908)
- *Mother Earth* (US, 1907–1915)
- *Organized Thoughts* (US, 1990s)^[347]
- *Our Generation* (originally *Our Generation Against Nuclear War*), 1961–1994; a historical and theoretical journal
- *Rebelles* (Quebec, 1990s)^[348]
- *Root and Branch* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, US, 1970–, featured work of Paul Mattick and others)^[349]
- *Socialisme ou Barbarie* (France)
- *Solidarity* (UK, 1960s–70s)^[350]
- *Der Sozialist*, (Germany, 1900s, co-edited by Gustav Landauer and Margarethe Hardegger)^[351]
- *Tegen de Stroom* (1990s, Netherlands)^[352]
- *Zenit* Sweden, 1958–1970 (Magazine by Syndikalistiska Grupprörelsen)

0.1.6 See also

- Geolibertarianism
- Sociocracy
- Veganarchism
- The Green Mountain Anarchist Collective, NEFAC-VT

0.1.7 References

- [1] Miller, Wilbur R. (2012). *The social history of crime and punishment in America. An encyclopedia.* 5 vols. London: Sage Publications. p. 1007. ISBN 1412988764. "There exist three major camps in libertarian thought: right-libertarianism, socialist libertarianism, and ..."
- [2] Bookchin, Murray and Janet Biehl. *The Murray Bookchin Reader.* Cassell, 1997. p. 170 ISBN 0-304-33873-7
- [3] Hicks, Steven V. and Daniel E. Shannon. *The American journal of economics and sociology.* Blackwell Pub, 2003. p. 612
- [4] "It implies a classless and anti-authoritarian (i.e. libertarian) society in which people manage their own affairs" I.1 Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron? at An Anarchist FAQ
- [5] "unlike other socialists, they tend to see (to various different degrees, depending on the thinker) to be skeptical of centralized state intervention as the solution to capitalist exploitation..." Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class." *Social Philosophy and Policy.* Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. p. 305

- [6] "So, libertarian socialism rejects the idea of state ownership and control of the economy, along with the state as such. Through workers' self-management it proposes to bring an end to authority, exploitation, and hierarchy in production." "I1. Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron" in *An Anarchist FAQ*
- [7] "Therefore, rather than being an oxymoron, "libertarian socialism" indicates that true socialism must be libertarian and that a libertarian who is not a socialist is a phoney. As true socialists oppose wage labour, they must also oppose the state for the same reasons. Similarly, libertarians must oppose wage labour for the same reasons they must oppose the state." "I1. Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron" in *An Anarchist FAQ*
- [8] "Their analysis treats libertarian socialism as a form of anti-parliamentary, democratic, antibureaucratic grass roots socialist organisation, strongly linked to working class activism." Alex Prichard, Ruth Kinna, Saku Pinta and Dave Berry (eds) *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan, December 2012. p. 13
- [9] "...preferring a system of popular self governance via networks of decentralized, local voluntary, participatory, co-operative associations. Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class." *Social Philosophy and Policy*. Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. p. 305
- [10] "What is of particular interest here, however, is the appeal to a form of emancipation grounded in decentralized, cooperative and democratic forms of political and economic governance which most libertarian socialist visions, including Cole's, tend to share." Charles Masquelier. *Critical theory and libertarian socialism: Realizing the political potential of critical social theory*. Bloombury. New York-London. 2014. p. 189
- [11] Mendes, Silva. *Socialismo Libertário ou Anarchismo* Vol. 1 (1896): "Society should be free through mankind's spontaneous federative affiliation to life, based on the community of land and tools of the trade; meaning: Anarchy will be equality by abolition of private property (while retaining respect for personal property) and liberty by abolition of authority".
- [12] "...preferring a system of popular self governance via networks of decentralized, local, voluntary, participatory, co-operative associations-sometimes as a complement to and check on state power..."
- [13] Rocker, Rudolf (2004). *Anarcho-Syndicalism: Theory and Practice*. AK Press. p. 65. ISBN 978-1-902593-92-0.
- [14] "LibSoc share with LibCap an aversion to any interference to freedom of thought, expression or choice of lifestyle." Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class." *Social Philosophy and Policy*. Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. p. 305
- [15] "...what categorizes libertarian socialism is a focus on forms of social organization to further the freedom of the individual combined with an advocacy of non-state means for achieving this." Matt Dawson. *Late modernity, individualization and socialism: An Associational Critique of Neoliberalism*. Palgrave MacMillan. 2013. p. 64
- [16] "What is implied by the term 'libertarian socialism'? The idea that socialism is first and foremost about freedom and therefore about overcoming the domination, repression, and alienation that block the free flow of human creativity, thought, and action...An approach to socialism that incorporates cultural revolution, women's and children's liberation, and the critique and transformation of daily life, as well as the more traditional concerns of socialist politics. A politics that is completely revolutionary because it seeks to transform all of reality. We do not think that capturing the economy and the state lead automatically to the transformation of the rest of social being, nor do we equate liberation with changing our life-styles and our heads. Capitalism is a total system that invades all areas of life: socialism must be the overcoming of capitalist reality in its entirety, or it is nothing." "What is Libertarian Socialism?" by Ulli Diemer. Volume 2, Number 1 (Summer 1997 issue) of *The Red Menace*.
- [17] "The Soviet Union Versus Socialism". *chomsky.info*. Retrieved 2015-11-22. Libertarian socialism, furthermore, does not limit its aims to democratic control by producers over production, but seeks to abolish all forms of domination and hierarchy in every aspect of social and personal life, an unending struggle, since progress in achieving a more just society will lead to new insight and understanding of forms of oppression that may be concealed in traditional practice and consciousness.
- [18] "Authority is defined in terms of the right to exercise social control (as explored in the "sociology of power") and the correlative duty to obey (as explored in the "philosophy of practical reason"). Anarchism is distinguished, philosophically, by its scepticism towards such moral relations – by its questioning of the claims made for such normative power – and, practically, by its challenge to those "authoritative" powers which cannot justify their claims and which are therefore deemed illegitimate or without moral foundation." *Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism* by Paul McLaughlin. AshGate. 2007. p. 1
- [19] "The IAF - IFA fights for : the abolition of all forms of authority whether economical, political, social, religious, cultural or sexual." "Principles of The [[International of Anarchist Federations Archived January 5, 2012, at the Wayback Machine.]]"
- [20] "Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations." Emma Goldman. "What it Really Stands for Anarchy" in *Anarchism and Other Essays*.
- [21] Individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker defined anarchism as opposition to authority as follows "They found

- that they must turn either to the right or to the left, – follow either the path of Authority or the path of Liberty. Marx went one way; Warren and Proudhon the other. Thus were born State Socialism and Anarchism...Authority, takes many shapes, but, broadly speaking, her enemies divide themselves into three classes: first, those who abhor her both as a means and as an end of progress, opposing her openly, avowedly, sincerely, consistently, universally; second, those who profess to believe in her as a means of progress, but who accept her only so far as they think she will subserve their own selfish interests, denying her and her blessings to the rest of the world; third, those who distrust her as a means of progress, believing in her only as an end to be obtained by first trampling upon, violating, and outraging her. These three phases of opposition to Liberty are met in almost every sphere of thought and human activity. Good representatives of the first are seen in the Catholic Church and the Russian autocracy; of the second, in the Protestant Church and the Manchester school of politics and political economy; of the third, in the atheism of Gambetta and the socialism of Karl Marx.” Benjamin Tucker. *Individual Liberty*.
- [22] Ward, Colin (1966). “Anarchism as a Theory of Organization”. Archived from the original on 25 March 2010. Retrieved 1 March 2010.
- [23] Anarchist historian George Woodcock report of Mikhail Bakunin's anti-authoritarianism and shows opposition to both state and non-state forms of authority as follows: “All anarchists deny authority; many of them fight against it.” (p. 9)...Bakunin did not convert the League's central committee to his full program, but he did persuade them to accept a remarkably radical recommendation to the Berne Congress of September 1868, demanding economic equality and implicitly attacking authority in both Church and State.”
- [24] Brown, L. Susan (2002). “Anarchism as a Political Philosophy of Existential Individualism: Implications for Feminism”. *The Politics of Individualism: Liberalism, Liberal Feminism and Anarchism*. Black Rose Books Ltd. Publishing, p. 106.
- [25] “It is forgotten that the early defenders of commercial society like (Adam) Smith were as much concerned with criticising the associational blocks to mobile labour represented by guilds as they were to the activities of the state. The history of socialist thought includes a long associational and anti-statist tradition prior to the political victory of the Bolshevism in the east and varieties of Fabianism in the west. John O'Neil.” *The Market: Ethics, knowledge and politics*. Routledge. 1998. p. 3
- [26] “In some ways, it is perhaps fair to say that if Left communism is an intellectual- political formation, it is so, first and foremost, negatively – as opposed to other socialist traditions. I have labelled this negative pole ‘socialist orthodoxy’, composed of both Leninists and social democrats...What I suggested was that these Left communist thinkers differentiated their own understandings of communism from a strand of socialism that came to follow a largely electoral road in the West, pursuing a kind of social capitalism, and a path to socialism that predominated in the peripheral and semi- peripheral countries, which sought revolutionary conquest of power and led to something like state capitalism. Generally, the Left communist thinkers were to find these paths locked within the horizons of capitalism (the law of value, money, private property, class, the state), and they were to characterize these solutions as statist, substitutionist and authoritarian.” Chamsy el- Ojeili. *Beyond post-socialism. Dialogues with the far-left*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2015. p. 8
- [27] Sims, Franwa (2006). *The Anacostia Diaries As It Is*. Lulu Press. p. 160.
- [28] A Mutualist FAQ: A.4. Are Mutualists Socialists?
- [29] “It is by meeting such a twofold requirement that the libertarian socialism of G.D.H. Cole could be said to offer timely and sustainable avenues for the institutionalization of the liberal value of autonomy...” Charles Masquelier. *Critical theory and libertarian socialism: Realizing the political potential of critical social theory*. Bloombury. New York-London. 2014. p. 190
- [30] “Locating libertarian socialism in a grey area between anarchist and Marxist extremes, they argue that the multiple experiences of historical convergence remain inspirational and that, through these examples, the hope of socialist transformation survives.” Alex Prichard, Ruth Kinna, Saku Pinta and Dave Berry (eds) *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan, December 2012. p. 13
- [31] “Councilism and anarchism loosely merged into ‘libertarian socialism’, offering a non-dogmatic path by which both council communism and anarchism could be updated for the changed conditions of the time, and for the new forms of proletarian resistance to these new conditions.” Toby Boraman. “Carnival and Class: Anarchism and Councilism in Australasia during the 1970s” in Alex Prichard, Ruth Kinna, Saku Pinta and Dave Berry (eds). *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan, December 2012. p. 268.
- [32] Murray Bookchin, *Ghost of Anarcho-Syndicalism*; Robert Graham, *The General Idea of Proudhon's Revolution*
- [33] Kent Bromley, in his preface to Peter Kropotkin's book *The Conquest of Bread*, considered early French utopian socialist Charles Fourier to be the founder of the libertarian branch of socialist thought, as opposed to the authoritarian socialist ideas of Babeuf and Buonarroti.” Kropotkin, Peter. *The Conquest of Bread*, preface by Kent Bromley, New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906.
- [34] “(Benjamin) Tucker referred to himself many times as a socialist and considered his philosophy to be “Anarchistic socialism.” *An Anarchist FAQ* by Various Authors
- [35] French individualist anarchist Émile Armand shows clearly opposition to capitalism and centralized economies when he said that the individualist anarchist “inwardly he remains refractory – fatally refractory – morally, intellectually, economically (The capitalist economy and the directed economy, the speculators and the fabricators of single are equally repugnant to him.)” “Anarchist Individualism as a Life and Activity” by Emile Armand

- [36] Anarchist Peter Sabatini reports that In the United States “of early to mid-19th century, there appeared an array of communal and “utopian” counterculture groups (including the so-called free love movement). William Godwin's anarchism exerted an ideological influence on some of this, but more so the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of this commune was Josiah Warren (1798–1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist” Peter Sabatini. “Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy”
- [37] “It introduces an eye-opening approach to radical social thought, rooted equally in libertarian socialism and market anarchism.” Chartier, Gary; Johnson, Charles W. (2011). *Markets Not Capitalism: Individualist Anarchism Against Bosses, Inequality, Corporate Power, and Structural Poverty*. Brooklyn, NY: Minor Compositions/Autonomedia. p. Back cover
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- [41] However, libertarian socialism retains respect for personal property.
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- [49] John O’Neil. *The Market: Ethics, knowledge and politics*. Routledge. 1998. p. 3
- [50] Chomsky (2003) pp. 30–31
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- [53] “wage slave”. dictionary.com. Retrieved 4 March 2013.
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- [60] Marx 1969, Chapter VII
- [61] Goldman 2003, p. 283
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- [65] Chomsky (2004) p. 775
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- [71] Hain, Peter “Rediscovering our Libertarian Roots” Chartist (August 2000)
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- [82] Wendy McElroy. "The culture of individualist anarchist in Late-nineteenth century America"
- [83] "Free Society was the principal English-language forum for anarchist ideas in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century." *Emma Goldman: Making Speech Free, 1902-1909*, p. 551.
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- [87] The Sexual Revolution, 1945 (Die Sexualität im Kulturkampf, translated by Theodore P. Wolfe)
- [88] Umanità Nova, n. 125, September 6, 1921. A translation can be found at *The revolutionary haste by Errico Malatesta*. Retrieved June 17, 2006.
- [89] Goldman, Emma. 'Anarchism and Other Essays' Mother Earth (1910) p. 113.
- [90] Woodcock
- [91] "Resisting the Nation State, the pacifist and anarchist tradition" by Geoffrey Ostergaard. Ppu.org.uk (1945-08-06). Retrieved on 2011-12-28.
- [92] Woodcock, p. 21: "Finally, somewhat aside from the curve that runs from anarchist individualism to anarcho-syndicalism, we come to Tolstoyanism and to pacifist anarchism that appeared, mostly in Holland (*sic*), Britain, and the United states, before and after the Second World War and which has continued since then in the deep in the anarchist involvement in the protests against nuclear armament."
- [93] Diez, Xavier (2002). "La insumisión voluntaria. El anarquismo individualista español durante la Dictadura y la Segunda República (1923-1938)" (in Spanish). Acra-cia. Retrieved 23 May 2014. Su obra más representativa es *Walden*, aparecida en 1854, aunque redactada entre 1845 y 1847, cuando Thoreau decide instalarse en el aislamiento de una cabaña en el bosque, y vivir en íntimo contacto con la naturaleza, en una vida de soledad y sobriedad. De esta experiencia, su filosofía trata de transmitirnos la idea que resulta necesario un retorno respetuoso a la naturaleza, y que la felicidad es sobre todo fruto de la riqueza interior y de la armonía de los individuos con el entorno natural. Muchos han visto en Thoreau a uno de los precursores del ecologismo y del anarquismo primitivista representado en la actualidad por John Zerzan. Para George Woodcock, esta actitud puede estar también motivada por una cierta idea de resistencia al progreso y de rechazo al materialismo creciente que caracteriza la sociedad norteamericana de mediados de siglo XIX.
- [94] "EL NATURISMO LIBERTARIO EN LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA (1890-1939) by Jose Maria Rosello" (PDF). Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [95] "The pioneers". Natustar.com. Archived from the original on October 25, 2012. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [96] An Anarchist FAQ by Various authors
- [97] "Introduction to "Anarchism and countercultural politics in early twentieth-century Cuba" by Kirwin R. Shaffer". Raforum.info. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [98] "While almost all forms of modern anarchism consider themselves to have an ecological dimension, the specifically eco-anarchist thread within anarchism has two main focal points, Social Ecology and "primitivist"."An Anarchist FAQ by Various authors
- [99] "Noam Chomsky, "Nationalism and the New World Order: An Interview by Takis Fotopoulos" at Democracy and Nature Vol. 2, No. 2 (Issue 5), 1994 pp. 1-7
- [100] "It was with sadness and a certain frustration that I read in Democracy and Nature (Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 198-202) that Murray Bookchin and Janet Biehl have resigned from the D&N International Advisory Board, Murray complaining, among other things, that the journal has become too "Castoriadian" in its orientation. The sadness stems from the fact that I found inherently appealing D&N's effort to examine what it considered the best of Bookchin and Castoriadis so as to encourage the emergence of a "new liberatory project." "On the Bookchin/Biehl Resignations and the Creation of a New Liberatory Project" by David Ames Curtis at Agora International website
- [101] "Our aims". *Democracy & Nature*.
- [102] Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class." *Social Philosophy and Policy*. Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. p. 310
- [103] "It was in these conditions of class struggle that, among a whole cluster of radical groups such as the Fifth Monarchy Men, the Levellers and the Ranters, there emerged perhaps the first real proto-anarchists, the Diggers, who

like the classical 19th-century anarchists identified political and economic power and who believed that a social, rather than political revolution was necessary for the establishment of justice. Gerrard Winstanley, the Diggers' leader, made an identification with the word of God and the principle of reason, an equivalent philosophy to that found in Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You*. In fact, it seems likely Tolstoy took much of his own inspiration from Winstanley "Marlow. "Anarchism and Christianity"

- [104] "While the ideal commonwealth conceived by James Harrington tried to combine the existence of a powerful state with respect for the political rights of the citizens, Thomas Hobbes and Gerrard Winstanley, for opposite reasons, denied the possibility of power being shared between the state and the people...Before defining the government of a true Commonwealth Winstanley denounces the kingly government based on property and like Proudhon he believes that "property is theft". Marie Louise Berneri "Utopias of the English Revolution"
- [105] George Woodcock "Anarchism". *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
- [106] Lewis Herber. (Murray Bookchin) "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought". Theanarchistlibrary.org (2009-04-27). Retrieved on 2011-12-28.
- [107] "It was the great service of liberal thinkers like Jefferson and Paine that they recognized the natural limitations of every form of government. That is why they did not want to see the state become a terrestrial Providence which in its infallibility would make on its own every decision, thereby not only blocking the road to higher forms of social development, but also crippling the natural sense of responsibility of the people which is the essential condition for every prosperous society." Rudolf Rocker. *Pioneers of American Freedom: Origin of Liberal and radical thought in America*. J. J. Little Ives & Ives Company, New York. 1949. p. 13
- [108] "The Anarchists are simply. unterrified Jeffersonian Democrats. They believe that the best government is that which governs least," and that that which governs least is no government at all." Benjamin Tucker. *Individual Liberty*. New York. Vanguard Press. MCMXXVI. p. 13
- [109] "At one end of an institutional continuum one can place the total institutions that routinely destroy the autonomy and initiative of their subjects. At the other end of this continuum lies, perhaps, some ideal version of Jeffersonian democracy composed of independent, self-reliant, self-respecting, landowning farmers, managers of their own small enterprises, answerable to themselves, free of debt, and more generally with no institutional reason for servility or deference. Such free-standing farmers, Jefferson thought, were the basis of a vigorous and independent public sphere where citizens could speak their mind without fear or favor. Somewhere in between these two poles lies the contemporary situation of most citizens of Western democracies : a relatively open public sphere but a quotidian institutional experience that is largely at cross purposes with the implicit assumptions behind this public sphere and encouraging and often rewarding caution, deference, servility, and conformity." James C. Scott. *Two Cheers for Anarchism: Six Easy Pieces on Autonomy, Dignity, and Meaningful Work and Play*. Princeton University Press, 2012, pp. 79-80
- [110] Kenneth C. Wenzer "Godwin's Place in the Anarchist Tradition – a Bicentennial Tribute". [The anarchist library](http://Theanarchistlibrary.org) (2011-02-12). Retrieved on 2011-12-28.
- [111] Graham, Robert. *Anarchism - A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas – Volume One: From Anarchy to Anarchism (300 CE to 1939)*, Black Rose Books, 2005
- [112] "Anarchism". *In Our Time*. BBC Radio 4. 7 Dec 2006. Retrieved April 30, 2012.
- [113] Sheehan, Sean. *Anarchism*, London: Reaktion Books, 2004. p. 85.
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- [115] Hakim Bey (1991) "The Lemonade Ocean & Modern Times"
- [116] Herbert Marcuse. *Eros and Civilization*. Beacon Press, Boston, MA, 1955. p. 218
- [117] Peter Sabatini. "Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy". Theanarchistlibrary.org (2009-12-03). Retrieved on 2011-12-28.
- [118] Meltzer, Albert; Christie, Stuart (1970). *The Floodgates of Anarchy*. p. 39. A Second Edition with a new foreword by the authors was published in 2010 by PM Press, ISBN 978-1604861051.
- [119] *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century* (1851), Sixth Study, § 3 ¶ 5.
- [120] De l'être-humain mâle et femelle-Lettre à P.J. Proudhon par Joseph Déjacque (in French)
- [121] "An Anarchism FAQ – A.1 What is anarchism?". Web.archive.org. 2009-01-26. Archived from the original on 2009-01-26. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
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- [123] "Ricardian socialism". *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*. 1987. p. 441
- [124] Ojeili, Chamsy (November 2001). "The "Advance Without Authority": Post-modernism, Libertarian Socialism, and Intellectuals". *Democracy & Nature*. Taylor & Francis. **7** (3): 391–413. doi:10.1080/10855660120092294. Retrieved 22 May 2014.
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- [126] *Marx-Engels Collected Works: Volume 48*. New York: International Publishers, 2001; p. 538, fn. 95.
- [127] Carr, E.H. – *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917–1923*. W. W. Norton & Company 1985.
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- [129] Chomsky, Noam (1970). "Notes on Anarchism". In Guérin, Daniel. *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice*. New York: Monthly Review Press. ISBN 0-85345-128-1. Retrieved 22 May 2014.
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- [131] Castoriadis, Cornelius (1975). "An Interview". *Telos* (23), p. 134
- [132] Brinton, Maurice (Goodway, David ed). *For Workers' Power: the selected writings of Maurice Brinton*. AK Press. 2004. ISBN 1-904859-07-0
- [133] "Peasant (??)" was the official term for workers on people's communes. According to the Ultra-Left, both peasants and (urban) workers together composed a proletarian class divorced from any meaningful control over production or distribution.
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- [135] The 70s Collective, ed. 1996. *China: The Revolution is Dead, Long Live the Revolution*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- [136] "Libertarian Marxism?" by Daniel Guérin". theanarchistlibrary.org. 2011-04-23. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [137] Root & Branch at libcom.org
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- [140] Toby Boraman. "Carnival and Class: Anarchism and Councilism in Australasia during the 1970s" in Alex Prichard, Ruth Kinna, Saku Pinta and Dave Berry (eds). *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan, December 2012. p. 263.
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- [152] Hymans, E., *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*, pp. 190–91
- [153] Woodcock, pp. 110, 112
- [154] Free Market Anti-Capitalism. Mutualist.Org. Retrieved on 2011-12-28.
- [155] Woodcock, p. 20
- [156] "Anarchism" at the *Encyclopedia Britannica* online.
- [157] George Woodcock. *Anarchism: a history of libertarian movements*. p. 357
- [158] George Woodcock. *Anarchism: a history of libertarian movements*. p. 357
- [159] Kevin Carson. *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*.
- [160] Patsouras, Louis. 2005. Marx in Context. iUniverse. p. 54
- [161] Bakunin Mikail. Bakunin on Anarchism. Black Rose Books. 1980. p. 369
- [162] Morriss, Brian. Bakukunin: The Philosophy of Freedom. Black Rose Books Ltd., 1993. p. 115
- [163] "The revolution abolishes private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and with it goes capitalistic business. Personal possession remains only in the things you use. Thus, your watch is your own, but the watch factory belongs to the people." Alexander Berkman. "What Is Communist Anarchism?"
- [164] *From Politics Past to Politics Future: An Integrated Analysis of Current and Emergent Paradigms* Alan James Mayne Published 1999 Greenwood Publishing Group 316 pages ISBN 0-275-96151-6. [Books.google.com](http://books.google.com). 1999. ISBN 978-0-275-96151-0. Retrieved 2010-09-20.
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- [166] Fabbri, Luigi. "Anarchism and Communism." *Northeastern Anarchist* #4. 1922. 13 October 2002. http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/anarchist_archives/worldwidemovements/fabbrianarandcom.html
- [167] Makhno, Mett, Arshinov, Valevski, Linski (Dielo Trouda). "The Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists". 1926. Constructive Section: available here <http://www.nestormakhno.info/english/platform/constructive.htm>

- [168] ""Chapter 41: The "Anarchists"" in "The Great French Revolution 1789–1793" by Peter Kropotkin". Theanarchistlibrary.org. 2009-02-28. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [169] Nunzio Pernicone, "Italian Anarchism 1864–1892", pp. 111–13, AK Press 2009.
- [170] Pengam, Alain. "Anarchist-Communism". The Anarchist Library. Retrieved 23 May 2014. While they were not opposed to strikes as such, they were opposed to trade unions and the struggle for the eight-hour day. This anti-reformist tendency was accompanied by an anti-organisational tendency, and its partisans declared themselves in favour of agitation amongst the unemployed for the expropriation of foodstuffs and other articles, for the expropriatory strike and, in some cases, for 'individual recuperation' or acts of terrorism.
- [171] Christopher Gray, *Leaving the Twentieth Century*, p. 88.
- [172] ""Towards the creative Nothing" by Renzo Novatore". Theanarchistlibrary.org. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [173] Post-left anarcho-communist Bob Black after analysing insurrectionary anarcho-communist Luigi Galleani's view on anarcho-communism went as far as saying that "communism is the final fulfillment of individualism.... The apparent contradiction between individualism and communism rests on a misunderstanding of both.... Subjectivity is also objective: the individual really is subjective. It is nonsense to speak of "emphatically prioritizing the social over the individual,"... You may as well speak of prioritizing the chicken over the egg. Anarchy is a "method of individualization." It aims to combine the greatest individual development with the greatest communal unity." Bob Black. *Nightmares of Reason*.
- [174] "Modern Communists are more individualistic than Stirner. To them, not merely religion, morality, family and State are spooks, but property also is no more than a spook, in whose name the individual is enslaved – and how enslaved!...Communism thus creates a basis for the liberty and Eigenheit of the individual. I am a Communist because I am an Individualist. Fully as heartily the Communists concur with Stirner when he puts the word take in place of demand – that leads to the dissolution of property, to expropriation. Individualism and Communism go hand in hand." Max Baginski. "Stirner: The Ego and His Own" on *Mother Earth*. Vol. 2. No. 3 May, 1907
- [175] "Communism is the one which guarantees the greatest amount of individual liberty – provided that the idea that begets the community be Liberty, Anarchy...Communism guarantees economic freedom better than any other form of association, because it can guarantee wellbeing, even luxury, in return for a few hours of work instead of a day's work." "Communism and Anarchy" by Peter Kropotkin
- [176] This other society will be libertarian communism, in which social solidarity and free individuality find their full expression, and in which these two ideas develop in perfect harmony. *Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists* by Dielo Truda (Workers' Cause)
- [177] "I see the dichotomies made between individualism and communism, individual revolt and class struggle, the struggle against human exploitation and the exploitation of nature as false dichotomies and feel that those who accept them are impoverishing their own critique and struggle." "My Perspectives" by Willful Disobedience Vol. 2, No. 12
- [178] "This process of education and class organization, more than any single factor in Spain, produced the collectives. And to the degree that the CNT-FAI (for the two organizations became fatally coupled after July 1936) exercised the major influence in an area, the collectives proved to be generally more durable, communist and resistant to Stalinist counterrevolution than other republican-held areas of Spain." Murray Bookchin. *To Remember Spain: The Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936*
- [179] Murray Bookchin. *To Remember Spain: The Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936*
- [180] "What do I mean by individualism? I mean by individualism the moral doctrine which, relying on no dogma, no tradition, no external determination, appeals only to the individual conscience." *Mini-Manual of Individualism* by Han Ryner
- [181] "I do not admit anything except the existence of the individual, as a condition of his sovereignty. To say that the sovereignty of the individual is conditioned by Liberty is simply another way of saying that it is conditioned by itself." "Anarchism and the State" in *Individual Liberty*
- [182] Palmer, Brian (2010-12-29) What do anarchists want from us?, *Slate.com*
- [183] William Bailie, "Archived copy" (PDF). Archived from the original (PDF) on February 4, 2012. Retrieved June 17, 2013. Josiah Warren: *The First American Anarchist – A Sociological Study*, Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1906, p. 20
- [184] ""Native American Anarchism: A Study of Left-Wing American Individualism" by Eunice Minette Schuster". Againstauthority.org. Archived from the original on February 14, 2016. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [185] "Benjamin Tucker: Capitalist or Anarchist" in *An Anarchist FAQ* by Various Authors
- [186] "The economic principles of Modern Socialism are a logical deduction from the principle laid down by Adam Smith in the early chapters of his "Wealth of Nations," – namely, that labor is the true measure of price...Half a century or more after Smith enunciated the principle above stated, Socialism picked it up where he had dropped it, and in following it to its logical conclusions, made it the basis of a new economic philosophy...This seems to have been done independently by three different men, of three different nationalities, in three different languages: Josiah Warren, an American; Pierre J. Proudhon, a Frenchman; Karl Marx, a German Jew...That the work of this interesting trio should have been done so nearly simultaneously would seem to indicate that Socialism was in the air, and that the time was ripe and the conditions favorable for the appearance of this new school of thought...So far as priority of time is concerned, the credit seems to belong to Warren, the American, – a fact which should be noted by the stump

- orators who are so fond of declaiming against Socialism as an imported article." Benjamin Tucker. *Individual Liberty*
- [187] "'Anarchist Individualism as a Life and Activity" by Emile Armand". Spaz.org. 2002-03-01. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [188] "el capitalismo es sólo el efecto del gobierno; desaparecido el gobierno, el capitalismo cae de su pedestal vertiginosamente.... Lo que llamamos capitalismo no es otra cosa que el producto del Estado, dentro del cual lo único que se cultiva es la ganancia, bien o mal habida. Luchar, pues, contra el capitalismo es tarea inútil, porque sea Capitalismo de Estado o Capitalismo de Empresa, mientras el Gobierno exista, existirá el capital que explota. La lucha, pero de conciencias, es contra el Estado." *Anarquismo* by Miguel Gimenez Igualada
- [189] "¿La propiedad? ¡Bah! No es problema. Porque cuando nadie trabaje para nadie, el acaparador de la riqueza desaparece, como ha de desaparecer el gobierno cuando nadie haga caso a los que aprendieron cuatro cosas en las universidades y por ese sólo hecho pretenden gobernar a los hombres. Porque si en la tierra de los ciegos el tuerto es rey, en donde todos ven y juzgan y disciernen, el rey estorba. Y de lo que se trata es de que no haya reyes porque todos sean hombres. Las grandes empresas industriales las transformarán los hombres en grandes asociaciones donde todos trabajen y disfruten del producto de su trabajo. Y de esos tan sencillos como hermosos problemas trata el anarquismo y al que lo cumple y vive es al que se le llama anarquista...El hincapié que sin cansancio debe hacer el anarquista es el de que nadie debe explotar a nadie, ningún hombre a ningún hombre, porque esa no-explotación llevaría consigo la limitación de la propiedad a las necesidades individuales." *Anarquismo* by Miguel Gimenez Igualada
- [190] "The most ambitious contribution to literary anarchism during the 1890s was undoubtedly Oscar Wilde *The Soul of Man under Socialism*. Wilde, as we have seen, declared himself an anarchist on at least one occasion during the 1890s, and he greatly admired Kropotkin, whom he had met. Later, in *De Profundis*, he described Kropotkin's life as one "of the most perfect lives I have come across in my own experience" and talked of him as "a man with a soul of that beautiful white Christ that seems coming out of Russia." But in *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*, which appeared in 1890, it is Godwin rather than Kropotkin whose influence seems dominant." George Woodcock. *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. 1962. (p. 447)
- [191] "The soul of man under Socialism by Oscar Wilde". Flag.blackened.net. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [192] George Woodcock. *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. 1962. (p. 447)
- [193] "The Soul of Man". Libcom.org. 2005-09-08. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [194] Sorel, Georges. 'Political Theorists in Context' Routledge (2004) p. 248
- [195] Rocker, Rudolf. 'Anarcho-Syndicalism: Theory and Practice' AK Press (2004) p. 73
- [196] "Outside and against this process of turning of Marxism into an ideology of domination, however, were various revolutionary tendencies which still drew on Marx's work to inform their struggles and which rejected both social-democratic and Marxist-Leninist versions of his theory. The most interesting of these, those that are relevant to my current purpose, have been those which insisted on the primacy of the self-activity and creativity of people in struggle against capitalism. Within the space of these tendencies there has developed a coherent critique of "orthodox Marxism" that includes not only a rejection of the concept of "the transition" but a reconceptualization of the process of transcending capitalism that has remarkable similarities to Kropotkin's thinking on this subject. ... Thus one of the earliest political tendencies within which this approach appeared after the Russian revolution of 1917 was that of "Council Communism" which saw the "workers councils" in Germany (see *Bavarian Soviet Republic*), or the soviets in Russia, as new organizational forms constructed by the people. As with the anarchists, they too saw the Bolshevik take-over of the soviets (like that of the trade unions) as subverting the revolution and beginning the restoration of domination and exploitation. ... Over the years this emphasis on working class autonomy has resulted in a reinterpretation of Marxist theory that has brought out the two-sided character of the class struggle and shifted the focus from capital (the preoccupation of orthodox Marxism) to the workers. ... As a result, not only has there been a recognition that capitalism seeks to subordinate everyone's life (from the traditional factory proletariat to peasants, housewives and students) but that all those peoples' struggles involve both the resistance to this subordination and the effort to construct alternative ways of being." Cleaver, Harry. "Kropotkin, Self-valorization And The Crisis Of Marxism." written for and presented to the Conference on Pyotr Alexeevich Kropotkin organized by the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Dimitrov on December 8–14, 1992.
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- [200] "The Retreat of Social Democracy ... Re-imposition of Work in Britain and the 'Social Europe'" "Aufheben" Issue #8 1999.
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- [208] *The Beginning of an Era* (part1, part 2) Situationist International #12, 1969
- [209] Karen Elliot (2001-06-01). "Situationism in a nutshell". Barbelith Webzine. Retrieved 2008-06-23.
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- [212] Bookchin, Murray (1998). *The Spanish Anarchists*. pp. 111–14
- [213] FERMÍN SALVOCHEA ÁLVAREZ, CGT. BIOGRAFÍAS (English translation), accessed April 2009
- [214] Jesus Ruiz. *Posibilismo libertario. Felix Morga, Alcalde de Najera (1891–1936)*. El Najerilla-Najera. 2003.
- [215] César M. Lorenzo. *Les Anarchistes espagnols et le pouvoir. 1868–1969*. Éditions du Seuil. 1969. p. 58.
- [216] Israël Renof, *Possibilisme libertaire, Noir et Rouge*, n°41, mai 1968, pp. 16–23, lire en ligne.
- [217] Thomas, Hugh (2001). *The Spanish Civil War*. London: Penguin Books. p. 458. ISBN 978-0-14-101161-5.
- [218] "Sí se ha aprobado por unanimidad, también a propuesta de Ciudadanos, dedicar una calle al anarquista Melchor Rodríguez García, el último alcalde de Madrid republicano, ante "el gran consenso social y político" al respecto y por "su gran relevancia para la reconciliación y la concordia tras la Guerra Civil". *El País*. Madrid sustituirá las calles franquistas por víctimas del terrorismo
- [219] Cédric Guérin. "Pensée et action des anarchistes en France : 1950–1970"
- [220] "Si la critique de la déviation autoritaire de la FA est le principal fait de ralliement, on peut ressentir dès le premier numéro un état d'esprit qui va longtemps coller à la peau des anarchistes français. Cet état d'esprit se caractérise ainsi sous une double forme : d'une part un rejet inconditionnel de l'ennemi marxiste, d'autre part des questions sur le rôle des anciens et de l'évolution idéologique de l'anarchisme. C'est Fernand Robert qui attaque le premier : "Le LIB est devenu un journal marxiste. En continuant à le soutenir, tout en reconnaissant qu'il ne nous plaît pas, vous faites une mauvaise action contre votre idéal anarchiste. Vous donnez la main à vos ennemis dans la pensée. Même si la FA disparaît, même si le LIB disparaît, l'anarchie y gagnera. Le marxisme ne représente plus rien. Il faut le mettre bas ; je pense la même chose des dirigeants actuels de la FA. L'ennemi se glisse partout." Cédric Guérin. "Pensée et action des anarchistes en France : 1950–1970"
- [221] John Quail, *The Slow-Burning Fuse* Paladin, 1978 ISBN 0-586-08225-5
- [222] "Rediscovering our libertarian roots" by Peter Hain
- [223] Hain, Peter (1995). *Ayes to the Left: A Future for Socialism*. Lawrence and Wishart. ISBN 978-0-85315-832-5.
- [224] Chris Smith said in 2005 that in recent years Cook had been setting out a vision of "libertarian, democratic socialism that was beginning to break the sometimes sterile boundaries of 'old' and 'New' Labour labels." "Chris Smith: The House of Commons was Robin Cook's true home – Commentators, Opinion – Independent.co.uk". London: Comment.independent.co.uk. 2005-08-08. Retrieved 2009-06-24.
- [225] "Following Isaiah Berlin, Halsema distinguishes between positive and negative freedom. Negative freedom is according to Halsema the freedom citizens from government influence; she applies this concept especially to the multicultural society and the rechtsstaat, where the government should protect the rights of citizens and not limit them. Positive freedom is the emancipation of citizens from poverty and discrimination. Halsema wants to apply this concept to welfare state and the environment where government should take more action. According to Halsema, GreenLeft is undogmatic party, that has anarchist tendencies." Halsema, Femke (2004), "Vrijzinnig Links", *De Helling*, **15** (2)
- [226] "Boric descarta apoyo a Bachelet en segunda vuelta: "Nuestra posición es de autonomía, pero de diálogo"". *El Dinamo*. Retrieved 20 November 2013.
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- [228] "Chile's young independents lead quiet revolution against politics-as-usual" by *The Guardian*
- [229] Heavey, Jerome F. (July 2003). "Comments on Warren Samuels' "Why the Georgist movement has not succeeded"". *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*. **62** (3): 593–99. doi:10.1111/1536-7150.00230. JSTOR 3487813. human beings have an inalienable right to the product of their own labor
- [230] *Land Value Taxation: An Applied Analysis*, William J. McCluskey, Riël C. D. Franzsen. Books.google.com. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
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- [237] info on the FAI <http://www.iisg.nl/archives/en/files/f/10748453.php>
- [238] Christoyannopoulos, pp. 2–4: “Locating Christian anarchism.... In political theology”
- [239] Christoyannopoulos, pp. 43–80: “The Sermon on the Mount: A manifesto for Christian anarchism”
- [240] Christoyannopoulos, Alexandre (12 March 2010). *A Christian Anarchist Critique of Violence: From Turning the Other Cheek to a Rejection of the State* (PDF). Evil, Law, and the State. Salzburg. Retrieved 23 May 2014.
- [241] Christoyannopoulos, pp. 19 and 208: “Leo Tolstoy”
- [242] Christoyannopoulos, p. 254: “The state as idolatry”
- [243] In the 1900 essay, “On Anarchy”, he wrote; “The Anarchists are right in everything; in the negation of the existing order, and in the assertion that, without Authority, there could not be worse violence than that of Authority under existing conditions. They are mistaken only in thinking that Anarchy can be instituted by a revolution. But it will be instituted only by there being more and more people who do not require the protection of governmental power ... There can be only one permanent revolution – a moral one: the regeneration of the inner man.” Despite his misgivings about anarchist violence, Tolstoy took risks to circulate the prohibited publications of anarchist thinkers in Russia, and corrected the proofs of Kropotkin’s “Words of a Rebel”, illegally published in St Petersburg in 1906. *Peter Kropotkin: from prince to rebel*. G Woodcock, I Avakumović. 1990.
- [244] Otterman, Sharon (2012-11-26) In Hero of the Catholic Left, a Conservative Cardinal Sees a Saint, *New York Times*
- [245] Day, Dorothy. *On Pilgrimage - May 1974* Archived October 7, 2012, at the Wayback Machine., “There was no time to answer the one great disagreement which was in their minds – how can you reconcile your Faith in the monolithic, authoritarian Church which seems so far from Jesus who “had no place to lay his head,” and who said “sell what you have and give to the poor,” – with your anarchism? Because I have been behind bars in police stations, houses of detention, jails and prison farms, whatsoever they are called, eleven times, and have refused to pay Federal income taxes and have never voted, they accept me as an anarchist. And I in turn, can see Christ in them even though they deny Him, because they are giving themselves to working for a better social order for the wretched of the earth.”
- [246] *Anarchist FAQ - A.3.7 Are there religious anarchists?* Archived November 23, 2010, at the Wayback Machine., “Tolstoy’s ideas had a strong influence on Gandhi, who inspired his fellow country people to use non-violent resistance to kick Britain out of India. Moreover, Gandhi’s vision of a free India as a federation of peasant communes is similar to Tolstoy’s anarchist vision of a free society (although we must stress that Gandhi was not an anarchist). The Catholic Worker Group in the United States was also heavily influenced by Tolstoy (and Proudhon), as was Dorothy Day a staunch Christian pacifist and anarchist who founded it in 1933.”
- [247] Reid, Stuart (2008-09-08) Day by the Pool, *The American Conservative*
- [248] Day, Dorothy. *On Pilgrimage – February 1974* Archived October 6, 2012, at the Wayback Machine., “The blurb on the back of the book Small Is Beautiful lists fellow spokesmen for the ideas expressed, including “Alex Comfort, Paul Goodman and Murray Bookchin. It is the tradition we might call anarchism.” We ourselves have never hesitated to use the word.”
- [249] “US bishops endorse sainthood cause of Catholic Worker’s Dorothy Day”. *Catholic New Service*. November 13, 2012. Retrieved December 1, 2012.
- [250] Day, Dorothy (February 1970). “Ammon Hennacy: ‘Non-Church’ Christian”. *The Catholic Worker*.
- [251] Kumarappa, Joseph Cornelius (1951). *Gandhian economic thought*. Library of Indian economics (1st ed.). Bombay, India: Vora. OCLC 3529600. Retrieved 7 August 2009.
- [252] In 1908 Leo Tolstoy wrote *A Letter to a Hindu*, which said that only by using love as a weapon through passive resistance could the Indian people overthrow colonial rule. In 1909, Gandhi wrote to Tolstoy seeking advice and permission to republish *A Letter to a Hindu* in Gujarati. Tolstoy responded and the two continued a correspondence until Tolstoy’s death in 1910. The letters concern practical and theological applications of non-violence. Murthy, B. Srinivasa, ed. (1987). *Mahatma Gandhi and Leo Tolstoy: Letters* (PDF). Long Beach, California: Long Beach Publications. ISBN 0-941910-03-2. Retrieved 14 January 2012.
- [253] Bidyut Chakrabarty, “Jawaharlal Nehru and Planning, 1938–1941: India at the Crossroads”, *Modern Asian Studies* (March 1992) 26#2 pp. 275–87
- [254] Kuruvila Pandikattu (2001). *Gandhi: the meaning of Mahatma for the millennium*. CRVP. p. 237. ISBN 978-1-56518-156-4.
- [255] Snow, Edgar. *The Message of Gandhi*. 27 September March 1948. “Like Marx, Gandhi hated the state and wished to eliminate it, and he told me he considered himself ‘a philosophical anarchist.’”
- [256] Jesudasan, Ignatius. *A Gandhian theology of liberation*. Gujarat Sahitya Prakash: Ananda India, 1987, pp. 236–37
- [257] Bidyut Chakrabarty (2006). *Social and political thought of Mahatma Gandhi*. Routledge. p. 138. ISBN 978-0-415-36096-8. Retrieved 25 January 2012.
- [258] Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand; Tolstoy, Leo (September 1987). B. Srinivasa Murthy, ed. *Mahatma Gandhi and Leo Tolstoy letters*. Long Beach Publications.

- [259] "Gandhi's ideas were popularised in the West in books such as Richard Gregg's *The Power of Nonviolence* (1935), (34) and Bart de Ligt's *The Conquest of Violence* (1937)." Geoffrey Ostergaard. *Resisting the Nation State. The pacifist and anarchist tradition*
- [260] *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* by George Woodcock
- [261] Dielo Trouda group (2006) [1926]. *Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)*. Italy: FdCA. Retrieved 2006-10-24.
- [262] Kellner, Douglas. "Herbert Marcuse". *Illuminations*. University of Texas at Arlington. Retrieved 23 May 2014. During the 1960s, Marcuse achieved world renown as "the guru of the New Left," publishing many articles and giving lectures and advice to student radicals all over the world. He travelled widely and his work was often discussed in the mass media, becoming one of the few American intellectuals to gain such attention. Never surrendering his revolutionary vision and commitments, Marcuse continued to his death to defend the Marxian theory and libertarian socialism.
- [263] Robin Hahnel, *Economic Justice and Democracy: From Competition to Cooperation Part II* ISBN 0-415-93344-7
- [264] . As such "In the forties and fifties, anarchism, in fact if not in name, began to reappear, often in alliance with pacifism, as the basis for a critique of militarism on both sides of the Cold War. The anarchist/pacifist wing of the peace movement was small in comparison with the wing of the movement that emphasized electoral work, but made an important contribution to the movement as a whole. Where the more conventional wing of the peace movement rejected militarism and war under all but the most dire circumstances, the anarchist/pacifist wing rejected these on principle." "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement" by Barbara Epstein "In the 1950s and 1960s anarcho-pacifism began to gel, tough-minded anarchists adding to the mixture their critique of the state, and tender-minded pacifists their critique of violence. Its first practical manifestation was at the level of method: nonviolent direct action, principled and pragmatic, was used widely in both the Civil Rights movement in the USA and the campaign against nuclear weapons in Britain and elsewhere." Geoffrey Ostergaard. *Resisting the Nation State. The pacifist and anarchist tradition* as can be seen in the activism and writings of the English anarchist member of Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Alex Comfort or the similar activism of the American catholic anarcho-pacifists Ammon Hennacy and Dorothy Day. Anarcho-pacifism became a "basis for a critique of militarism on both sides of the Cold War." "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement" by Barbara Epstein
- [265] See Baker A J "Sydney Libertarianism and the Push" or at "Sydney Libertarians and the Push" on Prof. W L Morrison memorial site
- [266] The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy. Inclusive democracy.org. Retrieved on 2011-12-28.
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- [270] Gail Dolgin; Vicente Franco (2007). *American Experience: The Summer of Love*. PBS. Retrieved 2007-04-23.
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- [272] Abbie Hoffman, Soon to be a Major Motion Picture, p. 128. Perigee Books, 1980.
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- [274] "1969: Height of the Hippies". Abcnews.go.com. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [275] Bookchin, Murray (1994). *The Philosophy of Social Ecology: Essays on Dialectical Naturalism*. Black Rose Books. pp. 119–20. ISBN 978-1-55164-018-1.
- [276] Arran Gare, "Beyond Social Democracy? Takis Fotopoulos' Vision of an Inclusive Democracy as a New Liberatory Project" *Democracy & Nature*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (November 2003), pp. 345–58(14)
- [277] David Freeman, "Inclusive democracy and its prospects" review of book *Towards An Inclusive Democracy: The Crisis of the Growth Economy and the Need For a New Liberatory Project*, published in *Thesis Eleven*, Sage Publications, no. 69 (May 2002), pp. 103–06.
- [278] Takis Fotopoulos, *Towards an Inclusive Democracy: the crisis of the growth economy and the need for a new liberatory project*, (London & NY: Cassell, 1997), p. 255.
- [279] "Say you want an insurrection" by Crimethinc
- [280] ""Anarchism, insurrections and insurrectionalism" by Joe Black". Ainfos.ca. 19 July 2006. Archived from the original on 6 December 2010. Retrieved 20 September 2010.
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- [284] "Morgan Rodgers Gibson (2010) 'Anarchism, the State and the Praxis of Contemporary Antisystemic Social Movements, December, 2010". Abahlali.org. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [285] "The Zapatista Effect: Information Communication Technology Activism and Marginalized Communities "

- [286] "The Zapatista's Return: A Masked Marxist on the Stump"
- [287] Chartier, Gary; Johnson, Charles W. (2011). *Markets Not Capitalism: Individualist Anarchism Against Bosses, Inequality, Corporate Power, and Structural Poverty*. Brooklyn, NY:Minor Compositions/Autonomedia
- [288] "It introduces an eye-opening approach to radical social thought, rooted equally in libertarian socialism and market anarchism." Chartier, Gary; Johnson, Charles W. (2011). *Markets Not Capitalism: Individualist Anarchism Against Bosses, Inequality, Corporate Power, and Structural Poverty*. Brooklyn, NY:Minor Compositions/Autonomedia. p. Back cover
- [289] "But there has always been a market-oriented strand of libertarian socialism that emphasizes voluntary cooperation between producers. And markets, properly understood, have always been about cooperation. As a commenter at Reason magazine's Hit&Run blog, remarking on Jesse Walker's link to the Kelly article, put it: "every trade is a cooperative act." In fact, it's a fairly common observation among market anarchists that genuinely free markets have the most legitimate claim to the label "socialism."" "Socialism: A Perfectly Good Word Rehabilitated" by Kevin Carson at website of Center for a Stateless Society
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- [296] Konkin III, Samuel Edward. *The New Libertarian Manifesto*.
- [297] Richman, Sheldon (23 June 2010). "Why Left-Libertarian?" *The Freeman*. Foundation for Economic Education.
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- [302] Gillis, William (2011). "The Freed Market." In Chartier, Gary and Johnson, Charles. *Markets Not Capitalism*. Brooklyn, NY:Minor Compositions/Autonomedia. pp. 19–20.
- [303] Chartier, Gary; Johnson, Charles W. (2011). *Markets Not Capitalism: Individualist Anarchism Against Bosses, Inequality, Corporate Power, and Structural Poverty*. Brooklyn, NY:Minor Compositions/Autonomedia. pp. 1–16.
- [304] Gary Chartier and Charles W. Johnson (eds). *Markets Not Capitalism: Individualist Anarchism Against Bosses, Inequality, Corporate Power, and Structural Poverty*. Minor Compositions; 1st edition (November 5, 2011)
- [305] Writing before the rise of the Carson–Long school of left-libertarianism, historian of American anarchism David DeLeon was disinclined to treat any market-oriented variant of libertarianism as leftist; see DeLeon, David (1978). *The American as Anarchist: Reflections on Indigenous Radicalism*. Baltimore, MD:Johns Hopkins University Press. p. 123.
- [306] Gary Chartier has joined Kevin Carson, Charles Johnson, and others (echoing the language of Benjamin Tucker and Thomas Hodgskin) in maintaining that, because of its heritage and its emancipatory goals and potential, radical market anarchism should be seen – by its proponents and by others – as part of the socialist tradition, and that market anarchists can and should call themselves "socialists." See Gary Chartier, "Advocates of Freed Markets Should Oppose Capitalism," "Free-Market Anti-Capitalism?" session, annual conference, Association of Private Enterprise Education (Caesar's Palace, Las Vegas, NV, April 13, 2010); Gary Chartier, "Advocates of Freed Markets Should Embrace 'Anti-Capitalism'"; Gary Chartier, *Socialist Ends, Market Means: Five Essays*. Cp. Tucker, "Socialism."
- [307] Chris Sciabarra is the only scholar associated with this school of left-libertarianism who is skeptical about anarchism; see Sciabarra's *Total Freedom*
- [308] Peter Vallentyne and Hillel Steiner. *The origins of Left Libertarianism*. Palgrave. 2000
- [309] Long, Roderick T. (2006). "Rothbard's 'Left and Right': Forty Years Later." Rothbard Memorial Lecture, Austrian Scholars Conference.
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- [313] Benjamin Noys (ed). *Communization and its Discontents: Contestation, Critique, and Contemporary Struggles*. Minor Compositions, Autonomedia. 2011. 1st ed.
- [314] "A World Without Money" by Les amis de 4 millions de jeunes travailleurs. (Quoted passage not included in this English extract.)
- [315] "The text surveys the Italian and German lefts, Socialisme Ou Barbarie and the Situationist International and describes the theoretical development of the French ultra-left." "Re-collecting our past – La Banquise
- [316] "As we apprehend it, the process of instituting communism can only take the form of a collection of acts of *communisation*, of making common such-and-such space, such-and-such machine, such-and-such knowledge. That is to say, the elaboration of the mode of sharing that attaches to them. Insurrection itself is just an accelerator, a decisive moment in this process." Anonymous, *Call*
- [317] For a critique of Tiqqun from an ultra-left perspective, as well as a description of the opposition between the two sense of "communization" see "Reflexions Around Call" Letters Journal #3. See also Dauvé and Nesic, "Un Appel et une Invite".
- [318] See e.g. "After the Fall: Communiqués from Occupied California"
- [319] Öcalan, Abdullah. "Democratic Confederalism. Transmedia Publishing Ltd., 2011. p. 21.
- [320] "Anarchists vs. ISIS: The Revolution in Syria Nobody's Talking About". Retrieved 29 November 2015.
- [321] Öcalan, Abdullah. "Democratic Confederalism. Transmedia Publishing Ltd., 2011. pp. 26–27.
- [322] Thomas 1985, p. 4
- [323] John Patten (1968-10-28). ""These groups had their roots in the anarchist resurgence of the nineteen sixties. Young militants finding their way to anarchism, often from the anti-bomb and anti-Vietnam war movements, linked up with an earlier generation of activists, largely outside the ossified structures of 'official' anarchism. Anarchist tactics embraced demonstrations, direct action such as industrial militancy and squatting, protest bombings like those of the First of May Group and Angry Brigade – and a spree of publishing activity." "Islands of Anarchy: Simian, Cienfuegos, Refract and their support network" by John Patten". Katesharpleylibrary.net. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [324] "Farrell provides a detailed history of the Catholic Workers and their founders Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin. He explains that their pacifism, anarchism, and commitment to the downtrodden were one of the important models and inspirations for the 60s. As Farrell puts it, "Catholic Workers identified the issues of the sixties before the Sixties began, and they offered models of protest long before the protest decade." "The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism" by James J. Farrell
- [325] "While not always formally recognized, much of the protest of the sixties was anarchist. Within the nascent women's movement, anarchist principles became so widespread that a political science professor denounced what she saw as "The Tyranny of Structurelessness." Several groups have called themselves "Amazon Anarchists." After the Stonewall Rebellion, the New York Gay Liberation Front based their organization in part on a reading of Murray Bookchin's anarchist writings." "Anarchism" by Charley Shively in *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. p. 52
- [326] "Within the movements of the sixties there was much more receptivity to anarchism-in-fact than had existed in the movements of the thirties...But the movements of the sixties were driven by concerns that were more compatible with an expressive style of politics, with hostility to authority in general and state power in particular...By the late sixties, political protest was intertwined with cultural radicalism based on a critique of all authority and all hierarchies of power. Anarchism circulated within the movement along with other radical ideologies. The influence of anarchism was strongest among radical feminists, in the commune movement, and probably in the Weather Underground and elsewhere in the violent fringe of the anti-war movement." "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement" by Barbara Epstein
- [327] London Federation of Anarchists involvement in Carrara conference, 1968 International Institute of Social History, Accessed 19 January 2010
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- [331] *Infinitely Demanding* by Simon Critchley. Verso. 2007. p. 125
- [332] Chamsy el-Ojeili. *Beyond post-socialism. Dialogues with the far-left*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2015. p. 7
- [333] Carley, Mark "Trade union membership 1993–2003" (International:SPIRE Associates 2004).

- [334] <http://www.cnt-ait-fr.org/CNT-AIT/ACCUEIL.html> Website of the Confédération Nationale du Travail – Association Internationale des Travailleurs
- [335] “If any radical left tendency has been responsible for inspiring action, the palm should go to Marxism’s historic antagonist on the Left – anarchism. Wherever movements have been provoked against neoliberalism, black flags have tended to outnumber red. Autonomista and other kinds of left-libertarian thought were major currents running through movements in Greece and Spain. The cornerstone for the occupation of Zuccotti Park was laid by anarchists, who also developed the consensus procedures by which the movement participants made (or occasionally failed to make) decisions.” “Cheerleaders for Anarchism” by Nikil Saval in *Dissent magazine*
- [336] In November 2011, *Rolling Stone* magazine credited American anarchist David Graeber with giving the Occupy Wall Street movement its theme: “We are the 99 percent”. *Rolling Stone* says Graeber helped create the first New York City General Assembly, with only 60 participants, on August 2. Sharlet, Jeff (10 November 2011). “Inside Occupy Wall Street: How a bunch of anarchists and radicals with nothing but sleeping bags launched a nationwide movement”. *Rolling Stone*. Retrieved 4 December 2011.
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- *The Anarchist Reader*, George Woodcock (ed.) (Fontana/Collins 1977; ISBN 0-00-634011-3): An anthology of writings from anarchist thinkers and activists including Proudhon, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Malatesta, Bookchin, Goldman, and many others.
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- The International Communist Current, itself a Left Communist grouping, has produced a series of studies of what it views as its own antecedents. The book on the German-Dutch current, which is by Philippe Bourrinet (who later left the ICC), in particular contains an exhaustive bibliography.
 - *The Italian Communist Left 1926–1945* ISBN 1897980132
 - *The Dutch-German Communist Left* ISBN 1899438378

- *The Russian Communist Left, 1918–1930* ISBN 1897980108
- *The British Communist Left, 1914–1945* ISBN 1897980116

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0.1.9 External links

Libertarian socialist general resources

- [Le Monde Libertaire](#) Transcription of the first known publication to declare itself 'Libertarian' and socialist, in 1858 edited by Joseph Déjacque.
- [libcom.org](#) the home of Libertarian Communism in Britain
 - [A libertarian Marxist tendency map](#)
- [Libertarian Socialist Alliance – International Global Network of Libertarian Socialist Organizations](#)
- [A People's Libertarian Index](#)
- [Libertarian socialism](#)
- [Collective Action Notes](#) is a libertarian socialist publication whose website hosts an extensive collection of online anti-authoritarian texts. (link dead) [Archived version at the Wayback Machine](#) (archive index).
- [Anarchism and the left](#)
- [Infoshop's libertarian Marxism and libertarian socialism portal](#)
- [Left Communism collection on the Marxists Internet Archive](#)
- [The Anarchist Library](#) large online library with texts from anarchist authors
- [For Communism – John Gray WebSite](#): large online library of libertarian communist texts

Introductory articles

- [“Libertarian Socialism” by spunk.org](#)
- [“Libertarian socialism: a practical outline” \(1959\) by Gaston Leval](#)
- [“What is Libertarian Socialism?” by Ulli Diemer](#)
- [“Libertarian Marxism's Relation to Anarchism” by Wayne Price](#)

- “Libertarian Socialism: A Better Reconciliation Between Self-Ownership and Equality” by Nicholas Vrousalis
- “Libertarian Socialism” by Tom McLaughlin
- “The End of Traditional Antisystemic Movements and the Need for a New Type of Antisystemic Movements Today” by Takis Fotopoulos, *Democracy & Nature*, Vol. 7, no. 3, 2001.
- “Kropotkin, Self-valorization And The Crisis Of Marxism.” by Harry Cleaver. Written for and presented to the Conference on Pyotr Alexeevich Kropotkin organized by the Russian Academy of Science in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Dimitrov on December 8–14, 1992
- “How a Libertarian Capitalist Became a Libertarian Socialist” by Chris Wilson
- “Rediscovering our libertarian roots” by Peter Hain
- “The Crisis of Dialectical Materialism and Libertarian Socialism” by Mario Cutajar

Libertarian socialist websites

- The Red Menace Archive of The Red Menace, published by the Libertarian Socialist Collective
- Workers Solidarity Movement
- Industrial Workers of the World
- Professor Roger McCain’s libertarian socialist economics page
- Social Ecology London, English libertarian socialist study/action group
- TURNUSOL, A Libertarian Socialist Internet Periodical, Turkey
- Liberty & Solidarity
- “An Anarchist FAQ Webpage” –An Anarchist FAQ
-
- Anarchism on *In Our Time* at the BBC. (listen now)
- Anarchism: A Bibliography
- Anarchy Archives – information relating to famous anarchists including their writings (see Anarchy Archives).
- Daily Bleed’s Anarchist Encyclopedia –700+ entries, with short biographies, links and dedicated pages
- KateSharpleyLibrary.net –website of the Kate Sharpley Library, containing many historical documents pertaining to anarchism

Libertarian socialist history

- “Socialism from below” by George Woodcock
- Anarchism and the Russian revolution
- The Bolshevik Counter-Revolution against the workers and popular soviet/council power was done with party dictatorship and massacre on the Kronstadt soviet in March 1921.
- Anarchist timeline includes libertarian socialists
- Anarchist Encyclopedia (from the Daily Bleed) includes libertarian socialists

Film

See List of films dealing with Anarchism for a list of non-fiction and fiction films dealing with anarchist movements both historical and contemporary.

- Noam Chomsky Discussion with Libertarian Socialists, Ireland 2006

0.2 Left-libertarianism

Left-libertarianism (or **left-wing libertarianism**) names several related but distinct approaches to political and social theory, which stresses both individual freedom and social equality. In its classical usage, *left-libertarianism* is a synonym for anti-authoritarian varieties of left-wing politics, either anarchism in general or social anarchism in particular.^{[1][2]} It later became associated with free-market libertarians when Murray Rothbard and Karl Hess reached out to the New Left in the 1960s.^[3] This left-wing market anarchism, which includes Pierre-Joseph Proudhon’s mutualism and Samuel Edward Konkin III’s agorism, appeals to left-wing concerns such as egalitarianism, gender and sexuality, class, immigration, and environmentalism.^[1]

Most recently some have claimed *left-libertarianism* refers to mostly non-anarchist political positions associated with Hillel Steiner, Philippe Van Parijs, and Peter Vallentyne that combine self-ownership with an egalitarian approach to natural resources.^[4]

Left-libertarians state that neither claiming nor mixing one’s labor with natural resources is enough to generate full private property rights^{[5][6]} and maintain that natural resources (land, oil, gold, vegetation) should be held in an egalitarian manner, either unowned or owned collectively. Those left-libertarians who support private property do so under the condition that recompense is offered to the local community.^[6]

0.2.1 Definition

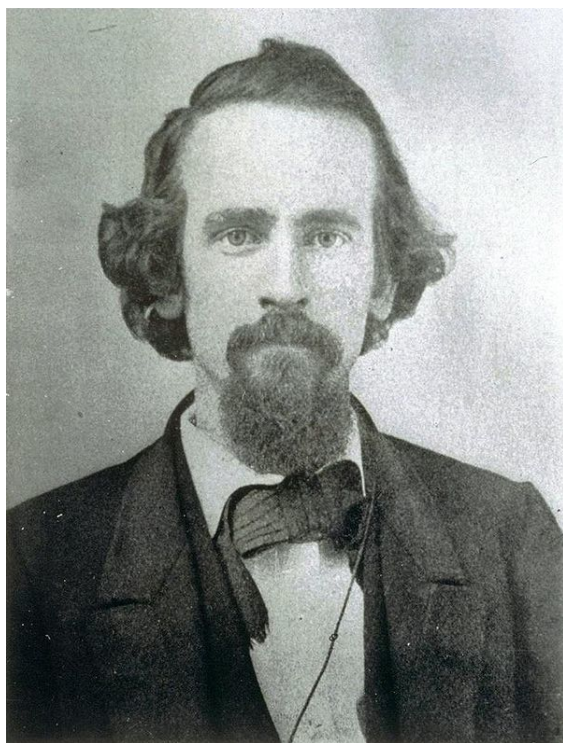
The term left-libertarian has been used to refer to a variety of different political-economic philosophies, emphasizing individual liberty. A related concept is **libertarian socialism**. According to Gaus,^[1]

The term “left-libertanism” has at least three meanings. In its oldest sense, it is a synonym either for anarchism in general or social anarchism in particular. Later it became a term for the left or Konkinite wing of the free-market libertarian movement, and has since come to cover a range of pro-market but anti-capitalist positions, mostly individualist anarchist, including agorism and mutualism, often with an implication of sympathies (such as for radical feminism or the labor movement) not usually shared by anarcho-capitalists. In a third sense it has recently come to be applied to a position combining individual self-ownership with an egalitarian approach to natural resources; most proponents of this position are not anarchists.

0.2.2 Classical liberal radicalism

See also: **Georgism** and **Geolibertarianism**

Contemporary left-libertarian scholars such as Hillel



Henry George proposed the abolition of all taxes except those on land value.

Steiner, Peter Vallentyne, Philippe Van Parijs, Michael

Otsuka, and David Ellerman root an economic egalitarianism in the **classical liberal** concepts of **self-ownership** and **appropriation**. They hold that it is illegitimate for anyone to claim private ownership of **natural resources** to the detriment of others, a condition **John Locke** explicated in *Two Treatises of Government*.^[7] Locke argued that natural resources could be appropriated as long as doing so satisfies the **proviso** that there remains “enough, and as good, left in common for others.”^[8] In this view, unappropriated natural resources are either unowned or owned in common, and private appropriation is only legitimate if everyone can appropriate an equal amount or the property is taxed to compensate those who are excluded. This position is articulated in contrast to the position of **other libertarians** who argue for a characteristically labor-based right to appropriate unequal parts of the external world, such as **land**.^[9] Most left-libertarians of this tradition support some form of **economic rent** redistribution on the grounds that each individual is entitled to an equal share of natural resources,^[10] and argue for the desirability of state **social welfare** programs.^{[11][12]}

Economists since **Adam Smith** have known that, unlike other forms of taxation, a **land value tax** would not cause economic inefficiency.^[13] It would be a **progressive tax**^[14] – that is, a tax paid primarily by the wealthy – that increases wages, reduces **economic inequality**, removes incentives to misuse real estate, and reduces the vulnerability that economies face from credit and property bubbles.^{[15][16]} Early proponents of this view include **Thomas Paine**, **Herbert Spencer**, and **Hugo Grotius**,^[4] but the concept was widely popularized by the political economist and social reformer **Henry George**.^[17] George believed that people ought to own the fruits of their labor and the value of the improvements they make. Thus, he was opposed to **tariffs**, **income taxes**, **sales taxes**, **poll taxes**, **property taxes** (on improvements), and to any tax on production, consumption, or capital wealth. George was among the staunchest defenders of **free markets**, and his book *Protection or Free Trade* was read into the U.S. Congressional Record.^[18] Yet he did support direct management of **natural monopolies** as a last resort, such as right-of-way monopolies necessary for railroad construction. George advocated the elimination of **intellectual property** arrangements, regarding them as an especially damaging form of **protectionism**, and instead favored government-sponsored prizes for inventors.^[19]

Early followers of George’s philosophy called themselves “**Single Taxers**” because they believed the only economically and morally legitimate, broad-based tax is on land rent. The term *Georgism* was coined later, though some modern proponents prefer the less eponymous term *geoism* instead,^[20] leaving the meaning of *geo-* (from the Greek *ge*, meaning “earth”) deliberately ambiguous. The terms *Earth Sharing*,^[21] *geonomics*,^[22] and *geolibertarianism*^[23] are used by some Georgists to represent a difference of emphasis or divergent ideas about how the land value tax revenue should be spent or re-

distributed to residents, but all agree that economic rent must be recovered from private landholders.

Oxford University Marxist philosopher G. A. Cohen extensively criticized the claim, characteristic of the Georgist school of political economy, that self-ownership and a privilege-free society can be realized simultaneously. In *Self-Ownership, Freedom, and Equality*, Cohen argued that any system purporting to take equality and its enforcement seriously is not consistent with the full emphasis on self-ownership and **negative freedom** that defines market libertarian thought.^[24]

0.2.3 Anarchism

Main article: **Anarchism**

Anarchism is a political philosophy that advocates



Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the first self-described anarchist

stateless societies characterized by self-governed, non-hierarchical, voluntary institutions. It developed in the 19th century from the secular or religious thought of the Enlightenment, particularly Jean-Jacques Rousseau's arguments for the moral centrality of freedom.^[25]

As part of the political turmoil of the 1790s, in the wake of the French Revolution, William Godwin developed the first expression of modern anarchist thought.^{[26][27]} According to anarchist Peter Kropotkin, Godwin was "the first to formulate the political and economical conceptions of anarchism, even though he did not give that name to the ideas developed in his work";^[28] Godwin instead attached his ideas to an early Edmund Burke.^[29] Godwin is generally regarded as the founder of philosophical anarchism. He argued in *Political Justice* that government has an inherently malevolent influence on society, and that it perpetuates dependency and ignorance.^{[27][30]} He thought the proliferation of reason would eventually cause government to wither away as an unnecessary force. Although he did not accord the state with moral legitimacy, he was against the use of revolutionary tactics for removing the government from power. Rather, he advocated for its replacement through a process of peaceful evolution.^{[27][31]} His aversion to the imposition of a

rules-based society led him to denounce, as a manifestation of the people's "mental enslavement," the foundations of law, **property rights** and even the institution of marriage. He considered the basic foundations of society as constraining the natural development of individuals to use their powers of reasoning to arrive at a mutually beneficial method of social organization. In each case, government and its institutions are shown to constrain the development of our capacity to live wholly in accordance with the full and free exercise of private judgment.

In France, revolutionaries began using the term *anarchiste* in a positive light as early as September 1793.^[32] Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was the first self-proclaimed anarchist, a label he adopted in his treatise *What is Property?*, and is often described as the founder of modern anarchist theory.^[33] He developed the theory of **spontaneous order** in society, in which organisation emerges without a central coordinator imposing its own idea of order against the wills of individuals acting in their own interests – "Liberty is the mother, not the daughter, of order." Proudhon answers his own question in *What is Property?* with the famous statement, "**Property is theft.**" He opposed the institution of decreed property ("propriety") in which owners have complete rights to "use and abuse" their property as they wish,^[34] and contrasted this with **usufruct** ("possession"), or limited ownership of resources only while in more or less continuous use. Later, Proudhon added that "Property is Liberty," and argued that it was a bulwark against state power.^[35] His opposition to the state, organized religion, and certain capitalist practices inspired subsequent anarchists, and made him one of the leading social thinkers of his time.

In a scathing letter written in 1857, French anarchist Joseph Déjacque castigated Proudhon for his **sexist** economic and political views.^{[36][37]} He argued that "it is not the product of his or her labour that the worker has a right to, but to the satisfaction of his or her needs, whatever may be their nature."^[38] Déjacque later named his anarchist publication *The Libertarian: Journal of the Social Movement*, which was printed from 9 June 1858 to 4 February 1861. In the mid-1890s, Sébastien Faure began publishing a new *Le Libertaire* while France's Third Republic enacted the "villainous laws" (*lois scélérates*), which banned anarchist publications in France; **libertarianism** has frequently been used as a synonym for *anarchism* since this time, especially in continental Europe.^{[39][40][41]} In the 1950s, **classical liberals** in the United States began identifying as libertarians in order to distance themselves from the **social liberals** of the New Left.^[42] Since this time, it has become useful to distinguish this modern American libertarianism, which promotes *laissez-faire* **capitalism** and, generally, a **night-watchman state**, from traditional, left-wing anarchism.^{[43][44]} Accordingly, the former is often described as **right-wing libertarianism** or simply **right-libertarianism**, while synonyms for the latter include *left-libertarianism*,^[1] *libertarian socialism*,^[45] *socialist anar-*

chism,^[1] and left-anarchism.^[46]



The 17 August 1860 edition of *Le Libertaire*: Journal du Mouvement Social, a *libertarian communist* publication in New York City.

Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first US anarchist,^{[47][48]} and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833, *The Peaceful Revolutionist*, was the first anarchist periodical published,^[49] an enterprise for which he built his own printing press, cast his own type, and made his own printing plates.^[49] Warren was a follower of Robert Owen and joined Owen's community at New Harmony, Indiana. Josiah Warren termed the phrase "Cost the limit of price," with "cost" referring not to monetary price paid but the labor one exerted to produce an item.^[50] Therefore, "[h]e proposed a system to pay people with certificates indicating how many hours of work they did. They could exchange the notes at local time stores for goods that took the same amount of time to produce."^[47] He put his theories to the test by establishing an experimental "labor for labor store" called the Cincinnati Time Store where trade was facilitated by notes backed by a promise to perform labor. The store proved successful and operated for three years after which it was closed so that Warren could pursue establishing colonies based on mutualism. These included Utopia and Modern Times. Warren said that Stephen Pearl Andrews' *The Science of Society*, published in 1852, was the most lucid and complete exposition of Warren's own theories.^[51] American individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker argued that the elimination of what

he called "the four monopolies" – the land monopoly, the money and banking monopoly, the monopoly powers conferred by patents, and the quasi-monopolistic effects of tariffs – would undermine the power of the wealthy and big business, making possible widespread property ownership and higher incomes for ordinary people, while minimizing the power of would-be bosses and achieving socialist goals without state action. Tucker influenced and interacted with anarchist contemporaries – including Lysander Spooner, Voltairine de Cleyre, Dyer D. Lum, and William B. Greene – who have in various ways influenced later left-libertarian thinking.^[52]

The catalan politician Francesc Pi i Margall became the principal translator of Proudhon's works into Spanish^[53] and later briefly became president of Spain in 1873 while being the leader of the Democratic Republican Federal Party. For prominent anarcho-syndicalist Rudolf Rocker: "The first movement of the Spanish workers was strongly influenced by the ideas of Pi y Margall, leader of the Spanish Federalists and disciple of Proudhon. Pi y Margall was one of the outstanding theorists of his time and had a powerful influence on the development of libertarian ideas in Spain. His political ideas had much in common with those of Richard Price, Joseph Priestly (sic), Thomas Paine, Jefferson, and other representatives of the Anglo-American liberalism of the first period. He wanted to limit the power of the state to a minimum and gradually replace it by a Socialist economic order."^[54] Pi i Margall was a dedicated theorist in his own right, especially through book-length works such as *La reacción y la revolución* (en:"Reaction and revolution" from 1855), *Las nacionalidades* (en:"Nationalities" from 1877), and *La Federación* from 1880.

0.2.4 Libertarian socialism

Main article: Libertarian socialism

Libertarian socialism (sometimes called social anarchism,^{[55][56]} left-libertarianism^{[57][58]} and socialist libertarianism^[59]) is a group of anti-authoritarian^[60] political philosophies inside the socialist movement that rejects socialism as centralized state ownership and control of the economy,^[61] as well as the state itself.^[62] It criticizes wage labour relationships within the workplace,^[63] instead emphasizing workers' self-management of the workplace^[62] and decentralized structures of political organization,^{[64][65][66]} asserting that a society based on freedom and justice can be achieved through abolishing authoritarian institutions that control certain means of production and subordinate the majority to an owning class or political and economic elite.^[67] Libertarian socialists advocate for decentralized structures based on direct democracy and federal or confederal associations^[68] such as libertarian municipalism, citizens' assemblies, trade unions, and workers' councils.^{[69][70]} All of this is generally done within a general call



Noam Chomsky, a noted left-libertarian of the libertarian socialist school



*American individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker, known for his libertarian journal, *Liberty**

for libertarian^[71] and voluntary human relationships^[72] through the identification, criticism, and practical dismantling of illegitimate authority in all aspects of human life.^{[73][74][75][76][77][78][79][80]}

Past and present political philosophies and movements commonly described as libertarian socialist include anarchism (especially anarchist communism, anarchist collectivism, anarcho-syndicalism,^[81] and mutualism^[82]) as well as autonomism, communalism, participism, guild socialism,^[83] revolutionary syndicalism, and libertarian Marxist^[84] philosophies such as council communism^[85] and Luxemburgism;^[86] as well as some versions of "utopian socialism"^[87] and individualist anarchism.^{[88][89][90][91]}

0.2.5 Left-wing market anarchism

Main article: *Left-wing market anarchism*

While, with notable exceptions, US market-oriented libertarians after Benjamin Tucker tended to ally with the political right, relationships between such libertarians and the New Left thrived in the 1960s, laying the groundwork for modern left-wing market anarchism.^[92] Austrian School economist Murray Rothbard was initially an enthusiastic partisan of the Old Right, particularly because of its general opposition to war and imperialism,^[93] but long embraced a reading of American history that emphasized the role of elite privilege in shaping legal and political institutions – one that was thus naturally agreeable to many on the left. In the 1960s, he came increasingly to seek alliances on the left, especially with members of the New Left, in light of the

Vietnam War,^[94] the military draft, and the emergence of the black power movement.^[95] Working with other radicals like Ronald Radosh and Karl Hess, Rothbard argued that the consensus view of American economic history, according to which a beneficent government has used its power to counter corporate predation, is fundamentally flawed. Rather, government intervention in the economy has largely benefited established players at the expense of marginalized groups, to the detriment of both liberty and equality. Moreover, the “Robber Baron” period, hailed by the right and despised by the left as a heyday of laissez-faire, was not characterized by laissez-faire at all, but was a time of massive state privilege accorded to capital.^[96] In tandem with his emphasis on the intimate connection between state and corporate power, he defended the seizure of corporations dependent on state largesse by workers and others.^[97] Rothbard himself ultimately broke with the left, allying himself instead with the burgeoning paleoconservative movement.^[98] He criticized the tendency of left-libertarians to appeal to “‘free spirits,’ to people who don't want to push other people around, and who don't want to be pushed around themselves” in contrast to “the bulk of Americans,” who “might well be tight-assed conformists, who want to stamp out drugs in their vicinity, kick out people with strange dress habits, etc.”^[99]

Some thinkers associated with market-oriented American libertarianism, drawing on the work of Rothbard during his alliance with the left and on the thought of Karl Hess, came increasingly to identify with the

left on a range of issues, including opposition to war, to corporate oligopolies and state-corporate partnerships, and an affinity for cultural liberalism. This left-libertarianism is associated with scholars such as Kevin Carson,^{[100][101]} Roderick T. Long,^{[102][103]} Samuel Edward Konkin III,^[104] Sheldon Richman,^{[105][106][107]} Chris Matthew Sciabarra,^[108] and Gary Chartier^[109] who stress the value of radically free markets, termed *freed markets* to distinguish them from the common conception which these libertarians believe to be riddled with statist and capitalist privileges.^[110] Referred to as left-wing market anarchists^[111] or market-oriented left-libertarians,^[107] proponents of this approach strongly affirm the classical liberal ideas of self-ownership and free markets, while maintaining that, taken to their logical conclusions, these ideas support strongly anti-corporatist, anti-hierarchical, pro-labor positions in economics; anti-imperialism in foreign policy; and thoroughly liberal or radical views regarding such cultural issues as gender, sexuality, and race. While adopting familiar libertarian views, including opposition to drug prohibition, gun control, civil liberties violations, and war, left-libertarians are more likely to take more distinctively leftist stances on issues as diverse as feminism, gender and sexuality, class, immigration, and environmentalism.^[112] Members of this school typically urge the abolition of the state, arguing that vast disparities in wealth and social influence result from the use of force – especially state power – to steal and engross land and acquire and maintain special privileges. They judge that, in a stateless society, the kinds of privileges secured by the state will be absent, and injustices perpetrated or tolerated by the state can be rectified. Thus, they conclude that, with state interference eliminated, it will be possible to achieve “socialist ends by market means.”^[113] According to libertarian scholar Sheldon Richman:

Left-libertarians favor worker solidarity vis-à-vis bosses, support poor people’s squatting on government or abandoned property, and prefer that corporate privileges be repealed before the regulatory restrictions on how those privileges may be exercised. They see Walmart as a symbol of corporate favoritism – supported by highway subsidies and eminent domain – view the fictive personhood of the limited-liability corporation with suspicion, and doubt that Third World sweatshops would be the “best alternative” in the absence of government manipulation. Left-libertarians tend to eschew electoral politics, having little confidence in strategies that work through the government. They prefer to develop alternative institutions and methods of working around the state.^[107]

Agorism is an anarchist tendency founded by Samuel Edward Konkin III which advocates counter-economics,

working in untaxable black or grey markets and boycotting as much as possible the unfree, taxed market with the intended result that private voluntary institutions emerge and outcompete statist ones.

0.2.6 Bleeding heart libertarianism

Bleeding-heart libertarianism, sometimes referred to as the Arizona School^[114] and neoclassical liberalism,^[114] is a libertarian political movement and ideology that focuses on the compatibility of support for civil liberties and free markets on the one hand, and a concern for social justice and the well-being of the worst-off on the other. Adherents of bleeding-heart libertarianism broadly hold that an agenda focused upon individual liberty will be of most benefit to the economically weak and socially disadvantaged.^[115]

0.2.7 See also

- Classical liberalism
- Eco-capitalism
- Free-market environmentalism
- Grassroots democracy
- Green anarchism
- Green libertarianism
- Individualist anarchism
- Individualist feminism
- Libertarian paternalism
- Libertarian socialism
- Lockean proviso
- Radical movement
- Right-libertarianism
- Social ecology

0.2.8 References

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- [2] Bookchin, Murray and Biehl, Janet (1997). *The Murray Bookchin Reader*. Cassell: p. 170. ISBN 0-304-33873-7
- [3] Carson, Kevin (15 June 2014). “What is Left-Libertarianism?”. Center for a Stateless Society.

- [4] Kymlicka, Will (2005). "libertarianism, left-". In Honderich, Ted. *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*. New York City: Oxford University Press. p. 516. ISBN 978-0199264797. "'Left-libertarianism' is a new term for an old conception of justice, dating back to Grotius. It combines the libertarian assumption that each person possesses a natural right of self-ownership over his person with the egalitarian premiss that natural resources should be shared equally. Right-wing libertarians argue that the right of self-ownership entails the right to appropriate unequal parts of the external world, such as unequal amounts of land. According to left-libertarians, however, the world's natural resources were initially unowned, or belonged equally to all, and it is illegitimate for anyone to claim exclusive private ownership of these resources to the detriment of others. Such private appropriation is legitimate only if everyone can appropriate an equal amount, or if those who appropriate more are taxed to compensate those who are thereby excluded from what was once common property. Historic proponents of this view include Thomas Paine, Herbert Spencer, and Henry George. Recent exponents include Philippe Van Parijs and Hillel Steiner."
- [5] Carlson, Jennifer D. (2012). "Libertarianism". In Miller, Wilbur R. *The social history of crime and punishment in America*. London: Sage Publications. p. 1007. ISBN 1412988764. "Left-libertarians disagree with right-libertarians with respect to property rights, arguing instead that individuals have no inherent right to natural resources. Namely, these resources must be treated as collective property that is made available on an egalitarian basis."
- [6] Narveson, Jan; Trenchard, David (2008). "Left libertarianism". In Hamowy, Ronald. *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE; Cato Institute. pp. 288–89. doi:10.4135/9781412965811.n174. ISBN 978-1-4129-6580-4. LCCN 2008009151. OCLC 750831024. Left libertarians regard each of us as full self-owners. However, they differ from what we generally understand by the term *libertarian* in denying the right to private property. We own ourselves, but we do not own nature, at least not as individuals. Left libertarians embrace the view that all natural resources, land, oil, gold, trees, and so on should be held collectively. To the extent that individuals make use of these commonly owned goods, they must do so only with the permission of society, a permission granted only under the proviso that a certain payment for their use be made to society at large.
- [7] Kymlicka, Will (2005). "libertarianism, left-." *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*. In Honderich, Ted. New York: Oxford University Press. "[Left-libertarians maintain that] the world's natural resources were initially unowned, or belonged equally to all, and it is illegitimate for anyone to claim exclusive private ownership of these resources to the detriment of others. Such private appropriation is legitimate only if everyone can appropriate an equal amount, or if those who appropriate more are taxed to compensate those who are thereby excluded from what was once common property."
- [8] Locke, John (1689). *Two Treatises of Government*.
- [9] Rothbard, Murray N. (1982). *The Ethics of Liberty*. Atlantic Heights, NJ: Humanities.
- [10] Gaus, Gerald F. and Kukathas, Chandran (2004). *Handbook of Political Theory*. Sage Publications Inc. p. 128.
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- [14] Suits, Daniel B. (Sep 1977). "Measurement of Tax Progressivity". *The American Economic Review, published by American Economic Association*. **67** (4): 747–52. Retrieved 28 October 2014.
- [15] Suits, Daniel B. (September 1977). "Measurement of Tax Progressivity". *American Economic Review*. **67** (4): 747–52. JSTOR 1813408.
- [16] *Land Value Taxation: An Applied Analysis*, William J. McCluskey, Riël C. D. Franzsen
- [17] Foldvary, Fred. "Geoism Explained". The Progress Report. Retrieved 12 January 2014.
- [18] <http://www.dallasfed.org/assets/documents/research/ei/ei0502.pdf>
- [19] George, Henry. *Progress and Poverty*. (1879; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1912).
- [20] Casal, Paula (2011). "Global Taxes on Natural Resources" (PDF). *Journal of Moral Philosophy*. **8** (3): 307–27. doi:10.1163/174552411x591339. Retrieved 14 March 2014. It can also invoke geoism, a philosophical tradition encompassing the views of John Locke and Henry George ...
- [21] Introduction to Earth Sharing,
- [22] Geonomics in a Nutshell
- [23] Foldvary, Fred. "Geoism and Libertarianism".
- [24] Tom G. Palmer has responded to Cohen's critique:
 - Palmer, Tom G. (2009). "G. A. Cohen on Self-ownership, Property and Equality". *Realizing Freedom: Libertarian Theory, History, and Practice*. Washington, DC: Cato. pp. 129–54.
 - Palmer, Tom G. (1998). "The Literature of Liberty". *The Libertarian Reader: Classic and Contemporary Writings from Lao Tzu to Milton Friedman*. In Boaz, David. New York: Free. pp. 415–55.
- [25] (2006). "Anarchism". *Encarta Online Encyclopedia*.
- [26] Everhart, Robert B. (1982). *The Public School Monopoly: A Critical Analysis of Education and the State in American Society*. Pacific Institute for Public Policy Research. p. 115.

- [27] Philip, Mark (2006-05-20). "William Godwin". *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.
- [28] Peter Kropotkin, "Anarchism", *Encyclopædia Britannica* 1910.
- [29] Godwin, William (1793). *Political Justice*. "Most of the above arguments may be found much more at large in [Edmund] Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society*; a treatise in which the evils of the existing political institutions are displayed with incomparable force of reasoning and lustre of eloquence".
- [30] Adams, Ian (2001). *Political Ideology Today*. Manchester University Press. p. 116.
- [31] Godwin, William (1796) [1793]. *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Modern Morals and Manners*. G.G. and J. Robinson. OCLC 2340417.
- [32] Sheehan, Sean (2004). *Anarchism*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd. p. 85.
- [33] Guérin, Daniel (1970). *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- [34] Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1840). "Chapter 3. Labour as the efficient cause of the domain of property". In *What is Property?*.
- [35] Edwards, Stewart (1969). "Introduction". In *Selected Writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*. Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc. p. 33.
- [36] Marshall (2009). p. 641. "The word 'libertarian' has long been associated with anarchism, and has been used repeatedly throughout this work. The term originally denoted a person who upheld the doctrine of the freedom of the will; in this sense, Godwin was not a 'libertarian', but a 'necessitarian'. It came however to be applied to anyone who approved of liberty in general. In anarchist circles, it was first used by Joseph Déjacque as the title of his anarchist journal *Le Libéraire*, *Journal du Mouvement Social* published in New York in 1858. At the end of the last century, the anarchist Sébastien Faure took up the word, to stress the difference between anarchists and authoritarian socialists."
- [37] Robert Graham, ed. (2005). *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas*. Volume One: From Anarchy to Anarchism (300 CE–1939). Montreal: Black Rose Books. §17.
- [38] (21 September 1858). "l'Echange". In *Le Libéraire*. 6. New York.
- [39] Nettlau, Max (1996). *A Short History of Anarchism*. London: Freedom Press. p. 162. ISBN 978-0-900384-89-9. OCLC 37529250.
- [40] Colin Ward (2004), *Anarchism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 62. "For a century, anarchists have used the word 'libertarian' as a synonym for 'anarchist', both as a noun and an adjective. The celebrated anarchist journal *Le Libéraire* was founded in 1896. However, much more recently the word has been appropriated by various American free-market philosophers..."
- [41] Chomsky, Noam (February 23, 2002). "The Week On-line Interviews Chomsky". *Z Magazine*. Z Communications. Retrieved 2011-11-21. The term libertarian as used in the US means something quite different from what it meant historically and still means in the rest of the world. Historically, the libertarian movement has been the anti-statist wing of the socialist movement. Socialist anarchism was libertarian socialism.
- [42] Burns, Jennifer (2009). *Goddess of the Market: Ayn Rand and the American Right*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 309. ISBN 978-0-19-532487-7. "Although it did not become widely used until the 1950s, 'libertarian' was in circulation prior to the New Deal. It emerged after Roosevelt popularized a new understanding of 'liberal,' the term formerly used by advocates of limited government."
- [43] Goodway, David (2006). *Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow: Left-Libertarian Thought and British Writers from William Morris to Colin Ward*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. p. 4. ISBN 1846310253, 9781846310256. "'Libertarian' and 'libertarianism' are frequently employed by anarchists as synonyms for 'anarchist' and 'anarchism', largely as an attempt to distance themselves from the negative connotations of 'anarchy' and its derivatives. The situation has been vastly complicated in recent decades with the rise of anarcho-capitalism, 'minimal statism' and an extreme right-wing laissez-faire philosophy advocated by such theorists as Murray Rothbard and Robert Nozick and their adoption of the words 'libertarian' and 'libertarianism'. It has therefore no become necessary to distinguish between their right libertarianism and the left libertarianism of the anarchist tradition."
- [44] Newman, Saul (2010). *The Politics of Postanarchism*, Edinburgh University Press. p. 43. ISBN 0748634959, 9780748634958. "It is important to distinguish between anarchism and certain strands of right-wing libertarianism which at times go by the same name (for example, Murray Rothbard's anarcho-capitalism). There is a complex debate within this tradition between those like Robert Nozick, who advocate a 'minimal state', and those like Rothbard who want to do away with the state altogether and allow all transactions to be governed by the market alone. From an anarchist perspective, however, both positions--the minimal state (minarchist) and the no-state ('anarchist') positions--neglect the problem of economic domination; in other words, they neglect the hierarchies, oppressions, and forms of exploitation that would inevitably arise in a laissez-faire 'free' market. ... Anarchism, therefore, has no truck with this right-wing libertarianism, not only because it neglects economic inequality and domination, but also because in practice (and theory) it is highly inconsistent and contradictory. The individual freedom invoked by right-wing libertarians is only a narrow economic freedom within the constraints of a capitalist market, which, as anarchists show, is no freedom at all."
- [45] Ostergaard, Geoffrey. "Anarchism". *The Blackwell Dictionary of Modern Social Thought*. Blackwell Publishing. p. 14.
- [46] Brooks, Thom. (2002) Book Reviews. *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 19 (1), 75–90 doi:10.1111/1468-5930.00206

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- [50] Warren, Josiah. *Equitable Commerce*. "A watch has a cost and a value. The COST consists of the amount of labor bestowed on the mineral or natural wealth, in converting it into metals..."
- [51] Madison, Charles A. (1945). "Anarchism in the United States". *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 6 (1): 53. doi:10.2307/2707055.
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- [53] George Woodcock. *Anarchism: a history of libertarian movements*. p. 357
- [54] [<http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/rudolf-rocker-anarchosyndicalism>] "Anarchosyndicalism" by Rudolf Rocker
- [55] Ostergaard, Geoffrey. "Anarchism". *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*. Blackwell Publishing, 1991. p. 21.
- [56] Chomsky, Noam (2004). *Language and Politics*. In Otero, Carlos Peregrín. AK Press. p. 739
- [57] Bookchin, Murray and Janet Biehl. *The Murray Bookchin Reader*. Cassell, 1997. p. 170 ISBN 0-304-33873-7
- [58] Hicks, Steven V. and Daniel E. Shannon. *The American journal of economics and sociology*. Blackwell Pub, 2003. p. 612
- [59] Miller, Wilbur R. (2012). *The social history of crime and punishment in America. An encyclopedia*. 5 vols. London: Sage Publications. p. 1007. ISBN 1412988764. "There exist three major camps in libertarian thought: right-libertarianism, socialist libertarianism, and ..."
- [60] "It implies a classless and anti-authoritarian (i.e. libertarian) society in which people manage their own affairs" I.1 Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron? at An Anarchist FAQ
- [61] "unlike other socialists, they tend to see (to various different degrees, depending on the thinker) to be skeptical of centralized state intervention as the solution to capitalist exploitation..." Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class." *Social Philosophy and Policy*. Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. p. 305
- [62] "So, libertarian socialism rejects the idea of state ownership and control of the economy, along with the state as such. Through workers' self-management it proposes to bring an end to authority, exploitation, and hierarchy in production." "I1. Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron" in An Anarchist FAQ
- [63] "Therefore, rather than being an oxymoron, "libertarian socialism" indicates that true socialism must be libertarian and that a libertarian who is not a socialist is a phoney. As true socialists oppose wage labour, they must also oppose the state for the same reasons. Similarly, libertarians must oppose wage labour for the same reasons they must oppose the state." "I1. Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron" in An Anarchist FAQ
- [64] "Their analysis treats libertarian socialism as a form of anti-parliamentary, democratic, antibureaucratic grass roots socialist organisation, strongly linked to working class activism." Alex Prichard, Ruth Kinna, Saku Pinta and Dave Berry (eds) *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan, December 2012. p. 13
- [65] "...preferring a system of popular self governance via networks of decentralized, local voluntary, participatory, co-operative associations. Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class." *Social Philosophy and Policy*. Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. p. 305
- [66] "What is of particular interest here, however, is the appeal to a form of emancipation grounded in decentralized, cooperative and democratic forms of political and economic governance which most libertarian socialist visions, including Cole's, tend to share." Charles Masquelier. *Critical theory and libertarian socialism: Realizing the political potential of critical social theory*. Bloombury. New York-London. 2014. p. 189
- [67] Mendes, Silva. *Socialismo Libertário ou Anarchismo* Vol. 1 (1896): "Society should be free through mankind's spontaneous federative affiliation to life, based on the community of land and tools of the trade; meaning: Anarchy will be equality by abolition of private property (while retaining respect for personal property) and liberty by abolition of authority".
- [68] "We therefore foresee a Society in which all activities will be coordinated, a structure that has, at the same time, sufficient flexibility to permit the greatest possible autonomy for social life, or for the life of each enterprise, and enough cohesiveness to prevent all disorder...In a well-organized society, all of these things must be systematically accomplished by means of parallel federations, vertically united at the highest levels, constituting one vast organism in which all economic functions will be performed in solidarity with all others and that will permanently preserve the necessary cohesion." Gaston Leval. *Libertarian socialism: a practical outline*".
- [69] "...preferring a system of popular self governance via networks of decentralized, local, voluntary, participatory, co-operative associations-sometimes as a complement to and check on state power..."
- [70] Rocker, Rudolf (2004). *Anarcho-Syndicalism: Theory and Practice*. AK Press. p. 65. ISBN 978-1-902593-92-0.
- [71] "LibSoc share with LibCap an aversion to any interference to freedom of thought, expression or choice of lifestyle." Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class." *Social Philosophy and Policy*. Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. pp 305

- [72] "What is implied by the term 'libertarian socialism'? The idea that socialism is first and foremost about freedom and therefore about overcoming the domination, repression, and alienation that block the free flow of human creativity, thought, and action...An approach to socialism that incorporates cultural revolution, women's and children's liberation, and the critique and transformation of daily life, as well as the more traditional concerns of socialist politics. A politics that is completely revolutionary because it seeks to transform all of reality. We do not think that capturing the economy and the state lead automatically to the transformation of the rest of social being, nor do we equate liberation with changing our life-styles and our heads. Capitalism is a total system that invades all areas of life: socialism must be the overcoming of capitalist reality in its entirety, or it is nothing." "What is Libertarian Socialism?" by Ulli Diemer. Volume 2, Number 1 (Summer 1997 issue) of *The Red Menace*.
- [73] "The Soviet Union Versus Socialism". *chomsky.info*. Retrieved 2015-11-22. Libertarian socialism, furthermore, does not limit its aims to democratic control by producers over production, but seeks to abolish all forms of domination and hierarchy in every aspect of social and personal life, an unending struggle, since progress in achieving a more just society will lead to new insight and understanding of forms of oppression that may be concealed in traditional practice and consciousness.
- [74] "Authority is defined in terms of the right to exercise social control (as explored in the "sociology of power") and the correlative duty to obey (as explored in the "philosophy of practical reason"). Anarchism is distinguished, philosophically, by its scepticism towards such moral relations – by its questioning of the claims made for such normative power – and, practically, by its challenge to those "authoritative" powers which cannot justify their claims and which are therefore deemed illegitimate or without moral foundation." *Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism* by Paul McLaughlin. AshGate. 2007. p. 1
- [75] "The IAF – IFA fights for : the abolition of all forms of authority whether economical, political, social, religious, cultural or sexual." [<http://www.iaf-ifa.org/principles/english.html>] "Principles of The International of Anarchist Federations"
- [76] "Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations." Emma Goldman. "What it Really Stands for Anarchy" in *Anarchism and Other Essays*.
- [77] Individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker defined anarchism as opposition to authority as follows "They found that they must turn either to the right or to the left, – follow either the path of Authority or the path of Liberty. Marx went one way; Warren and Proudhon the other. Thus were born State Socialism and Anarchism...Authority, takes many shapes, but, broadly speaking, her enemies divide themselves into three classes: first, those who abhor her both as a means and as an end of progress, opposing her openly, avowedly, sincerely, consistently, universally; second, those who profess to believe in her as a means of progress, but who accept her only so far as they think she will subserve their own selfish interests, denying her and her blessings to the rest of the world; third, those who distrust her as a means of progress, believing in her only as an end to be obtained by first trampling upon, violating, and outraging her. These three phases of opposition to Liberty are met in almost every sphere of thought and human activity. Good representatives of the first are seen in the Catholic Church and the Russian autocracy; of the second, in the Protestant Church and the Manchester school of politics and political economy; of the third, in the atheism of Gambetta and the socialism of Karl Marx." Benjamin Tucker. *Individual Liberty*.
- [78] Ward, Colin (1966). "Anarchism as a Theory of Organization". Archived from the original on 25 March 2010. Retrieved 1 March 2010.
- [79] Anarchist historian George Woodcock report of Mikhail Bakunin's anti-authoritarianism and shows opposition to both state and non-state forms of authority as follows: "All anarchists deny authority; many of them fight against it." (p. 9)...Bakunin did not convert the League's central committee to his full program, but he did persuade them to accept a remarkably radical recommendation to the Berne Congress of September 1868, demanding economic equality and implicitly attacking authority in both Church and State."
- [80] Brown, L. Susan (2002). "Anarchism as a Political Philosophy of Existential Individualism: Implications for Feminism". *The Politics of Individualism: Liberalism, Liberal Feminism and Anarchism*. Black Rose Books Ltd. Publishing. p. 106.
- [81] Sims, Franwa (2006). *The Anacostia Diaries As It Is*. Lulu Press. p. 160.
- [82] A Mutualist FAQ: A.4. Are Mutualists Socialists?
- [83] "It is by meeting such a twofold requirement that the libertarian socialism of G.D.H. Cole could be said to offer timely and sustainable avenues for the institutionalization of the liberal value of autonomy..." Charles Masquelier. *Critical theory and libertarian socialism: Realizing the political potential of critical social theory*. Bloombury. New York-London. 2014. p. 190
- [84] "Locating libertarian socialism in a grey area between anarchist and Marxist extremes, they argue that the multiple experiences of historical convergence remain inspirational and that, through these examples, the hope of socialist transformation survives." Alex Prichard, Ruth Kinna, Saku Pinta and Dave Berry (eds) *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan, December 2012. p. 13
- [85] "Councilism and anarchism loosely merged into 'libertarian socialism', offering a non-dogmatic path by which

- both council communism and anarchism could be updated for the changed conditions of the time, and for the new forms of proletarian resistance to these new conditions." Toby Boraman. "Carnival and Class: Anarchism and Councilism in Australasia during the 1970s" in Alex Prichard, Ruth Kinna, Saku Pinta and Dave Berry (eds). *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan, December 2012. p. 268.
- [86] Murray Bookchin, *Ghost of Anarcho-Syndicalism*; Robert Graham, *The General Idea of Proudhon's Revolution*
- [87] Kent Bromley, in his preface to Peter Kropotkin's book *The Conquest of Bread*, considered early French utopian socialist Charles Fourier to be the founder of the libertarian branch of socialist thought, as opposed to the authoritarian socialist ideas of Babeuf and Buonarroti." Kropotkin, Peter. *The Conquest of Bread*, preface by Kent Bromley, New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906.
- [88] "(Benjamin) Tucker referred to himself many times as a socialist and considered his philosophy to be "Anarchistic socialism." *An Anarchist FAQ* by Various Authors
- [89] French individualist anarchist Émile Armand shows clearly opposition to capitalism and centralized economies when he said that the individualist anarchist "inwardly he remains refractory – fatally refractory – morally, intellectually, economically (The capitalist economy and the directed economy, the speculators and the fabricators of single are equally repugnant to him.)" "Anarchist Individualism as a Life and Activity" by Emile Armand
- [90] Anarchist Peter Sabatini reports that In the United States "of early to mid-19th century, there appeared an array of communal and "utopian" counterculture groups (including the so-called free love movement). William Godwin's anarchism exerted an ideological influence on some of this, but more so the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of this commune was Josiah Warren (1798–1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist" Peter Sabatini. "Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy"
- [91] "It introduces an eye-opening approach to radical social thought, rooted equally in libertarian socialism and market anarchism." Chartier, Gary; Johnson, Charles W. (2011). *Markets Not Capitalism: Individualist Anarchism Against Bosses, Inequality, Corporate Power, and Structural Poverty*. Brooklyn, NY: Minor Compositions/Autonomea. p. Back cover
- [92] Long, Roderick T. (2006). "Rothbard's 'Left and Right': Forty Years Later". Rothbard Memorial Lecture, Austrian Scholars Conference.
- [93] Raimondo, Justin (2001). *An Enemy of the State: The Life of Murray N. Rothbard*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus.
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0.3 Libertarian possibilism

Libertarian possibilism (sp: *posibilismo libertario*) was a political current within the early 20th century **spanish anarchist movement** which advocated achieving the anarchist ends of ending the state and **capitalism** with participation inside structures of contemporary **parliamentary democracy**.^[1] The name of this political position appeared for the first time between 1922–1923 within the discourse of catalan **anarcho-syndicalist** Salvador Seguí when he said “We have to intervene in politics in order to take over the positions of the bourgeoisie”.^[2]

0.3.1 History

During the autumn of 1931 the “Manifesto of the 30” was published by militants of the anarchist trade union Confederación Nacional del Trabajo. Among those who

signed it there was the CNT General Secretary (1922–1923) Joan Peiro, **Angel Pestaña** CNT (General Secretary in 1929), and Juan Lopez Sanchez. They were called *treintismo* and they were calling for a more moderate political line within the Spanish anarchist movement. In 1932 they established the **Syndicalist Party** which participates in the 1936 Spanish general elections and proceed to be a part of the leftist coalition of parties known as the **Popular Front** obtaining 2 congressmen (Pestaña and Benito Pabon).

In 1938 Horacio Prieto, general secretary of the CNT, proposed that the **Iberian Anarchist Federation** transforms itself into a “Libertarian Socialist Party” and that it participates in the national elections.^[3]

Precedents and later cases of anarchist intervention in parliamentary and state politics

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon ran for the french **constituent assembly** in April 1848, but was not elected, although his name appeared on the ballots in Paris, Lyon, Besançon, and Lille, France. He was successful in the complementary elections of June 4. The **catalan** politician **Francesc Pi i Margall** became the principal translator of Proudhon’s works into Spanish^[4] and later briefly became president of Spain in 1873 while being the leader of the Democratic Republican Federal Party. For prominent anarcho-syndicalist **Rudolf Rocker**: “The first movement of the Spanish workers was strongly influenced by the ideas of Pi y Margall, leader of the Spanish Federalists and disciple of Proudhon. Pi y Margall was one of the outstanding theorists of his time and had a powerful influence on the development of libertarian ideas in Spain. His political ideas had much in common with those of **Richard Price**, **Joseph Priestly** (sic), **Thomas Paine**, **Jefferson**, and other representatives of the Anglo-American liberalism of the first period. He wanted to limit the power of the state to a minimum and gradually replace it by a Socialist economic order.”^[5] Pi i Margall was a dedicated theorist in his own right, especially through book-length works such as *La reacción y la revolución* (en: “Reaction and revolution” from 1855), *Las nacionalidades* (en: “Nationalities” from 1877), and *La Federación* from 1880. On the other hand **Fermín Salvochea** was a mayor of the city of **Cádiz** and a president of the **province of Cádiz**. He was one of the main propagators of **anarchist** thought in that area in the late 19th century and is considered to be “perhaps the most beloved figure in the **Spanish Anarchist** movement of the 19th century”.^{[6][7]}

In November 1936 the **Popular Front** government appointed the prominent anarcho-feminist **Federica Montseny** as Minister of Health. In doing so, she became the first woman in Spanish history to be a cabinet minister.^[8] When the republican forces lost the Spanish Civil War, the city of Madrid was turned over to the francoist forces in 1939 by the last non-francoist mayor of the city, the anarchist **Melchor Rodríguez García**.^[9]

In 1950 a clandestine group formed within the francophone Anarchist Federation called Organisation Pensée Bataille (OPB) led by the platformist George Fontenis.^[10] The OPB pushed for a move which saw the FA change its name into the Fédération Communiste Libertaire (FCL) after the 1953 Congress in Paris, while an article in *Le Libertaire* indicated the end of the cooperation with the French Surrealist Group led by André Breton. The new decision making process was founded on unanimity: each person has a right of veto on the orientations of the federation. The FCL published the same year the *Manifeste du communisme libertaire*. Several groups quit the FCL in December 1955, disagreeing with the decision to present “revolutionary candidates” to the legislative elections. On 15–20 August 1954, the Ve intercontinental plenum of the CNT took place. A group called Entente anarchiste appeared which was formed of militants who didn’t like the new ideological orientation that the OPB was giving the FCL seeing it was authoritarian and almost marxist.^[11] The FCL lasted until 1956 just after it participated in state legislative elections with 10 candidates. This move alienated some members of the FCL and thus produced the end of the organization.^[10]

0.3.2 See also

- Libertarian socialism within the labour movement and parliamentary politics
- Anarchism in Spain
- Possibilism (politics)
- Reformist socialism
- Impossibilism

0.3.3 References

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- [11] “Si la critique de la déviation autoritaire de la FA est le principal fait de ralliement, on peut ressentir dès le premier numéro un état d’esprit qui va longtemps coller à la peau des anarchistes français. Cet état d’esprit se caractérise ainsi sous une double forme : d’une part un rejet inconditionnel de l’ennemi marxiste, d’autre part des questions sur le rôle des anciens et de l’évolution idéologique de l’anarchisme. C’est Fernand Robert qui attaque le premier : “Le LIB est devenu un journal marxiste. En continuant à le soutenir, tout en reconnaissant qu’il ne nous plaît pas, vous faites une mauvaise action contre votre idéal anarchiste. Vous donnez la main à vos ennemis dans la pensée. Même si la FA disparaît, même si le LIB disparaît, l’anarchie y gagnera. Le marxisme ne représente plus rien. Il faut le mettre bas ; je pense la même chose des dirigeants actuels de la FA. L’ennemi se glisse partout.” Cédric Guérin. “Pensée et action des anarchistes en France : 1950–1970”

0.3.4 Further reading

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0.3.5 External links

- Manifestoes of the Sindicalist Party in spanish

0.4 Anti-authoritarianism

Anti-authoritarianism is opposition to **authoritarianism**, which is defined as “a form of social organisation characterised by submission to **authority**”,^[1] “favoring complete obedience or subjection to authority as opposed to **individual freedom**”^[2] and to authoritarian government.^[3] Anti-authoritarians usually believe in full **equality before the law** and strong **civil liberties**. Sometimes the term is used interchangeably with **anarchism**, an ideology which entails opposing authority or **hierarchical organization** in the conduct of human relations, including the state system.^{[4][5][6][7][8][9][10]}

0.4.1 Views and practice

Freethought is a philosophical viewpoint that holds opinions should be formed on the basis of logic, reason, and empiricism, rather than authority, tradition, or other dogmas.^{[11][12][13]} The cognitive application of freethought is known as “freethinking”, and practitioners of freethought are known as “freethinkers”.^{[11][14]}

Argument from authority (Latin: *argumentum ab auctoritate*) is a common form of argument which leads to a **logical fallacy** when misused. In informal reasoning, the appeal to authority is a form of argument attempting to establish a **statistical syllogism**.^[15] The appeal to authority relies on an argument of the form:

- A is an authority on a particular topic
- A says something about that topic
- A is probably correct

Fallacious examples of using the appeal include any appeal to authority used in the context of **logical reasoning**, and appealing to the position of an authority or authorities to dismiss evidence, as, while authorities can be correct in judgments related to their area of expertise more often than laypersons, they can still come to the wrong judgments through error, bias, dishonesty, or falling prey to **groupthink**. Thus, the appeal to authority is not a generally reliable argument for establishing facts. Influential

anarchist Mikhail Bakunin thought that “Does it follow that I reject all authority? Far from me such a thought. In the matter of boots, I refer to the authority of the boot-maker; concerning houses, canals, or railroads, I consult that of the architect or the engineer. For such or such special knowledge I apply to such or such a savant. But I allow neither the bootmaker nor the architect nor savant to impose his authority upon me. I listen to them freely and with all the respect merited by their intelligence, their character, their knowledge, reserving always my incontestable right of criticism and censure. I do not content myself with consulting a single authority in any special branch; I consult several; I compare their opinions, and choose that which seems to me the soundest. But I recognise no infallible authority, even in special questions; consequently, whatever respect I may have for the honesty and the sincerity of such or such individual, I have no absolute faith in any person.”^[16] He saw that “Therefore there is no fixed and constant authority, but a continual exchange of mutual, temporary, and, above all, voluntary authority and subordination. This same reason forbids me, then, to recognise a fixed, constant and universal authority, because there is no universal man, no man capable of grasping in all that wealth of detail, without which the application of science to life is impossible, all the sciences, all the branches of social life.”^[16]



English punk rock band Crass in 1984. Founders of the *anarcho punk* movement with a banner of their anarchist slogan “There’s no authority but yourself”

After World War II there was a strong sense of anti-authoritarianism based on **anti-fascism** in Europe. This was attributed to the active resistance from **occupation** and to fears arising from the development of **superpowers**.^[17] Anti-authoritarianism has also been associated with **countercultural** and **bohemian** movements. In the 1950s the **Beat Generation** “were politically radical, and to some degree their anti-authoritarian attitudes were taken up by activists in the 1960s.”^[18] The **hippie** and larger **counterculture** movements of the 1960s carried out a way of life and activism which was ideally carried through anti-authoritarian and **non-violent** means; thus it was observed that “The way of the hippie is antithetical to all repressive hierarchical power structures since they are adverse to the hippie goals of peace, love and freedom...

Hippies don't impose their beliefs on others. Instead, hippies seek to change the world through reason and by living what they believe.”^[19] In the 1970s anti-authoritarianism became associated with the punk subculture.^[20]

0.4.2 See also

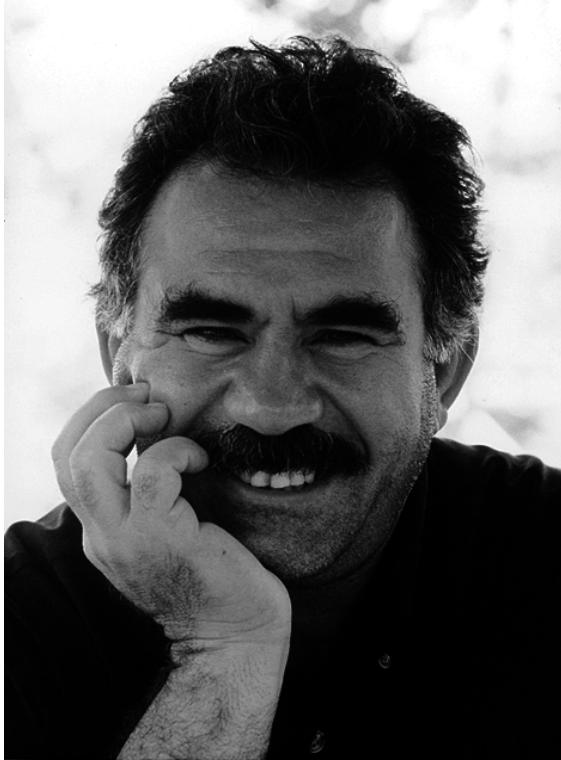
- Anticonformism
- Libertarianism
- Libertarian Socialism
- Question authority
- Fascist (insult)

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- [7] "Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations." Emma Goldman. "What it Really Stands for Anarchy" in *Anarchism and Other Essays*.
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0.5 Democratic confederalism

Democratic confederalism, also known as **democratic federalism** or **Apoism**,^[1] is a libertarian socialist political system developed by Abdullah Öcalan based on the ideas of Murray Bookchin. He describes it as "open towards other political groups and factions" and as "flexible, multi-cultural, anti-monopolistic, and consensus-oriented."^[2] The ideology is closely associated with the polity of Rojava, where it is the governing political system.



Abdullah Öcalan, founder of the ideology

0.5.1 History

Öcalan, who is the leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party, founded this ideology while in prison. While originally a Marxist–Leninist organization, the organization modified their views as Öcalan began corresponding with Murray Bookchin and incorporating some of his ideology. Towards the end of his life, Bookchin became disenchanted with the increasingly apolitical elements of the contemporary anarchist movement and developed libertarian municipalism instead.^[3] The central pillars of democratic confederalism are social ecology and anarchist feminism.^[4]

According to Öcalan, his ideology is rooted in participatory democracy and autonomy at the local level.^[5]

The stronger the participation the more powerful is this kind of democracy. While the nation-state is in contrast to democracy, and even denies it, democratic confederalism constitutes a continuous democratic process.

0.5.2 Platform

Main article: Politics of Rojava

Adherents don't see the revolutionary overthrow of a state as a way to create sustainable change. Rather, social

issues and issues relating to freedom and justice must be resolved by a democratic-confederal process. If a nation-state chooses to go on the offensive, however, supporters may resist with the self-defense force of the democratic confederation (such as the People's Protection Units (YPG)).^[6]

Adherents allow the creation of a global confederate assembly which could put forward a platform of civil liberties, as an alternative to the United Nations which they see as an association of nation-states and dominated by the great powers. However, in Democratic Confederalism the focus is on the local level, organizing Confederatism globally is not excluded, but not the interest of the ideology.^[7]

The ideology has experienced a growth in interest since adherents such as the YPG of the Rojava conflict have engaged in combat against Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.^[8]

0.5.3 See also

- Direct democracy
- Kurdistan Communities Union
 - Democratic Union Party (Syria)
 - Kurdistan Democratic Solution Party
 - Kurdistan Free Life Party
- Rojava

0.5.4 References

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A Landsgemeinde, or assembly, of the Canton of Glarus, on 7 May 2006, Switzerland.

0.6 Direct democracy

Direct democracy (also known as **pure democracy**)^[1] is a form of **democracy** in which people decide (e.g. **vote** on, form **consensus** on) policy **initiatives** directly. This differs from the majority of modern democracies, which are **representative democracies**.

0.6.1 Related democratic processes

Direct democracy is similar to, but distinct from, **representative democracy**, in which people vote for representatives who then enact policy initiatives.^[2]

Depending on the particular system in use, direct democracy might entail passing executive decisions, the use of **sortition**, making laws, directly electing or dismissing officials, and conducting **trials**. Two leading forms of direct democracy are **participatory democracy** and **deliberative democracy**.

Semi direct democracies in which representatives administer day-to-day governance, but the citizens remain the sovereign, allow for three forms of popular action: **referendum** (plebiscite), **initiative**, and **recall**. The first two forms—referendums and initiatives—are examples of direct legislation.^[3]

Compulsory referendum subjects the legislation drafted by political elites to a binding popular vote. This is the most common form of direct legislation. Popular referendum empowers citizens to make a petition that calls existing legislation to a citizens' vote. Institutions specify the time frame for a valid petition and the number of signatures required, and may require signatures from diverse communities to protect minority interests.^[3] This form of direct democracy effectively grants the voting public a **veto** on laws adopted by the elected legislature, as is done in **Switzerland**.^{[4][5][6][7]}

Power of Initiative allows members of the general public to propose specific statutory measures or constitutional

reforms to the government and, as with referendums, the vote may be binding or simply advisory. Initiatives may be direct or indirect: With the direct initiative, a successful proposition is placed directly on the ballot to be subject to vote (as exemplified by California's system).^[3] With an indirect initiative, a successful proposition is first presented to the legislature for their consideration; however, if no acceptable action is taken after a designated period of time, the proposition moves to direct popular vote. Such a form of indirect initiative is utilized by Switzerland for constitutional amendments.^[3]

Power of Recall gives the public the power to remove elected officials from office before the end of their term.^[8]

Some writers with anarchist sympathies have said direct democracy is opposed to a strong central authority, as decision-making power can reside at only one level: the people themselves (through direct democracy) or the central authority.^[9] Some of the most important modern thinkers who were inspired by the concept of direct democracy are **Cornelius Castoriadis**, **Hannah Arendt**, and **Pierre Clastres**.

0.6.2 History

See also: **History of democracy**

The earliest known direct democracy is said to be the **Athenian democracy** in the 5th century BC, although it was not an inclusive democracy: women, foreigners, and **slaves** were excluded from it. The main bodies in the Athenian democracy were the **assembly**, composed of male citizens; the **boulê**, composed of 500 citizens; and the law courts, composed of a massive number of jurors chosen by lot, with no judges. There were only about 30,000 male citizens, but several thousand of them were politically active in each year, and many of them quite regularly for years on end. The Athenian democracy was *direct* not only in the sense that decisions were made by the assembled people, but also in the sense that the people through the assembly, boulê, and law courts controlled the entire political process and a large proportion of citizens were involved constantly in the public business.^[10] Modern democracies, being representative, not direct, do not resemble the Athenian system.

Also relevant to the history of direct democracy is the history of **Ancient Rome**, specifically the **Roman Republic**, beginning around 509 BC.^[11] Rome displayed many aspects of democracy, both direct and indirect, from the era of **Roman monarchy** all the way to the collapse of the **Roman Empire**. Indeed, the Senate, formed in the first days of the city, lasted through the Kingdom, Republic, and Empire, and even continued after the decline of Western Rome; and its structure and regulations continue to influence legislative bodies worldwide. As to direct democracy, the ancient Roman Republic had a system of

citizen lawmaking, or citizen formulation and passage of law, and a citizen veto of legislature-made law. Many historians mark the end of the Republic with the passage of a law named the *Lex Titia*, 27 November 43 BC, which eliminated many oversight provisions.^[11]

Modern-era citizen lawmaking began in the towns of *Switzerland* in the 13th century. In 1847, the Swiss added the “statute referendum” to their national constitution. They soon discovered that merely having the power to veto Parliament’s laws was not enough. In 1891, they added the “constitutional amendment initiative”. Swiss politics since 1891 have given the world a valuable experience base with the national-level constitutional amendment initiative.^[12] In the past 120 years, more than 240 initiatives have been put to referendums. The populace has been conservative, approving only about 10% of these initiatives; in addition, they have often opted for a version of the initiative rewritten by government. (See *Direct democracy in Switzerland* below.)^{[4][5][6][7]}

Some of the issues surrounding the related notion of a direct democracy using the *Internet* and other communications technologies are dealt with in e-democracy and below under the term *electronic direct democracy*. More concisely, the concept of *open source governance* applies principles of the *free software movement* to the governance of people, allowing the entire populace to participate in government directly, as much or as little as they please.^[13]

0.6.3 Examples

Ancient Athens

Main article: *Athenian democracy*

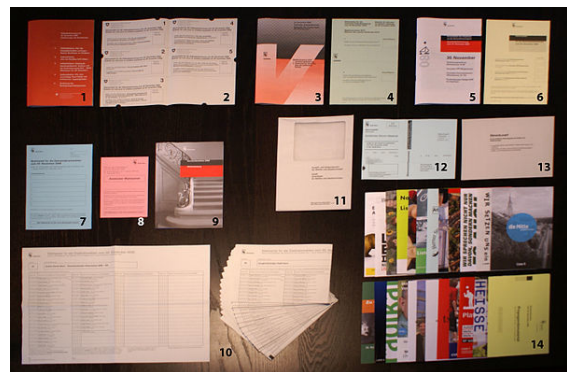
Athenian democracy developed in the *Greek city-state* of *Athens*, comprising the city of Athens and the surrounding territory of *Attica*, around 500 BC. Athens was one of the *very first known democracies*. Other Greek cities set up democracies, and even though most followed an Athenian model, none were as powerful, stable, or well-documented as that of Athens. In the direct democracy of Athens, the citizens did not nominate representatives to vote on legislation and executive bills on their behalf (as in the United States) but instead voted as individuals. Participation was by no means open, but the in-group of participants was constituted with no reference to economic class and they participated on a big scale. The *public opinion* of voters was influenced by the *political satire* of the comic poets in the theatres.^[14]

Solon (594 BC), *Cleisthenes* (508-7 BC), and *Ephialtes* (462 BC) all contributed to the development of Athenian democracy. Historians differ on which of them was responsible for which institution, and which of them most represented a truly democratic movement. It is most usual to date Athenian democracy from Cleisthenes,

since *Solon’s* constitution fell and was replaced by the tyranny of *Peisistratus*, whereas *Ephialtes* revised *Cleisthenes’* constitution relatively peacefully. *Hipparchus*, the brother of the tyrant *Hippias*, was killed by *Harmodius* and *Aristogeiton*, who were subsequently honored by the Athenians for their alleged restoration of Athenian freedom.

The greatest and longest-lasting democratic leader was *Pericles*; after his death, Athenian democracy was twice briefly interrupted by oligarchic revolution towards the end of the *Peloponnesian War*. It was modified somewhat after it was restored under *Eucleides*; the most detailed accounts are of this 4th-century modification rather than of the Periclean system. It was suppressed by the *Macedonians* in 322 BC. The Athenian institutions were later revived, but the extent to which they were a real democracy is debatable.^[15]

Switzerland



In Switzerland, with no need to register, every citizen receives the ballot papers and information brochure for each vote, and can return it by post. Switzerland has various directly democratic instruments; votes are organised about four times a year.

Main articles: *Politics of Switzerland* and *Voting in Switzerland*

Further information: *Landsgemeinde* and *Federal popular initiative*

The pure form of direct democracy exists only in the *Swiss cantons* of *Appenzell Innerrhoden* and *Glarus*.^[16] The *Swiss Confederation* is a semi-direct democracy (representative democracy with strong instruments of direct democracy).^[16] The nature of direct democracy in Switzerland is fundamentally complemented by its federal governmental structures (in *German* also called the *Subsidiaritätsprinzip*).^{[4][5][6][7]}

Most western countries have representative systems.^[16] *Switzerland* is a rare example of a country with instruments of direct democracy (at the levels of the municipalities, cantons, and federal state). Citizens have more power than in a representative democracy. On any political level citizens can propose changes to the constitution

(popular initiative), or ask for a optional referendum to be held on any law voted by the federal, cantonal parliament and/or municipal legislative body.^[17]

The list for mandatory or optional referendums on each political level are generally much longer in Switzerland than in any other country; for example any amendment to the constitution must automatically be voted on by the Swiss electorate and cantons, on cantonal/communal levels often any financial decision of a certain substantial amount decreed by legislative and/or executive bodies as well.^[17]

Swiss citizens vote regularly on any kind of issue on every political level, such as financial approvals of a school house or the building of a new street, or the change of the policy regarding sexual work, or on constitutional changes, or on the foreign policy of Switzerland, four times a year.^[18] Between January 1995 and June 2005, Swiss citizens voted 31 times, on 103 federal questions besides many more cantonal and municipal questions.^[19] During the same period, French citizens participated in only two referendums.^[16]

In Switzerland, simple majorities are sufficient at the municipal and cantonal level, but at the federal level double majorities are required on constitutional issues.^[12]

A double majority requires approval by a majority of individuals voting, and also by a majority of cantons. Thus, in Switzerland a citizen-proposed amendment to the federal constitution (i.e. popular initiative) cannot be passed at the federal level if a majority of the people approve but a majority of the cantons disapprove.^[12] For referendums or propositions in general terms (like the principle of a general revision of the Constitution), a majority of those voting is sufficient (Swiss Constitution, 2005).

In 1890, when the provisions for Swiss national citizen lawmaking were being debated by civil society and government, the Swiss adopted the idea of double majorities from the United States Congress, in which House votes were to represent the people and Senate votes were to represent the states.^[12] According to its supporters, this “legitimacy-rich” approach to national citizen lawmaking has been very successful. Kris Kobach claims that Switzerland has had tandem successes both socially and economically which are matched by only a few other nations. Kobach states at the end of his book, “Too often, observers deem Switzerland an oddity among political systems. It is more appropriate to regard it as a pioneer.” Finally, the Swiss political system, including its direct democratic devices in a multi-level governance context, becomes increasingly interesting for scholars of European Union integration.^[20]

United States

Main articles: History of direct democracy in the United States and Initiatives and referendums in the United

States

In the U.S. region of New England, towns practice a limited form of home rule, and decide local affairs through the direct democratic process of the town meeting.^[21] This is the oldest form of direct democracy in the United States, and predates the founding of the country by at least a century.

Direct democracy was not what the framers of the United States Constitution envisioned for the nation. They saw a danger in tyranny of the majority. As a result, they advocated a representative democracy in the form of a constitutional republic over a direct democracy. For example, James Madison, in Federalist No. 10, advocates a constitutional republic over direct democracy precisely to protect the individual from the will of the majority. He says,

Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation, and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government.

[...]

[A] pure democracy, by which I mean a society consisting of a small number of citizens, who assemble and administer the government in person, can admit no cure for the mischiefs of faction. A common passion or interest will be felt by a majority, and there is nothing to check the inducements to sacrifice the weaker party. Hence it is, that democracies have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have, in general, been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths.^[22]

John Witherspoon, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, said: “Pure democracy cannot subsist long nor be carried far into the departments of state – it is very subject to caprice and the madness of popular rage.” Alexander Hamilton said, “That a pure democracy if it were practicable would be the most perfect government. Experience has proved that no position is more false than this. The ancient democracies in which the people themselves deliberated never possessed one good feature of government. Their very character was tyranny; their figure, deformity.”^[23]

Despite the framers' intentions in the beginning of the republic, ballot measures and their corresponding referendums have been widely used at the state and sub-state level. There is much state and federal *case law*, from the early 1900s to the 1990s, that protects the people's right to each of these direct democracy governance components (Magleby, 1984, and Zimmerman, 1999). The first *United States Supreme Court* ruling in favor of the citizen lawmaking was in *Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company v. Oregon*, 223 U.S. 118 in 1912 (Zimmerman, December 1999). President Theodore Roosevelt, in his "Charter of Democracy" speech to the 1912 Ohio constitutional convention, stated: "I believe in the Initiative and Referendum, which should be used not to destroy representative government, but to correct it whenever it becomes misrepresentative."^[24]

In various states, referendums through which the people rule include:

- *Referrals* by the legislature to the people of "proposed constitutional amendments" (constitutionally used in 49 states, excepting only Delaware – Initiative & Referendum Institute, 2004).
- *Referrals* by the legislature to the people of "proposed statute laws" (constitutionally used in all 50 states – Initiative & Referendum Institute, 2004).
- *Constitutional amendment initiative* is a constitutionally-defined petition process of "proposed constitutional law", which, if successful, results in its provisions being written directly into the state's constitution. Since constitutional law cannot be altered by state legislatures, this direct democracy component gives the people an automatic superiority and sovereignty, over representative government (Magleby, 1984). It is utilized at the state level in nineteen states: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon and South Dakota (Cronin, 1989). Among these states, there are three main types of the constitutional amendment initiative, with different degrees of involvement of the state legislature distinguishing between the types (Zimmerman, December 1999).
- *Statute law initiative* is a constitutionally-defined, citizen-initiated petition process of "proposed statute law", which, if successful, results in law being written directly into the state's statutes. The statute initiative is used at the state level in twenty-one states: Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming (Cronin, 1989). Note that, in Utah, there is no constitutional

provision for citizen lawmaking. All of Utah's I&R law is in the state statutes (Zimmerman, December 1999). In most states, there is no special protection for citizen-made statutes; the legislature can begin to amend them immediately.

- *Statute law referendum* is a constitutionally-defined, citizen-initiated petition process of the "proposed veto of all or part of a legislature-made law", which, if successful, repeals the standing law. It is used at the state level in twenty-four states: Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming (Cronin, 1989).
- The *recall* is a constitutionally-defined, citizen-initiated, petition process, which, if successful, removes an elected official from office by "recalling" the official's election. In most state and sub-state jurisdictions having this governance component, voting for the ballot that determines the recall includes voting for one of a slate of candidates to be the next office holder, if the recall is successful. It is utilized at the state level in nineteen states: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington and Wisconsin (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2011, Recall Of State Officials).

There are now a total of 24 U.S. states with constitutionally-defined, citizen-initiated direct democracy governance components (Zimmerman, December 1999). In the United States, for the most part only one-time majorities are required (simple majority of those voting) to approve any of these components.

In addition, many localities around the U.S. also provide for some or all of these direct democracy governance components, and in specific classes of initiatives (like those for raising taxes), there is a *supermajority* voting threshold requirement. Even in states where direct democracy components are scant or nonexistent at the state level, there often exist *local options* for deciding specific issues, such as whether a county should be "wet" or "dry", or in other words whether alcohol sales should be allowed.

0.6.4 Democratic reform trilemma

Democratic theorists have identified a *trilemma* due to the presence of three desirable characteristics of an ideal system of direct democracy, which are challenging to deliver all at once. These three characteristics are *participation* – widespread participation in the decision making

process by the people affected; *deliberation* – a rational discussion where all major points of view are weighted according to evidence; and *equality* – all members of the population on whose behalf decisions are taken have an equal chance of having their views taken into account. Empirical evidence from dozens of studies suggests deliberation leads to better decision making.^{[9][25][26]} The most popularly disputed form of direct popular participation is the referendum on constitutional matters.^[27]

However, the more participants there are the more time and money is needed to set up good-quality discussions with clear, neutrally presented briefings. Also, it is hard for each individual to contribute substantially to the discussion when large numbers are involved.

For the system to respect the principle of political equality, either *everyone* needs to be involved or there needs to be a representative random sample of people chosen to take part in the discussion. In the definition used by scholars such as James Fishkin, *deliberative democracy* is a form of direct democracy which satisfies the requirement for deliberation and equality but does not make provision to involve everyone who wants to be included in the discussion. *Participatory democracy*, by Fishkin's definition, allows inclusive participation and deliberation, but at a cost of sacrificing equality, because if widespread participation is allowed, sufficient resources rarely will be available to compensate people who sacrifice their time to participate in the deliberation. Therefore, participants tend to be those with a strong interest in the issue to be decided and often will not therefore be representative of the overall population.^[28] Fishkin instead argues that random sampling should be used to select a small, but still representative, number of people from the general public.^{[8][9]}

Fishkin concedes it is possible to imagine a system that transcends the trilemma, but it would require very radical reforms if such a system were to be integrated into mainstream politics.

0.6.5 Electronic direct democracy

Main article: [E-democracy](#)

Electronic direct democracy (EDD), also known as **direct digital democracy** (DDD),^[29] is a form of direct democracy which utilizes [telecommunications](#) to facilitate public participation. Electronic direct democracy is sometimes referred to by other names, such as [open-source governance](#) and [collaborative governance](#).^[30]

EDD requires [electronic voting](#) or some way to register votes on issues electronically. As in any direct democracy, in an EDD, citizens would have the right to vote on legislation, author new legislation, and recall representatives (if any representatives are preserved).

Technology for supporting EDD has been researched and developed at the [Florida Institute of Technology](#),^[31]

where the technology is used with student organizations. Numerous other software development projects are underway,^[32] along with many supporting and related projects.^[33] Several of these projects are now collaborating on a cross-platform architecture, under the umbrella of the [Metagovernment](#) project.^[34]

EDD as a system is not fully implemented in a political government anywhere in the world, although several initiatives are currently forming. [Ross Perot](#) was a prominent advocate of EDD when he advocated “electronic town halls” during his 1992 and 1996 presidential campaigns in the [United States](#). [Switzerland](#), already partially governed by direct democracy, is making progress towards such a system.^[35] [Senator Online](#), an Australian political party running for the Senate in the 2007 federal elections, proposed to institute an EDD system so that Australians can decide which way the senators vote on each and every bill.^[36] A similar initiative was formed in 2002 in Sweden where the party [Aktivdemokrati](#), running for the [Swedish parliament](#), offers its members the power to decide the actions of the party over all or some areas of decision, or alternatively to use a proxy with immediate recall for one or several areas. Since early 2011, EDD parties are working together on the Participedia wiki [E2D](#)

The first mainstream direct democracy party to be registered with any country's electoral commission [checked against each country's register] is the UK's [People's Administration Direct Democracy](#) party.^[37] The People's Administration have developed and published the complete architecture for a legitimate reform to EDD [including the required Parliamentary reform process].^[38] Established by musicians and political activists, the People's Administration advocates using the web and telephone to enable the majority electorate to create, propose, and vote upon all policy implementation. The People's Administration's blueprint has been published in various forms since 1998 and the People's Administration is the first direct democracy party registered in a vote-able format anywhere in the world—making transition possible through evolution via election with legitimate majority support, instead of potentially through revolution via violence.

[Flux \(political party\)](#) is a political movement which aims to replace the world's elected legislatures with a new electronic system known as issue-based direct democracy (IBDD). Flux originated in and is most active in [Australia](#), but it is also active internationally, with a group existing in [Brazil](#).^[39]

0.6.6 Relation to other movements

Anarchists have advocated forms of direct democracy as an alternative to the centralized state and capitalism; however, others (such as [individualist anarchists](#)) have criticized direct democracy and democracy in general for ignoring the rights of the minority, and instead have advo-



Practicing direct democracy – voting on Nuit Debout, Place de la République, Paris

cated a form of consensus decision-making. Libertarian Marxists, however, fully support direct democracy in the form of the proletarian republic and see majority rule and citizen participation as virtues. The Young Communist League USA in particular refers to representative democracy as “bourgeois democracy”, implying that they see direct democracy as “true democracy”.^[40]

0.6.7 In schools

Main article: [Democratic school](#)

A democratic school is a school that centers on providing a democratic educational environment featuring “full and equal” participation from students and staff. These learning environments position youth voice as the central actor in the educative process by engaging students in every facet of school operations, including learning, teaching, leadership, justice, and democracy, through experience.^{[41][42]} Adult staff support students by offering facilitation according to students’ interests.

Sudbury model of democratic education schools are run by a School Meeting where the students and staff participate exclusively and equally. Everyone who wishes to attend can vote, and there are no proxies. As with direct democracy elsewhere, participants are usually only those who have an interest in the topic.^[43]

Summerhill School in England has operated a direct democracy approach to decision making for over 90 years and has often come into conflict with the UK government as a result. The school won an appeal to the High Court in 1999 after it was threatened with closure. A joint statement confirmed that: “The minister recognised the school had a right to its own philosophy and that any inspection should take into account its aims as an international ‘free’ school ... both sides went on record as agreeing that the pupils’ voice should be fully represented in any evaluation of the quality of education at Summerhill and that

inspections must consider the full breadth of learning at the school – learning was not confined to lessons”.^[44]

0.6.8 Research into the effects of direct democracy on policy

A study of direct democracy in Spain suggests that direct democracy reduces government size. By unbundling issues, voters are able to enforce lower special-interest spending.^[45]

0.6.9 Contemporary movements

See also: [List of direct democracy parties](#)

Some notable contemporary movements working for direct democracy via direct democratic praxis include:^[46]

- [Abahlali baseMjondolo](#) – South African shack dwellers’ movement
- [Aktivdemokrati](#) – political party for e-democracy Sweden
- [Autonomous Action](#) – a Russian libertarian communist and anarchist movement
- [Change 2011](#) – a Finnish political party
- [¡Democracia Real YA!](#) – Real Democracy NOW! Movement started from Spain.
- [Democracy International eV](#)
- [Demoex](#) – direct democracy party and experiment in Sweden
- [Direct Democracy Ireland](#)
- [Direct Democracy \(Communist\) Party](#) - The party advocates that the only way to achieve direct democracy using the internet is through nationalisation of all means of production and workers state power.^[47]
- [Direct Democracy Party of New Zealand](#)
- [Direct Democracy \(Poland\)](#) – Polish political party promoting direct democracy, established 2012
- [Direktdemokraterna](#); an alliance of three direct democratically oriented parties in Sweden, which received approx. 3000 votes in the 2014 election.
- [Electronic Democracy Party](#) – Turkish political party promoting e-democracy
- [Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy](#)

- The Federal Democratic Party of Uganda – advocates for direct democracy. Simon Peter Kabala-Kasirye, the party’s founder, advises that the Federal States of Uganda each should practice pure democracy and forward their deliberations to the central government which has no powers to alter the result of the deliberations (e.g., Buganda Kingdom Federal State has values that Karamoja Federal State may not agree with, and vice versa, but neither can alter the result of the deliberations in either state).
- Inclusive Democracy – Takis Fotopoulos’ Inclusive Democracy Project that also publishes the *Journal of Inclusive Democracy*
- Internet Party – registered party in Spain proposing a liquid democracy system.
- Land Party – a ruralist direct democracy party in Galicia, Spain.
- The Metagovernment project – a global umbrella group supporting development and implementation of Internet-based governance software^[48]
- myDirectDemocracy project – Global and Local groups developing a New Human Right and Freedom - Direct Democracy
- The National Initiative for Democracy – United States movement led by former US Senator Mike Gravel to allow national ballot initiatives
- Occupy Movement and Occupy Wall Street
- Party for Accountability, Competency and Transparency – an electronic direct democracy party (pending registration) in Canada
- Partido de la Red – party in Argentina that promotes a balance between direct and representative democracy
- The Party of Internet Democracy – a direct democracy party in Hungary
- People’s Administration Direct Democracy Party
- Pirate Party
- Senator On-Line – an electronic direct democracy party in Australia Renamed “Online Direct Democracy” <http://www.onlinedirectdemocracy.org/>
- Thrive New Zealand – New Zealand-based political party promoting direct democracy utilising an on-line tool called RealVoice.
- Direct Democracy Romania - the first Romanian political party promoting direct democracy, established in 2015

0.6.10 See also

- Libertarian municipalism
- Libertarian socialism
- Non-representative democracy
- Participatory budgeting
- Participatory democracy
- Participatory economics
- Popular assembly
- Populism
- Proxy voting, esp. *delegated voting*
- Referendum
- Social democracy
- Sociocracy
- Sortition
- Soviet democracy
- Third International Theory
- Tyranny of the Majority
- Reform of the United Nations :United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, direct elected parliamentarians instead of administrations’ diplomats and United Nations Secretary-General elect by popular vote.
- Workers’ councils

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0.6.14 External links

- Alex Romane (People's Administration Direct Democracy Party)
- Direct democracy links
- Direct democracy at DMOZ
- Direct Democracy Pamphlet by Akiva ORR
- Electronic Direct Democracy organisations on Participedia
- I&R ~ GB Campaign for Direct Democracy in Britain INIREF
- Key points of the bill | Più Democrazia in Trentino, Italy
- Occupy Movement, the Zapatista's and the General Assemblies
- ParticipatoryDemocracy.ca Social sustainability develops as we apply the universal, intrinsic, social commonalities of all people to the design and operation of our social institutions and organizations. Those commonalities exist now and will exist 1000 years from now.
- People's Administration Direct Democracy Party
- Popular Assemblies in Revolts and Revolutions
- Real Direct Democracy Now Blog on Real Direct Democracy Now
- The direct democracy as an alternative proposition
- UN Advisor stresses the need to develop direct democracy globally to protect human rights, Direct Democracy Ireland.
- The Need for Direct Democracy in India

Multimedia

- Documentary about the history and potential of direct democracy in the United States: *It's Time We Talked*
- Documentary: *Direct Democracy* on YouTube

0.7 Socialism

This article is about the economic system and political philosophy. For other uses, see [Socialism \(disambiguation\)](#).

Socialism is a range of economic and social systems characterised by social ownership and democratic control of the means of production;^[1] as well as the political ideologies, theories, and movements that aim to establish them.^[11] Social ownership may refer to forms of public, collective, or cooperative ownership; to citizen ownership of equity; or to any combination of these.^[12] Although there are many varieties of socialism and there is no single definition encapsulating all of them,^[13] social ownership is the common element shared by its various forms.^{[6][14][15]}

Socialist economic systems can be divided into both non-market and market forms.^[16] Non-market socialism involves the substitution of factor markets and money with engineering and technical criteria based on calculation performed in-kind, thereby producing an economic mechanism that functions according to different economic laws from those of capitalism. Non-market socialism aims to circumvent the inefficiencies and crises traditionally associated with capital accumulation and the profit system.^[17] By contrast, market socialism retains the use of monetary prices, factor markets, and, in some cases, the profit motive with respect to the operation of socially owned enterprises and the allocation of capital goods between them. Profits generated by these firms would be controlled directly by the workforce of each firm or accrue to society at large in the form of a social dividend.^{[26][27][28]} The feasibility and exact methods of resource allocation and calculation for a socialist system are the subjects of the socialist calculation debate.

The socialist political movement includes a diverse array of political philosophies that originated amid the revolutionary movements of the mid-to-late 1700s and of a general concern for the social problems that were associated with capitalism.^[13] In addition to the debate over markets and planning, the varieties of socialism differ in their form of social ownership, how management is to be organised within productive institutions, and the role of the state in constructing socialism.^{[3][13]} Core dichotomies associated with these concerns include reformism versus revolutionary socialism, and state socialism versus libertarian socialism. Socialist politics has been both cen-

tralist and decentralised; internationalist and nationalist in orientation; organised through political parties and opposed to party politics; at times overlapping with trade unions and at other times independent of, and critical of, unions; and present in both industrialised and developing countries.^[29] While all tendencies of socialism consider themselves democratic, the term "democratic socialism" is often used to highlight its advocates' high value for democratic processes in the economy and democratic political systems,^[30] usually to draw contrast to tendencies they may perceive to be undemocratic in their approach. The term is frequently used to draw contrast to the political system of the Soviet Union, which critics argue operated in an authoritarian fashion.^{[31][32][33]}

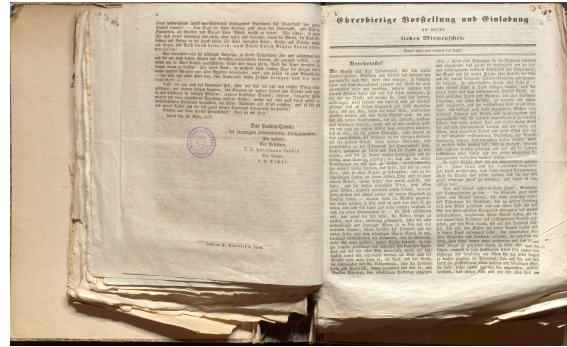
By the late 19th century, and after further articulation and advancement by Karl Marx and his collaborator Friedrich Engels as the culmination of technological development outstripping the economic dynamics of capitalism,^[34] "socialism" had come to signify opposition to capitalism and advocacy for a post-capitalist system based on some form of social ownership of the means of production.^{[35][36]} By the 1920s, social democracy and communism became the two dominant political tendencies within the international socialist movement.^[37] By this time, Socialism emerged as "the most influential secular movement of the twentieth century, worldwide. It was a political ideology (or world view), a wide and divided political movement"^[38] and while the emergence of the Soviet Union as the world's first nominally socialist state led to socialism's widespread association with the Soviet economic model, many economists and intellectuals have argued that in practice the model functioned as a form of state capitalism,^{[39][40][41]} or a non-planned administrative or command economy.^{[42][43]} Socialist parties and ideas remain a political force with varying degrees of power and influence in all continents, heading national governments in many countries around the world. Today, some socialists have also adopted the causes of other social movements, such as environmentalism, feminism and liberalism.^[44]

0.7.1 Etymology

The origin of the term socialism may be traced back and attributed to a number of originators, in addition to significant historical shifts in the usage and scope of the word.

For Andrew Vincent, "The word 'socialism' finds its root in the Latin *sociare*, which means to combine or to share. The related, more technical term in Roman and then medieval law was *societas*. This latter word could mean companionship and fellowship as well as the more legalistic idea of a consensual contract between freemen."^[45]

The term "socialism" was created by Henri de Saint-Simon, one of the founders of what would later be labelled "utopian socialism". Simon coined "socialism"



Utopian socialist pamphlet of Rudolf Sutermeister

as a contrast to the liberal doctrine of "individualism", which stressed that people act or should act as if they are in isolation from one another.^[46] The original "utopian" socialists condemned liberal individualism for failing to address social concerns during the industrial revolution, including poverty, social oppression, and gross inequalities in wealth; viewing liberal individualism as degenerating society into supporting selfish egoism that harmed community life through promoting a society based on competition.^[46] They presented socialism as an alternative to liberal individualism based on the shared ownership of resources, although their proposals for socialism differed significantly. Saint-Simon proposed economic planning, scientific administration, and the application of modern scientific advancements to the organization of society; by contrast, Robert Owen proposed the organization of production and ownership in cooperatives.^{[46][47]}

The term *socialism* is attributed to Pierre Leroux,^[48] and to Marie Roch Louis Reybaud in France; and in Britain to Robert Owen in 1827, father of the cooperative movement.^{[49][50]}

The modern definition and usage of "socialism" settled by the 1860s, becoming the predominant term among the group of words "co-operative", "mutualist" and "associationist", which had previously been used as synonyms. The term "communism" also fell out of use during this period, despite earlier distinctions between socialism and communism from the 1840s.^[51] An early distinction between "socialism" and "communism" was that the former aimed to only socialise production while the latter aimed to socialise both production and consumption (in the form of free access to final goods).^[52] However, by 1888 Marxists employed the term "socialism" in place of "communism", which had come to be considered an old-fashion synonym for "socialism". It wasn't until 1917 after the Bolshevik revolution that "socialism" came to refer to a distinct stage between capitalism and communism, introduced by Vladimir Lenin as a means to defend the Bolshevik seizure of power against traditional Marxist criticisms that Russia's productive forces were not sufficiently developed for socialist revolution.^[53]

A distinction between "communist" and "socialist" as de-

scriptors of political ideologies arose in 1918 after the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party renamed itself to the All-Russian Communist Party, where “communist” came to specifically mean socialists who supported the politics and theories of **Leninism**, **Bolshevism** and later **Marxism-Leninism**;^[54] although communist parties continued to describe themselves as socialists dedicated to socialism.^[55]

Linguistically, the contemporary connotation of the words *socialism* and *communism* accorded with the adherents’ and opponents’ cultural attitude towards religion. In Christian Europe, of the two, communism was believed to be the **atheist** way of life. In Protestant England, the word *communism* was too culturally and aurally close to the Roman Catholic *communion rite*, hence English atheists denoted themselves socialists.^[56] **Friedrich Engels** argued that in 1848, at the time when the *Communist Manifesto* was published, “socialism was respectable on the continent, while communism was not.” The **Owenites** in England and the **Fourierists** in France were considered “respectable” socialists, while working-class movements that “proclaimed the necessity of total social change” denoted themselves communists. This latter branch of socialism produced the communist work of **Étienne Cabet** in France and **Wilhelm Weitling** in Germany.^[57] The British moral philosopher **John Stuart Mill** also came to advocate a form of economic socialism within a liberal context. In later editions of his *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), Mill would argue that “as far as economic theory was concerned, there is nothing in principle in economic theory that precludes an economic order based on socialist policies.”^{[58][59]} While democrats looked to the **Revolutions of 1848** as a democratic revolution, which in the long run ensured liberty, equality, and fraternity, Marxists denounced 1848 as a betrayal of working-class ideals by a bourgeoisie indifferent to the legitimate demands of the proletariat.^[60]

0.7.2 History

Main article: History of socialism

Early socialism

Main articles: Utopian socialism, Revolutions of 1848, Paris Commune, and History of anarchism § Early history

Socialist models and ideas espousing common or public ownership have existed since antiquity. It has been claimed, though controversially, that there were elements of socialist thought in the politics of classical Greek philosophers **Plato**^[61] and **Aristotle**.^[62] **Mazdak**, a Persian communal proto-socialist,^[63] instituted communal possessions and advocated the public good. **Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī**, a Companion of Prophet Muhammad, is cred-



Charles Fourier, influential early French socialist thinker

ited by many as a principal antecedent of **Islamic socialism**.^{[64][65][66][67][68]} In the period right after the French Revolution, activists and theorists like **François-Noël Babeuf**, **Étienne-Gabriel Morelly**, **Philippe Buonarroti**, and **Auguste Blanqui** influenced the early French labour and socialist movements.^[69] In Britain, **Thomas Paine** proposed a detailed plan to tax property owners to pay for the needs of the poor in *Agrarian Justice*^[70] while **Charles Hall** wrote *The Effects of Civilization on the People in European States*, denouncing capitalism’s effects on the poor of his time^[71] which influenced the utopian schemes of **Thomas Spence**.^[72]

The first “self-conscious socialist movements developed in the 1820s and 1830s. The **Owenites**, **Saint-Simonians** and **Fourierists** provided a series of coherent analyses and interpretations of society. They also, especially in the case of the Owenites, overlapped with a number of other working-class movements like the **Chartists** in the United Kingdom.”^[73] The Chartists gathered significant numbers around the People’s Charter of 1838, which demanded the extension of suffrage to all male adults. Leaders in the movement also called for a more equitable distribution of income and better living conditions for the working classes. “The very first trade unions and consumers’ cooperative societies also emerged in the hinterland of the Chartist movement, as a way of bolstering the fight for these demands.”^[74] A later important socialist thinker in France was **Pierre-Joseph Proudhon** who proposed his philosophy of **mutualism** in which “everyone had an equal claim, either alone or as part of a small cooperative, to possess and use land and other resources as needed to make a living”.^[75] There were also currents

inspired by dissident Christianity of **Christian socialism** “often in Britain and then usually coming out of left liberal politics and a romantic anti-industrialism”^[69] which produced theorists such as **Edward Bellamy**, **Frederick Denison Maurice**, and **Charles Kingsley**.^[76]

The first advocates of socialism favoured social levelling in order to create a **meritocratic** or **technocratic** society based on individual talent. Count **Henri de Saint-Simon** is regarded as the first individual to coin the term *socialism*.^[77] Saint-Simon was fascinated by the enormous potential of science and technology and advocated a socialist society that would eliminate the disorderly aspects of capitalism and would be based on equal opportunities.^[78] He advocated the creation of a society in which each person was ranked according to his or her capacities and rewarded according to his or her work.^[77] The key focus of Saint-Simon’s socialism was on administrative efficiency and industrialism, and a belief that science was the key to progress.^[79] This was accompanied by a desire to implement a rationally organised economy based on planning and geared towards large-scale scientific and material progress,^[77] and thus embodied a desire for a more directed or **planned economy**. Other early socialist thinkers, such as **Thomas Hodgkin** and **Charles Hall**, based their ideas on **David Ricardo**’s economic theories. They reasoned that the equilibrium value of commodities approximated prices charged by the producer when those commodities were in elastic supply, and that these producer prices corresponded to the embodied labour – the cost of the labour (essentially the wages paid) that was required to produce the commodities. The **Ricardian socialists** viewed profit, interest and rent as deductions from this exchange-value.

West European social critics, including **Robert Owen**, **Charles Fourier**, **Pierre-Joseph Proudhon**, **Louis Blanc**, **Charles Hall**, and **Saint-Simon**, were the first modern socialists who criticised the excessive poverty and inequality of the **Industrial Revolution**. They advocated reform, with some such as Robert Owen advocating the transformation of society to small communities without private property. Robert Owen’s contribution to modern socialism was his understanding that actions and characteristics of individuals were largely determined by the social environment they were raised in and exposed to.^[79] On the other hand, **Charles Fourier** advocated **phalansteres** which were communities that respected individual desires (including sexual preferences), affinities and creativity and saw that work has to be made enjoyable for people.^[80] The ideas of Owen and Fourier were tried in practice in numerous **intentional communities** around Europe and the American continent in the mid-19th century.

Paris Commune The **Paris Commune** was a government that briefly ruled Paris from 18 March (more formally, from 28 March) to 28 May 1871. The Commune was the result of an uprising in Paris after France was defeated in the Franco-Prussian War. The Commune elec-



*The celebration of the election of the Commune, 28 March 1871. The **Paris Commune** was a major early implementation of socialist ideas*

tions held on 26 March elected a Commune council of 92 members, one member for each 20,000 residents.^[81] Despite internal differences, the Council began to organise the public services essential for a city of two million residents. It also reached a consensus on certain policies that tended towards a progressive, secular, and highly-democratic **social democracy**.

Because the Commune was only able to meet on fewer than 60 days in all, only a few decrees were actually implemented. These included the **separation of church and state**, the remission of rents owed for the entire period of the siege (during which, payment had been suspended), the abolition of **night work** in the hundreds of Paris **bakeries**, the granting of pensions to the unmarried companions and children of National Guards killed on active service; the free return, by the city **pawnshops**, of all workmen’s tools and household items valued up to 20 francs, pledged during the siege.^[82] The Commune was concerned that skilled workers had been forced to pawn their tools during the war; the postponement of commercial debt obligations, and the abolition of interest on the debts; and the **right of employees to take over and run an enterprise** if it were deserted by its owner; the Commune, nonetheless, recognised the previous owner’s right to compensation.^[82]

First International

The International Workingmen’s Association (IWA), also known as the *First International*, was founded in London in 1864. The **International Workingmen’s Association** united diverse revolutionary currents including French followers of **Proudhon**,^[83] **Blanquists**, **Philadelphes**, En-



Mikhail Bakunin speaking to members of the IWA at the Basel Congress in 1869

glish trade unionists, socialists and social democrats. The IWA held a preliminary conference in 1865 and had its first congress at Geneva in 1866. Due to the wide variety of philosophies present in the First International, there was conflict from the start. The first objections to Marx came from the mutualists who opposed communism and statism. However, shortly after Mikhail Bakunin and his followers (called collectivists while in the International) joined in 1868, the First International became polarised into two camps headed by Marx and Bakunin respectively.^[84] The clearest differences between the groups emerged over their proposed strategies for achieving their visions of socialism. The First International became the first major international forum for the promulgation of socialist ideas.

The followers of Bakunin were called collectivist anarchists and sought to collectivise ownership of the means of production while retaining payment proportional to the amount and kind of labor of each individual. Like Proudhonists, they asserted the right of each individual to the product of his labor and to be remunerated for their particular contribution to production. By contrast, anarcho-communists sought collective ownership of both the means and the products of labor. Errico Malatesta put it: "...instead of running the risk of making a confusion in trying to distinguish what you and I each do, let us all work and put everything in common. In this way each will give to society all that his strength permits until enough is produced for every one; and each will take all

that he needs, limiting his needs only in those things of which there is not yet plenty for every one."^[85] Anarchist communism as a coherent, modern economic-political philosophy was first formulated in the Italian section of the First International by Carlo Cafiero, Emilio Covelli, Errico Malatesta, Andrea Costa and other ex-Mazzinian republicans.^[86] Out of respect for Mikhail Bakunin, they did not make their differences with collectivist anarchism explicit until after Bakunin's death.^[87]

Syndicalism emerged in France inspired in part by the ideas of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and later by Fernand Pelloutier and Georges Sorel.^[88] It developed at the end of the 19th century "out of the French trade-union movement – *syndicat* is the French word for trade union. It was a significant force in Italy and Spain in the early 20th century until it was crushed by the fascist regimes in those countries. In the United States, syndicalism appeared in the guise of the Industrial Workers of the World, or "Wobblies," founded in 1905."^[88] Syndicalism is an economic system where industries are organised into confederations (syndicates);^[89] the economy is managed by negotiation between specialists and worker representatives of each field, comprising multiple non-competitive categorised units.^[90] Thus, syndicalism is a form of communism and economic corporatism, and also refers to the political movement and tactics used to bring about this type of system. An influential anarchist movement based on syndicalist ideas is anarcho-syndicalism.^[91] The International Workers Association is an international anarcho-syndicalist federation of various labor unions from different countries.

The Fabian Society' is a British socialist organisation which was established with the purpose of advancing the principles of socialism via gradualist and reformist means.^[92] The society laid many of the foundations of the Labour Party and subsequently affected the policies of states emerging from the decolonisation of the British Empire, most notably India and Singapore. Originally, the Fabian Society was committed to the establishment of a socialist economy, alongside a commitment to British imperialism as a progressive and modernising force.^[93] Today, the society functions primarily as a think tank and is one of 15 socialist societies affiliated with the Labour Party. Similar societies exist in Australia (the Australian Fabian Society), Canada (the Douglas-Coldwell Foundation and the now disbanded League for Social Reconstruction) and in New Zealand.

Guild socialism is a political movement advocating workers' control of industry through the medium of trade-related guilds "in an implied contractual relationship with the public".^[94] It originated in the United Kingdom and was at its most influential in the first quarter of the 20th century. Inspired by medieval guilds, theorists such as Samuel G. Hobson and G.D.H. Cole advocated the public ownership of industries and their organisation into guilds, each of which would be under the democratic control of its trade union. Guild socialists were less inclined than



G. D. H. Cole, English socialist theorist who was a member of the Fabian Society as well as the main theorist of guild socialism

Fabians to invest power in a state.^[88] At some point “like the American **Knights of Labor**, guild socialism wanted to abolish the wage system”.

Second International

As the ideas of Marx and Engels took on flesh, particularly in central Europe, socialists sought to unite in an international organisation. In 1889, on the centennial of the French Revolution of 1789, the **Second International** was founded, with 384 delegates from 20 countries representing about 300 labour and socialist organisations.^[95] It was termed the “Socialist International” and Engels was elected honorary president at the third congress in 1893. Anarchists were ejected and not allowed in, mainly due to pressure from Marxists.^[96] It has been argued that, at some point, the Second International turned “into a battleground over the issue of **libertarian** versus authoritarian socialism. Not only did they effectively present themselves as champions of minority rights; they also provoked the German Marxists into demonstrating a dictatorial intolerance which was a factor in preventing the British labor movement from following the Marxist direction indicated by such leaders as **H. M. Hyndman**”.^[97]

Reformism arose as an alternative to revolution. **Eduard Bernstein** was a leading **social democrat** in Germany who

proposed the concept of evolutionary socialism. Revolutionary socialists quickly targeted reformism: **Rosa Luxemburg** condemned Bernstein’s *Evolutionary Socialism* in her 1900 essay *Reform or Revolution?*. Revolutionary socialism encompasses multiple social and political movements that may define “revolution” differently from one another. The **Social Democratic Party (SPD)** in Germany became the largest and most powerful socialist party in Europe, despite working illegally until the anti-socialist laws were dropped in 1890. In the 1893 elections, it gained 1,787,000 votes, a quarter of the total votes cast, according to Engels. In 1895, the year of his death, Engels emphasised the Communist Manifesto’s emphasis on winning, as a first step, the “battle of democracy”.^[98]

Early 20th century

Main articles: History of anarchism § 20th century, Russian Revolution, German Revolution, Biennio Rosso, and Spanish Revolution

In 1904, Australians elected the first **Australian Labor**



Antonio Gramsci, member of the Italian Socialist Party and later leader and theorist of the Communist Party of Italy

Party prime minister: **Chris Watson**, who became the first democratically elected social democrat. In 1909 the first **Kibbutz** was established in Palestine^[99] by Russian Jewish Immigrants. The Kibbutz Movement would then expand through the 20th century following a doctrine of **zionist socialism**.^[100] The **British Labour Party** first won seats in the House of Commons in 1902. The

International Socialist Commission (ISC, also known as Berne International) was formed in February 1919 at a meeting in **Bern** by parties that wanted to resurrect the Second International.^[101]

By 1917, the patriotism of **World War I** changed into political radicalism in most of Europe, the **United States**, and **Australia**. Other socialist parties from around the world who were beginning to gain importance in their national politics in the early 20th century included the **Italian Socialist Party**, the **French Section of the Workers' International**, the **Spanish Socialist Workers' Party**, the **Swedish Social Democratic Party**, the **Russian Social Democratic Labour Party**, the **Socialist Party of America** in the **United States**, the **Argentinian Socialist Party** and the **Chilean Partido Obrero Socialista**.

Russian Revolution Main article: **Russian Revolution**

In February 1917, revolution exploded in **Russia**. Workers, soldiers and peasants established **soviets** (councils), the monarchy fell, and a provisional government convoked pending the election of a constituent assembly. In April of that year, **Vladimir Lenin**, leader of the *Majority* (or in Russian: "Bolshevik") faction of socialists in **Russia** and known for his profound and controversial expansions of **Marxism**, was allowed to cross **Germany** to return to his country from exile in **Switzerland**.

Lenin had published essays on his analysis of imperialism, the monopoly and globalisation phase of capitalism as predicted by Marx, as well as analyses on the social conditions of his contemporary time. He observed that as capitalism had further developed in Europe and America, the workers remained unable to gain class consciousness so long as they were too busy working and concerning with how to make ends meet. He therefore proposed that the social revolution would require the leadership of a vanguard party of class-conscious revolutionaries from the educated and politically active part of the population.^[102]

Upon arriving in **Petrograd**, he declared that the revolution in **Russia** was not over but had only begun, and that the next step was for the workers' soviets to take full state authority. He issued a thesis outlining the Bolshevik's party programme, including rejection of any legitimacy in the provisional government and advocacy for state power to be given to the peasant and working class through the soviets. The Bolsheviks became the most influential force in the soviets, and on 7 November, the capitol of the provisional government was stormed by Bolshevik Red Guards in what afterwards known as the "Great October Socialist Revolution". The rule of the provisional government was ended and the **Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic** – the world's first constitutionally socialist state – was established. On 25 January 1918, at the **Petrograd Soviet**, Lenin declared "Long live the world socialist revolution!"^[103] He pro-

posed an immediate armistice on all fronts, and transferred the land of the landed proprietors, the crown and the monasteries to the peasant committees without compensation.^[104]

On 26 January 1918, the day after assuming executive power, Lenin wrote *Draft Regulations on Workers' Control*, which granted workers control of businesses with more than five workers and office employees, and access to all books, documents and stocks, and whose decisions were to be "binding upon the owners of the enterprises".^[105] Governing through the elected soviets, and in alliance with the peasant-based **Left Socialist-Revolutionaries**, the Bolshevik government began nationalising banks, industry, and disavowed the national debts of the deposed **Romanov** royal régime. It sued for peace, withdrawing from **World War I**, and convoked a **Constituent Assembly** in which the peasant **Socialist-Revolutionary Party (SR)** won a majority.^[106]

The **Constituent Assembly** elected **Socialist-Revolutionary** leader **Victor Chernov** President of a **Russian republic**, but rejected the Bolshevik proposal that it endorse the Soviet decrees on land, peace and workers' control, and acknowledge the power of the **Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies**. The next day, the Bolsheviks declared that the assembly was elected on outdated party lists,^[107] and the **All-Russian Central Executive Committee** of the **Soviets** dissolved it.^{[108][109]} In March 1919 world communist parties formed **Comintern** (also known as the **Third International**) at a meeting in **Moscow**.^[110]

IWUSP Main article: **International Working Union of Socialist Parties**

Parties which did not want to be a part of the resurrected Second International (ISC) or Comintern formed the **International Working Union of Socialist Parties (IWUSP)**, also known as **Vienna International/Vienna Union/Two-and-a-Half International**) on 27 February 1921 at a conference in **Vienna**.^[111] The ISC and the IWUSP joined to form the **Labour and Socialist International (LSI)** in May 1923 at a meeting in **Hamburg**.^[112] Left wing groups which did not agree to the centralisation and abandonment of the soviets by the Bolshevik Party led **Left-wing uprisings** against the Bolsheviks; such groups included **Socialist Revolutionaries**,^[113] **Left Socialist Revolutionaries**, **Mensheviks**, and **anarchists**.^[114]

Within this left wing discontent the most large scale events were the worker's **Kronstadt rebellion**^{[115][116][117]} and the anarchist led **Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine** uprising which controlled an area known as the **Free Territory**.^{[118][119][120]}

Third International Main article: **Communist International**

The Bolshevik Russian Revolution of January 1918 engendered Communist parties worldwide, and their concomitant revolutions of 1917–23. Few Communists doubted that the Russian success of socialism depended on successful, working-class socialist revolutions in developed capitalist countries.^{[121][122]} In 1919, Lenin and Trotsky organised the world's Communist parties into a new international association of workers – the **Communist International**, (Comintern), also called the Third International.

The Russian Revolution also influenced uprisings in other countries around this time. The **German Revolution of 1918–1919** resulted in the replacing Germany's imperial government with a republic. The revolutionary period lasted from November 1918 until the formal establishment of the **Weimar Republic** in August 1919, and included an episode known as the **Bavarian Soviet Republic**^{[123][124][125][126]} and the **Spartacist uprising**. In Italy, the events known as the *Biennio Rosso*^{[127][128]} was characterised by mass strikes, worker manifestations and self-management experiments through land and factories occupations. In Turin and Milan, workers councils were formed and many factory occupations took place led by anarcho-syndicalists organised around the *Unione Sindacale Italiana*.^[129]

By 1920, the **Red Army**, under its commander Trotsky, had largely defeated the royalist White Armies. In 1921, War Communism was ended and, under the **New Economic Policy (NEP)**, private ownership was allowed for small and medium peasant enterprises. While industry remained largely state-controlled, Lenin acknowledged that the NEP was a necessary capitalist measure for a country unripe for socialism. Profiteering returned in the form of “NEP men” and rich peasants (**Kulaks**) gained power in the countryside.^[130] Nevertheless, the role of Trotsky in this episode has been questioned by other socialists, including ex-Trotskyists. In the United States, **Dwight Macdonald** broke with Trotsky and left the Trotskyist **Socialist Workers Party**, by raising the question of the **Kronstadt rebellion**, which Trotsky as leader of the **Soviet Red Army** and the other Bolsheviks had brutally repressed. He then moved towards democratic socialism^[131] and anarchism.^[132]

A similar critique of Trotsky's role on the events around the Kronstadt rebellion was raised by the American anarchist **Emma Goldman**. In her essay “Trotsky Protests Too Much” she says “I admit, the dictatorship under Stalin's rule has become monstrous. That does not, however, lessen the guilt of Leon Trotsky as one of the actors in the revolutionary drama of which Kronstadt was one of the bloodiest scenes.”^[133]

Fourth congress In 1922, the fourth congress of the **Communist International** took up the policy of the **United Front**, urging Communists to work with rank and file So-



Rosa Luxemburg, prominent Marxist revolutionary, leader of the German SPD and martyr and leader of the German Spartacist uprising, 1919

cial Democrats while remaining critical of their leaders, whom they criticised for betraying the working class by supporting the war efforts of their respective capitalist classes. For their part, the social democrats pointed to the dislocation caused by revolution, and later, the growing authoritarianism of the Communist Parties. When the **Communist Party of Great Britain** applied to affiliate to the **Labour Party** in 1920, it was turned down.

In 1923, on seeing the Soviet State's growing coercive power, a dying Lenin said Russia had reverted to “a bourgeois tsarist machine... barely varnished with socialism.”^[134] After Lenin's death in January 1924, the **Communist Party of the Soviet Union** – then increasingly under the control of Joseph Stalin – rejected the theory that socialism could not be built solely in the Soviet Union, in favour of the concept of *Socialism in One Country*. Despite the marginalised **Left Opposition's** demand for the restoration of Soviet democracy, Stalin developed a bureaucratic, authoritarian government, that was condemned by democratic socialists, anarchists and Trotskyists for undermining the initial socialist ideals of the Bolshevik Russian Revolution.^{[135][136]}

In 1924, the **Mongolian People's Republic** was established and was ruled by the **Mongolian People's Party**. The Russian Revolution and the appearance of the Soviet

State motivated a worldwide current of national Communist parties which ended having varying levels of political and social influence. Among these there appeared the Communist Party of France, the Communist Party USA, the Italian Communist Party, the Chinese Communist Party, the Mexican Communist Party, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Chilean Communist Party and the Communist Party of Indonesia.

Spanish Civil War Main article: Spanish Civil War
In Spain in 1936, the national anarcho-syndicalist trade



Flag of the CNT

union **Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT)** initially refused to join a popular front electoral alliance, and abstention by CNT supporters led to a right-wing election victory. But in 1936, the CNT changed its policy and anarchist votes helped bring the popular front back to power. Months later, the former ruling class responded with an attempted coup, sparking the **Spanish Civil War (1936–1939)**.^[137]

In response to the army rebellion, an anarchist-inspired movement of peasants and workers, supported by armed militias, took control of **Barcelona** and of large areas of rural Spain where they collectivised the land.^{[138][139]} The events known as the **Spanish Revolution** was a workers' social revolution that began during the outbreak of the **Spanish Civil War** in 1936 and resulted in the widespread implementation of anarchist and more broadly libertarian socialist organisational principles throughout various portions of the country for two to three years, primarily **Catalonia**, **Aragon**, **Andalusia**, and parts of the **Levante**.

Much of Spain's economy was put under worker control; in anarchist strongholds like **Catalonia**, the figure was as high as 75%, but lower in areas with heavy **Communist Party of Spain** influence, as the Soviet-allied party actively resisted attempts at collectivisation enactment. Factories were run through worker committees, agrarian areas became collectivised and run as libertarian communes. Anarchist historian **Sam Dolgoff** estimated that about eight million people participated directly or indirectly in the **Spanish Revolution**.^[140]

Mid-20th century

Further information: **History of the People's Republic of China (1949–76)**, **Decolonization § Decolonization after 1945**, **Eastern Bloc**, and **History of anarchism § Post-war years**

Post World War II **Trotsky's Fourth International** was established in France in 1938 when Trotskyists argued that the **Comintern** or **Third International** had become irretrievably “lost to Stalinism” and thus incapable of leading the international working class to political power.^[141] The rise of **Nazism** and the start of **World War II** led to the dissolution of the LSI in 1940. After the War, the Socialist International was formed in Frankfurt in July 1951 as a successor to the LSI.^[142]

After World War II, social democratic governments introduced social reform and wealth redistribution via state welfare and taxation. Social Democratic parties dominated post-war politics in countries such as France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Norway. At one point, France claimed to be the world's most state-controlled capitalist country. The nationalised public utilities included **Charbonnages de France (CDF)**, **Electricité de France (EDF)**, **Gaz de France (GDF)**, **Air France**, **Banque de France**, and **Régie Nationale des Usines Renault**.^[143]

In 1945, the **British Labour Party**, led by **Clement Attlee**, was elected to office based on a radical socialist programme. The UK Labour Government nationalised major public utilities such as mines, gas, coal, electricity, rail, iron, steel, and the Bank of England. **British Petroleum** was officially nationalised in 1951.^[144] **Anthony Crosland** said that in 1956, 25% of British industry was nationalised, and that public employees, including those in nationalised industries, constituted a similar proportion of the country's total employed population.^[145] The Labour Governments of 1964–1970 and 1974–1979 intervened further.^[146] It re-nationalised steel (1967, **British Steel**) after the Conservatives had denationalised it, and nationalised car production (1976, **British Leyland**).^[147] The **National Health Service** provided taxpayer-funded health care to everyone, free at the point of service.^[148] Working-class housing was provided in council housing estates, and university education became available via a school grant system.^[149]

Nordic model Main article: **Nordic model**

The **Nordic model** is the economic and social models of the **Nordic countries** (**Denmark**, **Iceland**, **Norway**, **Sweden** and **Finland**). During most of the post-war era, Sweden was governed by the **Swedish Social Democratic Party** largely in cooperation with trade unions and industry.^[150] In Sweden, the **Social Democratic Party** held power from 1936 to 1976, 1982 to 1991, 1994 to



Olof Palme, prime minister of Sweden for the Swedish Social Democratic Party, and a main architect of the Swedish social democratic model

2006, and 2014 to present.

From 1945 to 1962, the **Norwegian Labour Party** held an absolute majority in the parliament led by **Einar Gerhardsen** who was Prime Minister with 17 years in office. This particular adaptation of the **mixed market economy** is characterised by more generous **welfare states** (relative to other developed countries), which are aimed specifically at enhancing individual autonomy, ensuring the universal provision of basic human rights and stabilising the economy. It is distinguished from other welfare states with similar goals by its emphasis on maximising labour force participation, promoting gender equality, **egalitarian** and extensive benefit levels, large magnitude of redistribution, and expansionary fiscal policy.^[151]

USSR and Eastern Europe Main article: **History of the Soviet Union**

The USSR played a decisive role in the **Allied victory in World War II**.^{[152][153]} After the War, the USSR became a recognised superpower.^[154] The Soviet era saw some of the **most significant technological achievements** of the 20th century, including the world's first **spacecraft**, and the **first astronaut**. The Soviet economy was the modern world's first centrally planned economy. It was based on a system of state ownership of industry managed through **Gosplan** (the State Planning Commission), **Gosbank** (the State Bank) and the **Gossnab** (State Commission for Materials and Equipment Supply).

Economic planning was conducted through a series of **Five-Year Plans**. The emphasis was on fast development of heavy industry and the nation became one of the world's top manufacturers of a large number of basic and heavy industrial products, but it lagged in light industrial production and consumer durables.

The **Eastern Bloc** was the group of former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe, generally the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact^{[155][156][157]}

which included the **People's Republic of Poland**, the **German Democratic Republic**, the **People's Republic of Hungary**, the **People's Republic of Bulgaria**, the **Czechoslovak Socialist Republic**, the **Socialist Republic of Romania**, the **People's Socialist Republic of Albania** and the **Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia**. The **Hungarian Revolution of 1956** was a spontaneous nationwide revolt against the government of the **People's Republic of Hungary** and its Soviet-imposed policies, lasting from 23 October until 10 November 1956. Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev's** denunciation of the excesses of Stalin's regime during the **Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union** on 1956,^[158] as well as the revolt in Hungary,^{[159][160][161][162]} produced ideological fractures and disagreements within the communist and socialist parties of Western Europe.

Third World In the postwar years, socialism became increasingly influential throughout the so-called **Third World**. Embracing a new **Third World Socialism**, countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America often nationalised industries held by foreign owners. The **Chinese Kuomintang Party**, the current ruling party in Taiwan, was referred to as having a socialist ideology since Kuomintang's revolutionary ideology in the 1920s incorporated unique Chinese Socialism as part of its ideology.^{[163][164]} The Soviet Union trained Kuomintang revolutionaries in the **Moscow Sun Yat-sen University**. Movie theatres in the Soviet Union showed newsreels and clips of Chiang, at Moscow Sun Yat-sen University Portraits of Chiang were hung on the walls, and in the Soviet **May Day** Parades that year, Chiang's portrait was to be carried along with the portraits of Karl Marx, Lenin, Stalin and other socialist leaders.^[165]

The **Chinese Revolution** was the second stage in the **Chinese Civil War** which ended in the establishment of the **People's Republic of China** led by the **Chinese Communist Party**. The term "Third World" was coined by French demographer **Alfred Sauvy** in 1952, on the model of the **Third Estate**, which, according to the **Abbé Sieyès**, represented everything, but was nothing: "...because at the end this ignored, exploited, scorned Third World like the Third Estate, wants to become something too" (Sauvy).

The emergence of this new political entity, in the frame of the **Cold War**, was complex and painful. Several tentatives were made to organise newly independent states in order to oppose a common front towards both the US's and the USSR's influence on them, with the consequences of the **Sino-Soviet split** already at works. Thus, the **Non-Aligned Movement** constituted itself, around the main figures of Prime Minister **Jawaharlal Nehru** of India, President **Sukarno** of Indonesia, leader **Josip Broz Tito** of Yugoslavia, and **Gamal Abdel Nasser** of Egypt who successfully opposed the French and British imperial powers during the 1956 **Suez crisis**. After the 1954 **Geneva Conference** which ended the French war against

Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, the 1955 Bandung Conference gathered Nasser, Nehru, Tito, Sukarno, and Zhou Enlai, Premier of the People's Republic of China.

As many African countries gained independence during the 1960s, some of them rejected capitalism in favour of a more afrocentric economic model. The main architects of African Socialism were Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Léopold Senghor of Senegal, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Sékou Touré of Guinea.^[166]

The Cuban Revolution (1953–1959) was an armed revolt conducted by Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement and its allies against the government of Cuban President Fulgencio Batista. The revolution began in July 1953, and finally ousted Batista on 1 January 1959, replacing his government with Castro's revolutionary state. Castro's government later reformed along communist lines, becoming the Communist Party of Cuba in October 1965.^[167]

New Left Main article: [New Left](#)

The New Left was a term used mainly in the United Kingdom and United States in reference to activists, educators, agitators and others in the 1960s and 1970s who sought to implement a broad range of reforms on issues such as gay rights, abortion, gender roles and drugs^[168] in contrast to earlier leftist or Marxist movements that had taken a more vanguardist approach to social justice and focused mostly on labour unionisation and questions of social class.^{[169][170][171]} They rejected involvement with the labour movement and Marxism's historical theory of class struggle.^[172]

In the U.S., the "New Left" was associated with the Hippie movement and anti-war college campus protest movements, as well as the black liberation movements such as the Black Panther Party.^[173] While initially formed in opposition to the "Old Left" Democratic party, groups composing the New Left gradually became central players in the Democratic coalition.^[168]

Protests of 1968 Main article: [Protests of 1968](#)

The protests of 1968 represented a worldwide escalation of social conflicts, predominantly characterised by popular rebellions against military, capitalist, and bureaucratic elites, who responded with an escalation of political repression. These protests marked a turning point for the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, which produced revolutionary movements like the Black Panther Party; the prominent civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. organised the "Poor People's Campaign" to address issues of economic justice,^[174] while personally showing sympathy with democratic socialism.^[175] In reaction to the Tet Offensive, protests also sparked a broad movement in opposition to the Vietnam War all over the

United States and even into London, Paris, Berlin and Rome. In 1968 in Carrara, Italy the International of Anarchist Federations was founded during an international anarchist conference held there by the three existing European federations of France, the Italian and the Iberian Anarchist Federation as well as the Bulgarian federation in French exile.

Mass socialist or communist movements grew not only in the United States but also in most European countries. The most spectacular manifestation of this were the May 1968 protests in France, in which students linked up with wildcat strikes of up to ten million workers, and for a few days the movement seemed capable of overthrowing the government.

In many other capitalist countries, struggles against dictatorships, state repression, and colonisation were also marked by protests in 1968, such as the beginning of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, the Tlatelolco massacre in Mexico City, and the escalation of guerrilla warfare against the military dictatorship in Brazil. Countries governed by communist parties had protests against bureaucratic and military elites. In Eastern Europe there were widespread protests that escalated particularly in the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia. In response, USSR occupied Czechoslovakia. The occupation was denounced by the Italian and French^[176] Communist parties, and the Communist Party of Finland. Few western European political leaders defended the occupation, among them the Portuguese communist secretary-general Álvaro Cunhal.^[177] along with the Luxembourg party^[176] and conservative factions of the Greek party.^[176]

In the Chinese Cultural Revolution, a social-political youth movement mobilised against "bourgeois" elements which were seen to be infiltrating the government and society at large, aiming to restore capitalism. This movement motivated Maoism-inspired movements around the world in the context of the Sino-Soviet split.

In Indonesia, a right wing military regime led by Suharto killed between 500,000 and one million people, mainly to crush the growing influence of the Communist Party of Indonesia and other leftist sectors, with support from the United States government, which provided kill lists containing thousands of names of suspected high-ranking Communists.^{[178][179][180][181][182]}

In Latin America in the 1960s, a socialist tendency within the catholic church appeared which was called Liberation theology^{[184][185]} which motivated even the Colombian priest Camilo Torres to enter the ELN guerrilla. In Chile, Salvador Allende, a physician and candidate for the Socialist Party of Chile, was elected president through democratic elections in 1970. In 1973, his government was ousted by the U.S.-backed military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, which lasted until the late 1980s.^[186]

In Italy, Autonomia Operaia was a leftist movement particularly active from 1976 to 1978. It took an important role in the autonomist movement in the 1970s, aside



Salvador Allende, president of Chile and member of the Socialist Party of Chile. His presidency was ended by a CIA-backed military coup.^[183]

earlier organisations such as *Potere Operaio*, created after May 1968, and *Lotta Continua*.^[187] This experience prompted the contemporary socialist radical movement autonomism.^[188]

Late 20th century

Main articles: Eurocommunism, Nicaraguan Revolution, Dissolution of the Soviet Union, History of the People's Republic of China (1976–89), Third Way, and History of anarchism § Late 20th century

The Nicaraguan Revolution encompassed the rising opposition to the Somoza dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s, the campaign led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to violently oust the dictatorship in 1978–79, the subsequent efforts of the FSLN to govern Nicaragua from 1979 until 1990^[189] and the socialist measures which included widescale agrarian reform^{[190][191]} and educational programs.^[192] The People's Revolutionary Government was proclaimed on 13 March 1979 in Grenada which was overthrown by armed forces of the United States in 1983. The Salvadoran Civil War (1979–1992) was a conflict between the military-led government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), a coalition or 'umbrella organisation' of five socialist guerrilla groups. A coup on 15 October 1979 led to the killings of anti-coup protesters by the government as well as anti-disorder protesters by the guerrillas, and is widely seen as the tipping point towards the civil war.^[193]

In 1982, the newly elected French socialist government

of François Mitterrand made nationalisations in a few key industries, including banks and insurance companies.^[194]

Eurocommunism was a trend in the 1970s and 1980s in various Western European communist parties to develop a theory and practice of social transformation that was more relevant for a Western European country and less aligned to the influence or control of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Outside Western Europe, it is sometimes called Neocommunism.^[195] Some Communist parties with strong popular support, notably the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) adopted Eurocommunism most enthusiastically, and the Communist Party of Finland was dominated by Eurocommunists. The French Communist Party (PCF) and many smaller parties strongly opposed Eurocommunism and stayed aligned with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union until the end of the USSR.

In the late 1970s and in the 1980s, the Socialist International had extensive contacts and discussion with the two powers of the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union, about East-West relations and arms control. Since then, the SI has admitted as member parties the Nicaraguan FSLN, the left-wing Puerto Rican Independence Party, as well as former Communist parties such as the Democratic Party of the Left of Italy and the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). The Socialist International aided social democratic parties in re-establishing themselves when dictatorship gave way to democracy in Portugal (1974) and Spain (1975). Until its 1976 Geneva Congress, the SI had few members outside Europe and no formal involvement with Latin America.^[196]



Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1985 until 1991

After Mao's death in 1976 and the arrest of the faction known as the **Gang of Four**, who were blamed for the excesses of the Cultural Revolution, **Deng Xiaoping** took power and led the People's Republic of China to **significant economic reforms**. The Communist Party of China loosened governmental control over citizens' personal lives and the **communes** were disbanded in favour of private land leases. Thus, China's transition from a planned economy to a mixed economy named as "**socialism with Chinese characteristics**"^[197] which maintained state ownership rights over land, state or cooperative ownership of much of the heavy industrial and manufacturing sectors and state influence in the banking and financial sectors. China adopted its current constitution on 4 December 1982. **President Jiang Zemin** and **Premier Zhu Rongji** led the nation in the 1990s. Under their administration, China's economic performance pulled an estimated 150 million peasants out of poverty and sustained an average annual **gross domestic product** growth rate of 11.2%.^{[198][199]} At the **Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam** in December 1986, reformist politicians replaced the "old guard" government with new leadership.^{[200][201]} The reformers were led by 71-year-old **Nguyen Van Linh**, who became the party's new general secretary.^{[200][201]} Linh and the reformers implemented a series of **free-market** reforms – known as **Đổi Mới** ("Renovation") – which carefully managed the transition from a **planned economy** to a "**socialist-oriented market economy**".^{[202][203]} **Mikhail Gorbachev** wished to move the USSR towards of Nordic-style social democracy, calling it "a socialist beacon for all mankind."^{[204][205]} Prior to its dissolution in 1991, the USSR had the **second largest economy in the world** after the United States.^[206] With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the economic integration of the Soviet republics was dissolved, and overall industrial activity declined substantially.^[207] A lasting legacy remains in the physical infrastructure created during decades of combined industrial production practices, and widespread environmental destruction.^[208]

Many social democratic parties, particularly after the Cold War, adopted **neoliberal** market policies including **privatisation**, **deregulation** and **financialisation**. They abandoned their pursuit of moderate socialism in favour of **market liberalism**. By the 1980s, with the rise of conservative neoliberal politicians such as **Ronald Reagan** in the United States, **Margaret Thatcher** in Britain, **Brian Mulroney** in Canada and **Augusto Pinochet** in Chile, the Western **welfare state** was attacked from within, but state support for the corporate sector was maintained.^[209] **Monetarists** and neoliberals attacked social welfare systems as impediments to private entrepreneurship. In the UK, **Labour Party** leader **Neil Kinnock** made a public attack against the **entryist** group **Militant** at the 1985 Labour Party conference. The Labour Party ruled that **Militant** was ineligible for affiliation with the Labour Party, and the party gradually expelled **Militant** supporters. The Kinnock leadership had refused to support the

1984–1985 **miner's strike** over pit closures, a decision that the party's left wing and the **National Union of Mineworkers** blamed for the strike's eventual defeat. In 1989, at Stockholm, the 18th Congress of the Socialist International adopted a new *Declaration of Principles*, saying:

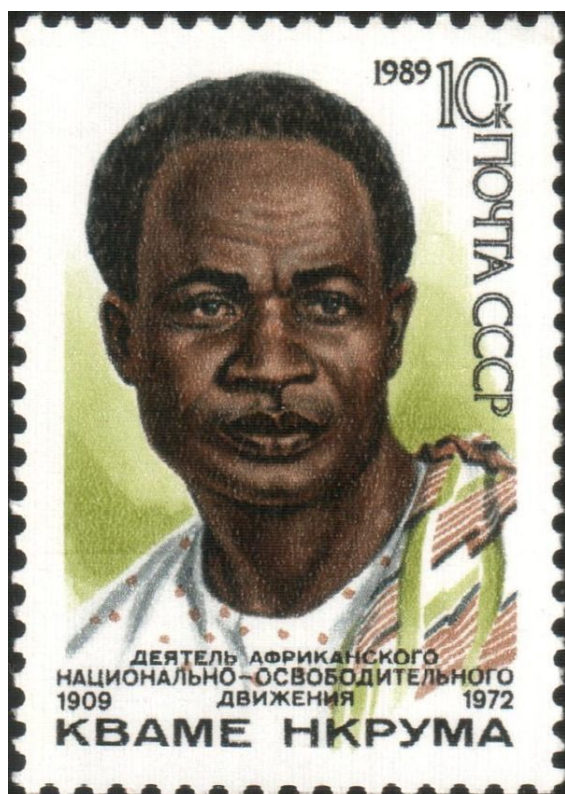
Democratic socialism is an international movement for freedom, social justice, and solidarity. Its goal is to achieve a peaceful world where these basic values can be enhanced and where each individual can live a meaningful life with the full development of his or her personality and talents, and with the guarantee of human and civil rights in a democratic framework of society.^[210]

In the 1990s, the British Labour Party, under **Tony Blair**, enacted policies based on the free market economy to deliver public services via the **Private finance initiative**. Influential in these policies was the idea of a "third Way" which called for a re-evaluation of welfare state policies.^[211] In 1995, the Labour Party re-defined its stance on socialism by re-wording **Clause IV** of its constitution, effectively rejecting socialism by removing all references to public, direct worker or municipal ownership of the means of production. The Labour Party stated: "The Labour Party is a democratic socialist party. It believes that, by the strength of our common endeavour we achieve more than we achieve alone, so as to create, for each of us, the means to realise our true potential, and, for all of us, a community in which power, wealth, and opportunity are in the hands of the many, not the few."^[212]

0.7.3 Contemporary socialist politics

African

African socialism has been and continues to be a major ideology around the continent. **Julius Nyerere** was inspired by **Fabian socialist** ideals.^[213] He was a firm believer in rural Africans and their traditions and **ujamaa**, a system of collectivisation that according to Nyerere was present before European imperialism. Essentially he believed Africans were already socialists. Other African socialists include **Jomo Kenyatta**, **Kenneth Kaunda**, **Nelson Mandela** and **Kwame Nkrumah**. **Fela Kuti** was inspired by socialism and called for a democratic African republic. In South Africa the **African National Congress (ANC)** abandoned its partial socialist allegiances after taking power, and followed a standard neoliberal route. From 2005 through to 2007, the country was wracked by many thousands of protests from poor communities. One of these gave rise to a mass movement of shack dwellers, **Abahlali baseMjondolo** that, despite major police suppression, continues to work for popular people's planning and against the creation of a market economy in land and housing.



Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana and theorist of African socialism, on a Soviet Union commemorative postage stamp

Asian

In Asia, states with socialist economies – such as the People’s Republic of China, North Korea, Laos, and Vietnam – have largely moved away from centralised economic planning in the 21st century, placing a greater emphasis on markets. Forms include the Chinese socialist market economy and the Vietnamese socialist-oriented market economy. They utilise state-owned corporate management models as opposed to modelling socialist enterprise on traditional management styles employed by government agencies. In China living standards continued to improve rapidly despite the late-2000s recession, but centralised political control remained tight.^[214] Brian Reynolds Myers in his book *The Cleanest Race*, and later supported by other academics,^{[215][216]} dismisses the idea that *Juche* is North Korea’s leading ideology, regarding its public exaltation as designed to deceive foreigners and that it exists to be praised and not actually read,^[217] pointing out that North Korea’s constitution of 2009 omits all mention of communism.^[216]

Though the authority of the state remained unchallenged under *Đổi Mới*, the government of Vietnam encourages private ownership of farms and factories, economic deregulation and foreign investment, while maintaining control over strategic industries.^[203] The Vietnamese economy subsequently achieved strong growth in agricultural and industrial production, construction, ex-

ports and foreign investment. However, these reforms have also caused a rise in income inequality and gender disparities.^{[218][219]}

Elsewhere in Asia, some elected socialist parties and communist parties remain prominent, particularly in India and Nepal. The Communist Party of Nepal in particular calls for multi-party democracy, social equality, and economic prosperity.^[220] In Singapore, a majority of the GDP is still generated from the state sector comprising government-linked companies.^[221] In Japan, there has been a resurgent interest in the Japanese Communist Party among workers and youth.^{[222][223]} In Malaysia, the Socialist Party of Malaysia got its first Member of Parliament, Dr. Jeyakumar Devaraj, after the 2008 general election. In 2010, there were 270 kibbutzim in Israel. Their factories and farms account for 9% of Israel’s industrial output, worth US\$8 billion, and 40% of its agricultural output, worth over \$1.7 billion.^[224] Some Kibbutzim had also developed substantial high-tech and military industries. For example, in 2010, Kibbutz Sasa, containing some 200 members, generated \$850 million in annual revenue from its military-plastics industry.^[225]

European

The United Nations *World Happiness Report 2013* shows that the happiest nations are concentrated in northern Europe, where the Nordic model of social democracy is employed, with Denmark topping the list. This is at times attributed to the success of the Nordic model in the region. The Nordic countries ranked highest on the metrics of real GDP per capita, healthy life expectancy, having someone to count on, perceived freedom to make life choices, generosity and freedom from corruption.^[226] The objectives of the Party of European Socialists, the European Parliament’s socialist and social-democratic bloc, are now “to pursue international aims in respect of the principles on which the European Union is based, namely principles of freedom, equality, solidarity, democracy, respect of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and respect for the Rule of Law.” As a result, today, the rallying cry of the French Revolution – “Egalité, Liberté, Fraternité” – which overthrew absolutism and ushered industrialisation into French society, is promoted as essential socialist values.^[227] To the left of the PES at the European level is the Party of the European Left, (PEL; also commonly abbreviated “European Left”) which is a political party at the European level and an association of democratic socialist, socialist^[228] and communist^[228] political parties in the European Union and other European countries. It was formed in January 2004 for the purposes of running in the 2004 European Parliament elections. PEL was founded on 8–9 May 2004 in Rome.^[229] Elected MEPs from member parties of the European Left sit in the European United Left–Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL) group in the European parliament.



Alexis Tsipras, socialist Prime Minister of Greece who led the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA) through a victory in the Greek legislative election, January 2015

The socialist Left Party in Germany grew in popularity^[230] due to dissatisfaction with the increasingly neoliberal policies of the SPD, becoming the fourth biggest party in parliament in the general election on 27 September 2009.^[231] Communist candidate Dimitris Christofias won a crucial presidential runoff in Cyprus, defeating his conservative rival with a majority of 53%.^[232] In Ireland, in the 2009 European election, Joe Higgins of the Socialist Party took one of three seats in the capital Dublin European constituency.

In Denmark, the Socialist People's Party (SF or Socialist Party for short) more than doubled its parliamentary representation to 23 seats from 11, making it the fourth largest party.^[233] In 2011, the socialist parties of Social Democrats, Socialist People's Party and the Danish Social Liberal Party formed government, after a slight victory over the liberal parties. They were led by Helle Thorning-Schmidt, and had the Red-Green Alliance as a supporting party.

In Norway, the Red-Green Coalition consists of the Labour Party (Ap), the Socialist Left Party (SV), and the Centre Party (Sp), and governed the country as a majority government from the 2005 general election until 2013.

In the Greek legislative election of January 2015, the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA), led by Alexis Tsipras, won a legislative election for the first time while the Communist Party of Greece won 15 seats in par-

liament. SYRIZA has been characterised as an anti-establishment party,^[234] whose success has sent "shock-waves across the EU".^[235]

In the UK, the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers put forward a slate of candidates in the 2009 European Parliament elections under the banner of No to EU – Yes to Democracy, a broad left-wing alter-globalisation coalition involving socialist groups such as the Socialist Party, aiming to offer an alternative to the "anti-foreigner" and pro-business policies of the UK Independence Party.^{[236][237][238]} In the following May 2010 UK general election, the Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition, launched in January 2010^[239] and backed by Bob Crow, the leader of the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers union (RMT), other union leaders and the Socialist Party among other socialist groups, stood against Labour in 40 constituencies.^{[240][241]} The Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition plans to contest the 2011 elections, having gained the endorsement of the RMT June 2010 conference.^[242] Left Unity was also founded in 2013 after the film director Ken Loach appealed for a new party of the left to replace the Labour Party, which he claimed had failed to oppose austerity and had shifted towards neoliberalism.^{[243][244][245][246]} In 2015, following a defeat at the 2015 UK general election, Jeremy Corbyn, a self-described socialist^[247] took over from Ed Miliband as leader of the Labour Party.

In France, the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) candidate in the 2007 presidential election, Olivier Besancenot, received 1,498,581 votes, 4.08%, double that of the Communist candidate.^[248] The LCR abolished itself in 2009 to initiate a broad anti-capitalist party, the New Anticapitalist Party, whose stated aim is to "build a new socialist, democratic perspective for the twenty-first century".^[249]

On 25 May 2014 in Spain the left wing party Podemos entered candidates for the 2014 European parliamentary elections, some of which were unemployed. In a surprise result, it polled 7.98% of the vote and thus was awarded five seats out of 54.^{[250][251]} while the older United Left was the third largest overall force obtaining 10.03 % and 5 seats, 4 more than the previous elections.^[252]

The current government of Portugal was established on 26 November 2015 as a Socialist Party (PS) minority government led by prime minister António Costa. Costa succeeded in securing support for a Socialist minority government by the Left Bloc (B.E.), the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and the Ecologist Party "The Greens" (PEV).^[253]

All around Europe and in some places of Latin America there exists a social center and squatting movement mainly inspired by autonomist and anarchist ideas.^{[254][255]}



Bernie Sanders, Junior US Senator of Vermont and self-described democratic socialist at his 2016 presidential campaign kickoff in May 2015.

North American

According to a 2013 article in *The Guardian*, “Contrary to popular belief, Americans don’t have an innate allergy to socialism. Milwaukee has had several socialist mayors (Frank Zeidler, Emil Seidel and Daniel Hoan), and there is currently an independent socialist in the US Senate, Bernie Sanders of Vermont.”^[256] Sanders, once mayor of Vermont’s largest city, Burlington, has described himself as a democratic socialist^{[257][258]} and has praised Scandinavian-style social democracy.^{[259][260]}

Anti-capitalism, anarchism and the anti-globalisation movement rose to prominence through events such as protests against the World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference of 1999 in Seattle. Socialist-inspired groups played an important role in these movements, which nevertheless embraced much broader layers of the population and were championed by figures such as Noam Chomsky. In Canada, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the precursor to the social democratic New Democratic Party (NDP), had significant success in provincial politics. In 1944, the Saskatchewan CCF formed the first socialist government in North America. At the federal level, the NDP was the Official Opposition, from 2011 through 2015.^[261]

South American and Caribbean

For the *Encyclopedia Britannica* “the attempt by Salvador Allende to unite Marxists and other reformers in a social-

ist reconstruction of Chile is most representative of the direction that Latin American socialists have taken since the late 20th century. ... Several socialist (or socialist-leaning) leaders have followed Allende’s example in winning election to office in Latin American countries.”^[75] Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, Bolivian President Evo Morales, and Ecuadorian president Rafael Correa refer to their political programmes as socialist. Chávez has adopted the term *socialism of the 21st century*. After winning reelection in December 2006, Chávez said, “Now more than ever, I am obliged to move Venezuela’s path towards socialism.”^[262] Hugo Chávez was also reelected in October 2012 for his third six-year term as President, but he died in March 2013 from cancer. After Chávez’s death on 5 March 2013, vice-president from Chavez’s party Nicolás Maduro assumed the powers and responsibilities of the President. A special election was held on 14 April of the same year to elect a new President, which Maduro won by a tight margin as the candidate of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela; he was formally inaugurated on 19 April.^[263] “Pink tide” is a term being used in contemporary 21st-century political analysis in the media and elsewhere to describe the perception that Leftist ideology in general, and Left-wing politics in particular, are increasingly influential in Latin America.^{[264][265][266]}



Presidents Fernando Lugo of Paraguay, Evo Morales of Bolivia, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva of Brazil, Rafael Correa of Ecuador, and Hugo Chávez of Venezuela, in Fórum Social Mundial for Latin America

Foro de São Paulo is a conference of leftist political parties and other organisations from Latin America and the Caribbean. It was launched by the Workers’ Party (Portuguese: *Partido dos Trabalhadores* – PT) of Brazil in 1990 in the city of São Paulo. The Forum of São Paulo was constituted in 1990 when the Brazilian Workers’ Party approached other parties and social movements of Latin America and the Caribbean with the objective of debating the new international scenario after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the consequences of the implementation of what were taken as neoliberal policies adopted at the time by contemporary right-leaning governments in the region, the stated main objective of the conference being to argue for alternatives to

neoliberalism.^[267] Among its member include current socialist and social-democratic parties currently in government in the region such as Bolivia's Movement for Socialism, Brazil's Workers Party, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Ecuadorian PAIS Alliance, the Venezuelan United Socialist Party of Venezuela, the Socialist Party of Chile, the Uruguayan Broad Front, the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front and the salvadorean Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

International

The Progressive Alliance is a political international founded on 22 May 2013 by political parties, the majority of whom are current or former members of the Socialist International. The organisation states the aim of becoming the global network of "the progressive", democratic, social-democratic, socialist and labour movement".^{[268][269]}

0.7.4 Social and political theory

Early socialist thought took influences from a diverse range of philosophies such as civic republicanism, Enlightenment rationalism, romanticism, forms of materialism, Christianity (both Catholic and Protestant), natural law and natural rights theory, utilitarianism and liberal political economy.^[270] Another philosophical basis for a lot of early socialism was the emergence of positivism during the European Enlightenment. Positivism held that both the natural and social worlds could be understood through scientific knowledge and be analyzed using scientific methods. This core outlook influenced early social scientists and different types of socialists ranging from anarchists like Peter Kropotkin to technocrats like Saint Simon.^[271]

The fundamental objective of socialism is to attain an advanced level of material production and therefore greater productivity, efficiency and rationality as compared to capitalism and all previous systems, under the view that an expansion of human productive capability is the basis for the extension of freedom and equality in society.^[272] Many forms of socialist theory hold that human behaviour is largely shaped by the social environment. In particular, socialism holds that social mores, values, cultural traits and economic practices are social creations and not the result of an immutable natural law.^{[273][274]} The object of their critique is thus not human avarice or human consciousness, but the material conditions and man-made social systems (i.e.: the economic structure of society) that gives rise to observed social problems and inefficiencies. Bertrand Russell, often considered to be the father of analytic philosophy, identified as a socialist. Bertrand Russell opposed the class struggle aspects of Marxism, viewing socialism solely as an adjustment of economic relations to accommodate modern machine production to



Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon, early French socialist

benefit all of humanity through the progressive reduction of necessary work time.^[275]

Socialists view creativity as an essential aspect of human nature, and define freedom as a state of being where individuals are able to express their creativity unhindered by constraints of both material scarcity and coercive social institutions.^[276] The socialist concept of individuality is thus intertwined with the concept of individual creative expression. Karl Marx believed that expansion of the productive forces and technology was the basis for the expansion of human freedom, and that socialism, being a system that is consistent with modern developments in technology, would enable the flourishing of "free individualities" through the progressive reduction of necessary labour time. The reduction of necessary labour time to a minimum would grant individuals the opportunity to pursue the development of their true individuality and creativity.^[277]

Criticism of capitalism

Socialists argue that the accumulation of capital generates waste through externalities that require costly corrective regulatory measures. They also point out that this process generates wasteful industries and practices that exist only to generate sufficient demand for products to be sold at a profit (such as high-pressure advertisement); thereby creating rather than satisfying economic demand.^{[278][279]}

Socialists argue that capitalism consists of irrational activity, such as the purchasing of commodities only to sell at a later time when their price appreciates, rather than for consumption, even if the commodity cannot be sold at a profit to individuals in need; therefore, a crucial criticism often made by socialists is that *making money*, or accumulation of capital, does not correspond to the satisfaction of demand (the production of *use-values*).^[280] The fundamental criterion for economic activity in capitalism is the accumulation of capital for reinvestment in production; this spurs the development of new, non-productive industries that don't produce use-value and only exist to keep the accumulation process afloat (otherwise the system goes into crisis), such as the spread of the *financial industry*, contributing to the formation of economic bubbles.^[281]

Socialists view *private property* relations as limiting the potential of *productive forces* in the economy. According to socialists, private property becomes obsolete when it concentrates into centralised, socialised institutions based on private appropriation of revenue (but based on cooperative work and internal planning in allocation of inputs) until the role of the capitalist becomes redundant.^[282] With no need for *capital accumulation* and a class of owners, private property in the means of production is perceived as being an outdated form of economic organization that should be replaced by a *free association* of individuals based on public or *common ownership* of these socialised assets.^{[283][284]} Private ownership imposes constraints on planning, leading to uncoordinated economic decisions that result in business fluctuations, unemployment and a tremendous waste of material resources during crisis of *overproduction*.^[285]

Excessive disparities in income distribution lead to social instability and require costly corrective measures in the form of redistributive taxation, which incurs heavy administrative costs while weakening the incentive to work, inviting dishonesty and increasing the likelihood of tax evasion while (the corrective measures) reduce the overall efficiency of the market economy.^[286] These corrective policies limit the incentive system of the market by providing things such as *minimum wages*, *unemployment insurance*, taxing profits and reducing the reserve army of labor, resulting in reduced incentives for capitalists to invest in more production. In essence, social welfare policies cripple the capitalism and its incentive system and are thus unsustainable in the long-run.^[287] Marxists argue that the establishment of a *socialist mode of production* is the only way to overcome these deficiencies. Socialists and specifically *Marxian socialists*, argue that the inherent conflict of interests between the working class and capital prevent optimal use of available human resources and leads to contradictory interest groups (labor and business) striving to influence the state to intervene in the economy in their favor at the expense of overall economic efficiency.

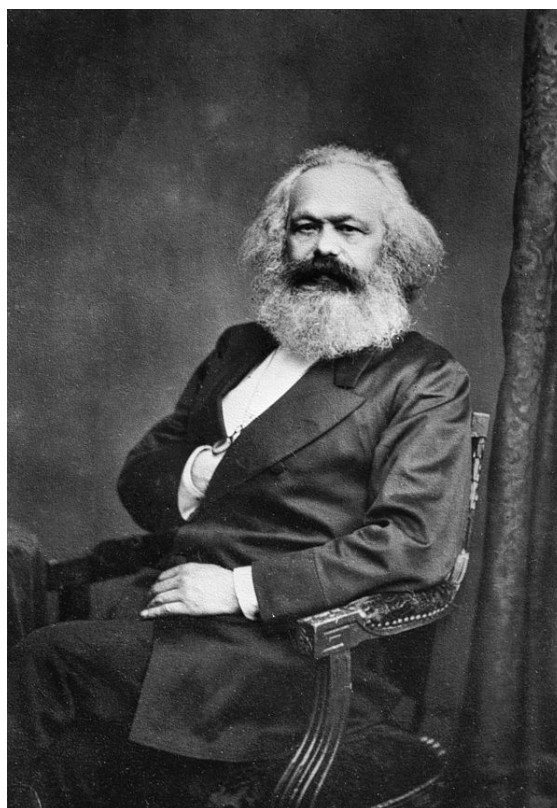
Early socialists (*Utopian socialists* and *Ricardian social-*

ists) criticised capitalism for concentrating *power* and *wealth* within a small segment of society.^[288] In addition, they complained that capitalism does not utilise available *technology* and resources to their maximum potential in the interests of the public.^[284]

Marxism

Main article: *Marxism*

At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure. – Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program*^[289]



The writings of Karl Marx provided the basis for the development of Marxist political theory and Marxian economics.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argued that socialism would emerge from historical necessity as capitalism rendered itself obsolete and unsustainable from increasing internal contradictions emerging from the development of the *productive forces* and technology. It was these advances in the productive forces combined with

the old **social relations of production** of capitalism that would generate contradictions, leading to working-class consciousness.^[290]

Marx and Engels held the view that the consciousness of those who earn a wage or salary (the **working class** in the broadest Marxist sense) would be moulded by their conditions of **wage slavery**, leading to a tendency to seek their freedom or **emancipation** by overthrowing ownership of the means of production by capitalists, and consequently, overthrowing the state that upheld this economic order. For Marx and Engels, conditions determine consciousness and ending the role of the capitalist class leads eventually to a **classless society** in which the **state would wither away**. The Marxist conception of socialism is that of a specific historical phase that will displace capitalism and precede **communism**. The major characteristics of socialism (particularly as conceived by Marx and Engels after the **Paris Commune** of 1871) are that the **proletariat** will control the means of production through a **workers' state** erected by the workers in their interests. Economic activity would still be organised through the use of incentive systems and social classes would still exist, but to a lesser and diminishing extent than under capitalism.

For orthodox Marxists, socialism is the lower stage of communism based on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his contribution" while upper stage communism is based on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need"; the upper stage becoming possible only after the socialist stage further develops economic efficiency and the automation of production has led to a superabundance of goods and services.^{[291][292]} Marx argued that the material productive forces (in industry and commerce) brought into existence by capitalism predicated a cooperative society since production had become a mass social, collective activity of the working class to create commodities but with private ownership (the relations of production or property relations). This conflict between collective effort in large factories and private ownership would bring about a conscious desire in the working class to establish collective ownership commensurate with the collective efforts their daily experience.^[289]

Role of the state

Socialists have taken different perspectives on the **state** and the role it should play in revolutionary struggles, in constructing socialism, and within an established socialist economy.

In the 19th century the philosophy of state socialism was first explicitly expounded by the German political philosopher **Ferdinand Lassalle**. In contrast to Karl Marx's perspective of the state, Lassalle rejected the concept of the state as a class-based power structure whose main function was to preserve existing class structures. Thus Lassalle also rejected the Marxist view that the state

was destined to "wither away". Lassalle considered the state to be an entity independent of class allegiances and an instrument of justice that would therefore be essential for achieving socialism.^[293]

Preceding the Bolshevik-led revolution in Russia, many socialists including **reformists**, **orthodox Marxist** currents such as **council communism**, anarchists and **libertarian socialists** criticised the idea of using the state to conduct central planning and own the means of production as a way to establish socialism. Following the victory of Leninism in Russia, the idea of "**state socialism**" spread rapidly throughout the socialist movement, and eventually "state socialism" came to be identified with the **Soviet economic model**.^[294]

Joseph Schumpeter rejected the association of socialism (and social ownership) with state ownership over the means of production, because the state as it exists in its current form is a product of capitalist society and cannot be transplanted to a different institutional framework. Schumpeter argued that there would be different institutions within socialism than those that exist within modern capitalism, just as **feudalism** had its own distinct and unique institutional forms. The state, along with concepts like **property** and **taxation**, were concepts exclusive to commercial society (capitalism) and attempting to place them within the context of a future socialist society would amount to a distortion of these concepts by using them out of context.^[295]

Utopian versus scientific

Main articles: **Utopian socialism** and **Scientific socialism**

Utopian socialism is a term used to define the first currents of modern socialist thought as exemplified by the work of **Henri de Saint-Simon**, **Charles Fourier**, and **Robert Owen**, which inspired **Karl Marx** and other early socialists.^[296] However, visions of imaginary ideal societies, which competed with revolutionary social-democratic movements, were viewed as not being grounded in the material conditions of society and as reactionary.^[297] Although it is technically possible for any set of ideas or any person living at any time in history to be a utopian socialist, the term is most often applied to those socialists who lived in the first quarter of the 19th century who were ascribed the label "utopian" by later socialists as a negative term, in order to imply naivete and dismiss their ideas as fanciful or unrealistic.^[79]

Religious sects whose members live communally, such as the **Hutterites**, for example, are not usually called "utopian socialists", although their way of living is a prime example. They have been categorised as **religious socialists** by some. Likewise, modern **intentional communities** based on socialist ideas could also be categorised as "utopian socialist".

For Marxists, the development of capitalism in western Europe provided a material basis for the possibility of bringing about socialism because, according to the *Communist Manifesto*, “What the bourgeoisie produces above all is its own grave diggers”,^[298] namely the working class, which must become conscious of the historical objectives set it by society.

Reform versus revolution

Main articles: **Revolutionary socialism** and **Reformism**

Revolutionary socialists believe that a social revolution is necessary to effect structural changes to the socio-economic structure of society. Among revolutionary socialists there are differences in strategy, theory, and the definition of “revolution”. Orthodox Marxists and Left Communists take an **impossibilist** stance, believing that revolution should be spontaneous as a result of contradictions in society due to technological changes in the productive forces. Lenin theorised that under capitalism the workers cannot achieve class consciousness beyond organising into **unions** and making demands of the capitalists. Therefore, **Leninists** advocate that it is historically necessary for a **vanguard** of class-conscious revolutionaries to take a central role in coordinating the social revolution to overthrow the capitalist state and, eventually, the institution of the state altogether.^[299] “Revolution” is not necessarily defined by revolutionary socialists as violent insurrection,^[300] but as a complete dismantling and rapid transformation of all areas of class society led by the majority of the masses: the working class.

Reformism is generally associated with **social democracy** and **gradualist** democratic socialism. Reformism is the belief that socialists should stand in parliamentary elections within capitalist society and, if elected, utilise the **machinery of government** to pass political and social reforms for the purposes of ameliorating the instabilities and inequities of capitalism.

0.7.5 Economics

Main article: **Socialist economics**

See also: **Production for use**

Socialist economics starts from the premise that “individuals do not live or work in isolation but live in cooperation with one another. Furthermore, everything that people produce is in some sense a social product, and everyone who contributes to the production of a good is entitled to a share in it. Society as a whole, therefore, should own or at least control property for the benefit of all its members.”^[88]

The original conception of socialism was an economic system whereby production was organised in a way to di-

rectly produce goods and services for their utility (or use-value in classical and Marxian economics): the *direct allocation* of resources in terms of physical units as opposed to financial calculation and the economic laws of capitalism (see: **Law of value**), often entailing the end of capitalistic economic categories such as **rent**, **interest**, **profit** and **money**.^[301] In a fully developed socialist economy, production and balancing factor inputs with outputs becomes a technical process to be undertaken by engineers.^[302]

Market socialism refers to an array of different economic theories and systems that utilise the market mechanism to organise production and to allocate factor inputs among socially owned enterprises, with the economic surplus (profits) accruing to society in a **social dividend** as opposed to private capital owners.^[303] Variations of market socialism include **Libertarian** proposals such as **mutualism**, based on classical economics, and neoclassical economic models such as the **Lange Model**. However, some economists such as **Joseph Stiglitz**, **Mancur Olson** and others not specifically advancing anti-socialist positions have shown that prevailing economic models upon which such democratic or market socialism models might be based have logical flaws or unworkable presuppositions.^{[304][305]}

The ownership of the **means of production** can be based on direct ownership by the users of the productive property through **worker cooperative**; or commonly owned by all of society with management and control delegated to those who operate/use the means of production; or **public ownership** by a state apparatus. **Public ownership** may refer to the creation of **state-owned enterprises**, **nationalisation**, **municipalisation** or autonomous collective institutions. Some socialists feel that in a socialist economy, at least the '**commanding heights**' of the economy must be publicly owned.^[306] However, economic liberals and right libertarians view private ownership of the **means of production** and the market exchange as natural entities or moral rights which are central to their conceptions of freedom and liberty, and view the economic dynamics of capitalism as immutable and absolute. Therefore, they perceive **public ownership** of the **means of production**, **cooperatives** and **economic planning** as infringements upon liberty.^{[307][308]}

Management and control over the activities of enterprises are based on self-management and self-governance, with equal power-relations in the workplace to maximise occupational autonomy. A socialist form of organisation would eliminate controlling hierarchies so that only a hierarchy based on technical knowledge in the workplace remains. Every member would have decision-making power in the firm and would be able to participate in establishing its overall policy objectives. The policies/goals would be carried out by the technical specialists that form the coordinating hierarchy of the firm, who would establish plans or directives for the work community to accomplish these goals.^[309]

The role and use of money in a hypothetical socialist economy is a contested issue. According to the **Austrian school** economist **Ludwig von Mises**, an economic system that does not use **money**, financial calculation and **market pricing** will be unable to effectively value **capital goods** and coordinate production, and therefore these types of socialism are impossible because they lack the necessary information to perform economic calculation in the first place.^{[310][311]} Socialists including **Karl Marx**, **Robert Owen**, **Pierre-Joseph Proudhon** and **John Stuart Mill** advocated various forms of **labour vouchers** or **labour-credits**, which like money would be used to acquire articles of consumption, but unlike money, they are unable to become **capital** and would not be used to allocate resources within the production process. Bolshevik revolutionary **Leon Trotsky** argued that money could not be arbitrarily abolished following a socialist revolution. Money had to exhaust its “historic mission”, meaning it would have to be used until its function became redundant, eventually being transformed into bookkeeping receipts for statisticians, and only in the more distant future would money not be required for even that role.^[312]

The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the real source of the evil... I am convinced there is only one way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals. In such an economy, the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilised in a planned fashion. A planned economy, which adjusts production to the needs of the community, would distribute the work to be done among all those able to work and would guarantee a livelihood to every man, woman, and child. The education of the individual, in addition to promoting his own innate abilities, would attempt to develop in him a sense of responsibility for his fellow men in place of the glorification of power and success in our present society.

— **Albert Einstein**, *Why Socialism?*, 1949^[313]

Planned economy

Main article: **Planned economy**

A planned economy is a type of economy consisting of a mixture of public ownership of the means of production and the coordination of production and distribution through **economic planning**. There are two major types of planning: decentralised-planning and centralised-planning. **Enrico Barone** provided a comprehensive theoretical framework for a planned socialist

economy. In his model, assuming perfect computation techniques, simultaneous equations relating inputs and outputs to ratios of equivalence would provide appropriate valuations in order to balance supply and demand.^[314]

The most prominent example of a planned economy was the **economic system of the Soviet Union**, and as such, the centralised-planned economic model is usually associated with the **Communist states** of the 20th century, where it was combined with a single-party political system. In a centrally planned economy, decisions regarding the quantity of goods and services to be produced are planned in advance by a planning agency. (See also: **Analysis of Soviet-type economic planning**). The economic systems of the Soviet Union and the **Eastern Bloc** are further classified as *command economies*, which are defined as systems where economic coordination is undertaken by commands, directives and production targets.^[315] Studies by economists of various political persuasions on the actual functioning of the Soviet economy indicate that it was not actually a planned economy. Instead of conscious planning, the Soviet economy was based on a process whereby the plan was modified by localised agents and the original plans went largely unfulfilled. Planning agencies, ministries and enterprises all adapted and bargained with each other during the formulation of the plan as opposed to following a plan passed down from a higher authority, leading some economists to suggest that planning did not actually take place within the Soviet economy and that a better description would be an “administered” or “managed” economy.^[316]

Although central planning was largely supported by **Marxist–Leninists**, some factions within the Soviet Union before the rise of **Stalinism** held positions contrary to central planning. Leon Trotsky rejected central planning in favour of decentralised planning. He argued that central planners, regardless of their intellectual capacity, would be unable to coordinate effectively all economic activity within an economy because they operated without the input and tacit knowledge embodied by the participation of the millions of people in the economy. As a result, central planners would be unable to respond to local economic conditions.^[317] **State socialism** is unfeasible in this view because information cannot be aggregated by a central body and effectively used to formulate a plan for an entire economy, because doing so would result in **distorted or absent price signals**.^[318]

Self-managed economy

See also: **Decentralised planning**, **Economic democracy**, and **Workers’ self-management**

A self-managed, decentralised economy is based on autonomous self-regulating economic units and a decentralised mechanism of resource allocation and decision-making. This model has found support in notable clas-

sical and neoclassical economists including Alfred Marshall, John Stuart Mill and Jaroslav Vanek. There are numerous variations of self-management, including labour-managed firms and worker-managed firms. The goals of self-management are to eliminate exploitation and reduce alienation.^[319] Guild socialism is a political movement advocating workers' control of industry through the medium of trade-related guilds "in an implied contractual relationship with the public".^[320] It originated in the United Kingdom and was at its most influential in the first quarter of the 20th century.^[320] It was strongly associated with G. D. H. Cole and influenced by the ideas of William Morris.

One such system is the cooperative economy, a largely free market economy in which workers manage the firms and democratically determine remuneration levels and labour divisions. Productive resources would be legally owned by the cooperative and rented to the workers, who would enjoy usufruct rights.^[321] Another form of decentralised planning is the use of cybernetics, or the use of computers to manage the allocation of economic inputs. The socialist-run government of Salvador Allende in Chile experimented with Project Cybersyn, a real-time information bridge between the government, state enterprises and consumers.^[322] Another, more recent, variant is participatory economics, wherein the economy is planned by decentralised councils of workers and consumers. Workers would be remunerated solely according to effort and sacrifice, so that those engaged in dangerous, uncomfortable, and strenuous work would receive the highest incomes and could thereby work less.^[323] A contemporary model for a self-managed, non-market socialism is Pat Devine's model of negotiated coordination. Negotiated coordination is based upon social ownership by those affected by the use of the assets involved, with decisions made by those at the most localised level of production.^[324]

Michel Bauwens identifies the emergence of the open software movement and peer-to-peer production as a new, alternative mode of production to the capitalist economy and centrally planned economy that is based on collaborative self-management, common ownership of resources, and the production of use-values through the free cooperation of producers who have access to distributed capital.^[325]

Anarchist communism is a theory of anarchism which advocates the abolition of the state, private property, and capitalism in favour of common ownership of the means of production.^{[326][327]} Anarcho-syndicalism was practiced in Catalonia and other places in the Spanish Revolution during the Spanish Civil War. Sam Dolgoff estimated that about eight million people participated directly or at least indirectly in the Spanish Revolution.^[328]

The economy of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia established a system based on market-based allocation, social ownership of the means of pro-

duction and self-management within firms. This system substituted Yugoslavia's Soviet-type central planning with a decentralised, self-managed system after reforms in 1953.^[329]

The Marxian economist Richard D. Wolff argues that "re-organising production so that workers become collectively self-directed at their work-sites" not only moves society beyond both capitalism and state socialism of the last century, but would also mark another milestone in human history, similar to earlier transitions out of slavery and feudalism.^[330] As an example, Wolff claims that Mondragon is "a stunningly successful alternative to the capitalist organisation of production."^[331]

State-directed economy

See also: State socialism

State socialism can be used to classify any variety of socialist philosophies that advocates the ownership of the means of production by the state apparatus, either as a transitional stage between capitalism and socialism, or as an end-goal in itself. Typically it refers to a form of technocratic management, whereby technical specialists administer or manage economic enterprises on behalf of society (and the public interest) instead of workers' councils or workplace democracy.

A state-directed economy may refer to a type of mixed economy consisting of public ownership over large industries, as promoted by various Social democratic political parties during the 20th century. This ideology influenced the policies of the British Labour Party during Clement Attlee's administration. In the biography of the 1945 UK Labour Party Prime Minister Clement Attlee, Francis Beckett states: "the government... wanted what would become known as a mixed economy".^[332]

Nationalisation in the UK was achieved through compulsory purchase of the industry (i.e. with compensation). British Aerospace was a combination of major aircraft companies British Aircraft Corporation, Hawker Siddeley and others. British Shipbuilders was a combination of the major shipbuilding companies including Cammell Laird, Govan Shipbuilders, Swan Hunter, and Yarrow Shipbuilders; the nationalisation of the coal mines in 1947 created a coal board charged with running the coal industry commercially so as to be able to meet the interest payable on the bonds which the former mine owners' shares had been converted into.^{[333][334]}

Market socialism

Main article: Market socialism

Market socialism consists of publicly owned or cooperatively owned enterprises operating in a market economy.

It is a system that utilises the market and **monetary prices** for the allocation and accounting of the **means of production**, thereby retaining the process of **capital accumulation**. The profit generated would be used to directly remunerate employees, collectively sustain the enterprise or finance public institutions.^[335] In state-oriented forms of market socialism, in which state enterprises attempt to maximise profit, the profits can be used to fund government programs and services through a **social dividend**, eliminating or greatly diminishing the need for various forms of taxation that exist in capitalist systems. The neo-classical economist **Léon Walras** believed that a socialist economy based on state ownership of land and natural resources would provide a means of public finance to make income taxes unnecessary.^[336] Yugoslavia implemented a market socialist economy based on cooperatives and worker self-management.



Proudhon and his children, by Gustave Courbet, 1865. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, main theorist of mutualism and influential French socialist thinker.

Mutualism is an economic theory and anarchist school of thought that advocates a society where each person might possess a **means of production**, either individually or collectively, with trade representing equivalent amounts of labour in the **free market**.^[337] Integral to the scheme was the establishment of a mutual-credit bank that would lend to producers at a minimal interest rate, just high enough to cover administration.^[338] Mutualism is based on a **labour theory of value** that holds that when labour or its product is sold, in exchange, it ought to receive goods or services embodying “the amount of labour necessary to produce an article of exactly similar and equal utility”.^[339]

The current economic system in China is formally referred to as a **socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics**. It combines a large state sector that comprises the ‘commanding heights’ of the economy, which are guaranteed their public ownership status by law,^[340] with a private sector mainly engaged in commodity production and light industry responsible from anywhere between 33%^[341] (People’s Daily Online 2005) to over 70% of GDP generated in 2005.^[342] Although there has been a

rapid expansion of private-sector activity since the 1980s, privatisation of state assets was virtually halted and were partially reversed in 2005.^[343] The current Chinese economy consists of 150 **corporatised** state-owned enterprises that report directly to China’s central government.^[344] By 2008, these state-owned corporations had become increasingly dynamic and generated large increases in revenue for the state,^{[345][346]} resulting in a state-sector led recovery during the 2009 financial crises while accounting for most of China’s economic growth.^[347] However, the Chinese economic model is widely cited as a contemporary form of state capitalism, the major difference between Western capitalism and the Chinese model being the degree of state-ownership of shares in publicly listed corporations.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam has adopted a similar model after the **Doi Moi** economic renovation, but slightly differs from the Chinese model in that the Vietnamese government retains firm control over the state sector and strategic industries, but allows for private-sector activity in commodity production.^[348]

0.7.6 Politics



Socialists in Union Square, New York City on May Day 1912

The major socialist political movements are described below. Independent socialist theorists, **utopian socialist** authors, and academic supporters of socialism may not be represented in these movements. Some political groups have called themselves socialist while holding views that some consider antithetical to socialism. The term *socialist* has also been used by some politicians on the **political right** as an epithet against certain individuals who do not consider themselves to be socialists, and against policies that are not considered socialist by their proponents.

There are many variations of socialism and as such there is no single definition encapsulating all of socialism. However, there have been common elements identified by scholars.^[349] Angelo S. Rappoport in his *Dictionary of Socialism* (1924) analysed forty definitions of socialism to conclude that common elements of socialism include:

general criticisms of the social effects of **private ownership** and control of capital – as being the cause of poverty, low wages, unemployment, economic and social inequality, and a lack of economic security; a general view that the solution to these problems is a form of collective control over the **means of production, distribution and exchange** (the degree and means of control vary amongst socialist movements); agreement that the outcome of this collective control should be a society based upon **social justice**, including social equality, economic protection of people, and should provide a more satisfying life for most people.^[350] Bhikhu Parekh in *The Concepts of Socialism* (1975) identifies four core principles of socialism and particularly socialist society: sociality, social responsibility, cooperation, and planning.^[351] Michael Freeden in his study *Ideologies and Political Theory* (1996) states that all socialists share five themes: the first is that socialism posits that society is more than a mere collection of individuals; second, that it considers human welfare a desirable objective; third, that it considers humans by nature to be active and productive; fourth, it holds the belief of human equality; and fifth, that history is progressive and will create positive change on the condition that humans work to achieve such change.^[351]

Anarchism

Main article: Anarchism

Anarchism is a **political philosophy** that advocates **stateless societies** often defined as **self-governed** voluntary institutions,^{[352][353][354][355]} but that several authors have defined as more specific institutions based on **non-hierarchical free associations**.^{[356][357][358][359]} Anarchism holds the state to be undesirable, unnecessary, or harmful.^{[360][361]} While anti-statism is central, some argue^[362] that anarchism entails opposing authority or hierarchical organisation in the conduct of human relations, including, but not limited to, the state system.^{[356][363][364][365][366][367][368]} Mutualists advocate market socialism, collectivist anarchists workers cooperatives and salaries based on the amount of time contributed to production, anarcho-communists advocate a direct transition from capitalism to libertarian communism and a gift economy and anarcho-syndicalists worker's direct action and the general strike.

Democratic socialism

Main article: Democratic socialism

Modern democratic socialism is a broad political movement that seeks to promote the ideals of socialism within the context of a democratic system. Some Democratic socialists support social democracy as a temporary measure to reform the current system, while others reject re-

formism in favour of more revolutionary methods. Modern social democracy emphasises a program of gradual legislative modification of capitalism in order to make it more equitable and humane, while the theoretical end goal of building a socialist society is either completely forgotten or redefined in a pro-capitalist way. The two movements are widely similar both in terminology and in ideology, although there are a few key differences.

The major difference between social democracy and democratic socialism is the object of their politics: contemporary social democrats support a **welfare state** and unemployment insurance as a means to “humanise” capitalism, whereas democratic socialists seek to replace capitalism with a socialist economic system, arguing that any attempt to “humanise” capitalism through regulations and welfare policies would distort the market and create economic contradictions.^[369]

Democratic socialism generally refers to any political movement that seeks to establish an economy based on **economic democracy** by and for the working class. Democratic socialism is difficult to define, and groups of scholars have radically different definitions for the term. Some definitions simply refer to all forms of socialism that follow an electoral, reformist or evolutionary path to socialism, rather than a revolutionary one.^[370]

You can't talk about ending the slums without first saying profit must be taken out of slums. You're really tampering and getting on dangerous ground because you are messing with folk then. You are messing with captains of industry. Now this means that we are treading in difficult water, because it really means that we are saying that something is wrong with capitalism. There must be a better distribution of wealth, and maybe America must move toward a democratic socialism.

— Martin Luther King, Jr., 1966.^{[371][372][373]}

Leninism and precedents

Main articles: Blanquism and Marxism–Leninism

Blanquism refers to a conception of revolution generally attributed to Louis Auguste Blanqui which holds that socialist revolution should be carried out by a relatively small group of highly organised and secretive conspirators.^[374] Having seized power, the revolutionaries would then use the power of the state to introduce socialism. It is considered a particular sort of 'putschism' – that is, the view that political revolution should take the form of a *putsch* or *coup d'état*.^[375] Rosa Luxemburg and Eduard Bernstein^[376] have criticised Lenin that his conception of revolution was elitist and essentially 'Blanquist'.^[377] Marxism–Leninism is a political ideology

combining Marxism (the scientific socialist concepts theorised by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels) and Leninism (Vladimir Lenin's theoretical expansions of Marxism which include anti-imperialism, democratic centralism, and party-building principles).^[378] Marxism–Leninism was the official ideology of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist International (1919–43) and later it became the main guiding ideology for Trotskyists, Maoists, and Stalinists.

Libertarian socialism

Main article: [Libertarian socialism](#)

Libertarian socialism (sometimes called *social anar-*



The first anarchist journal to use the term "libertarian" was Le Libertaire, Journal du Mouvement Social and it was published in New York City between 1858 and 1861 by French anarcho-communist Joseph Déjacque.^[379] Joseph Déjacque was the first recorded person to describe himself as "libertarian".^[380]

chism,^{[381][382]} left-libertarianism^{[383][384]} and socialist libertarianism^[385] is a group of anti-authoritarian^[386] political philosophies inside the socialist movement that rejects socialism as centralised state ownership and control of the economy^[387] including criticism of wage labour relationships within the workplace,^[388] as well as the state itself.^[389] It emphasises workers' self-management of the workplace^[389] and decentralised structures of political organization,^[390] asserting that a society based on freedom and equality can be achieved through abolishing authoritarian institutions that con-

trol certain means of production and subordinate the majority to an owning class or political and economic elite.^[391] Libertarian socialists generally place their hopes in decentralised means of direct democracy and federal or confederal associations "We therefore foresee a Society in which all activities will be coordinated, a structure that has, at the same time, sufficient flexibility to permit the greatest possible autonomy for social life, or for the life of each enterprise, and enough cohesiveness to prevent all disorder...In a well-organized society, all of these things must be systematically accomplished by means of parallel federations, vertically united at the highest levels, constituting one vast organism in which all economic functions will be performed in solidarity with all others and that will permanently preserve the necessary cohesion." Gaston Leval. such as libertarian municipalism, citizens' assemblies, trade unions, and workers' councils.^{[392][393]} All of this is generally done within a general call for libertarian^[394] and voluntary human relationships^[395] through the identification, criticism, and practical dismantling of illegitimate authority in all aspects of human life.^{[356][363][364][365][396][397][398][399]} As such libertarian socialism, within the larger socialist movement, seeks to distinguish itself both from Leninism/Bolshevism and from social democracy.^[400]

Past and present political philosophies and movements commonly described as libertarian socialist include anarchism (especially anarchist communism, anarchist collectivism, anarcho-syndicalism,^[401] and mutualism^[402]) as well as autonomism, communalism, participism, revolutionary syndicalism, and libertarian Marxist philosophies such as council communism and Luxemburgism,^[403] as well as some versions of "utopian socialism"^[404] and individualist anarchism.^{[405][406][407]}

Religious socialism

Main article: [Religious socialism](#)

Christian socialism is a broad concept involving an intertwining of the Christian religion with the politics and economic theories of socialism.

Islamic socialism is a term coined by various Muslim leaders to describe a more spiritual form of socialism. Muslim socialists believe that the teachings of the Qur'an and Muhammad are compatible with principles of equality and public ownership drawing inspiration from the early Medina welfare state established by Muhammad. Muslim Socialists are more conservative than their western contemporaries and find their roots in Anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and Arab nationalism. Islamic Socialist leaders believe in Democracy and deriving legitimacy from public mandate as opposed to religious texts.

Social democracy and liberal socialism

Main articles: [Social democracy](#) and [Liberal socialism](#)

Social democracy is a political ideology which “is derived from a socialist tradition of political thought. Many social democrats refer to themselves as socialists or democratic socialists, and some use these terms interchangeably. Others have opined that there are clear differences between the three terms, and preferred to describe their own political beliefs by using the term ‘social democracy’ only.”^[408] There are two main directions, either to establish [democratic socialism](#), or to build a welfare state within the framework of the capitalist system. The first variant has officially its goal by establishing [democratic socialism](#) through [reformist](#) and [gradualist](#) methods.^[409] In the second variant Social democracy becomes a policy regime involving a [welfare state](#), [collective bargaining](#) schemes, support for publicly financed public services, and a Capitalist-based economy like a [mixed economy](#). It is often used in this manner to refer to the social models and economic policies prominent in Western and Northern Europe during the later half of the 20th century.^{[410][411]} It has been described by [Jerry Mander](#) as “hybrid” economics, an active collaboration of capitalist and socialist visions, and, while such systems aren’t perfect, they tend to provide high standards of living.^[412] Numerous studies and surveys indicate that people tend to live happier lives in [social democratic](#) societies rather than [neoliberal](#) ones.^{[413][414][415][416]}



Eduard Bernstein

Social democrats supporting the first variant, advocate

for a peaceful, evolutionary transition of the economy to socialism through [progressive](#) social reform of capitalism.^{[417][418]} It asserts that the only acceptable constitutional form of government is [representative democracy](#) under the [rule of law](#).^[419] It promotes extending democratic decision-making beyond political democracy to include [economic democracy](#) to guarantee employees and other economic stakeholders sufficient rights of [co-determination](#).^[419] It supports a [mixed economy](#) that opposes the excesses of capitalism such as [inequality](#), [poverty](#), and [oppression](#) of various groups, while rejecting both a totally [free market](#) or a fully [planned economy](#).^[420] Common social democratic policies include advocacy of universal social rights to attain universally accessible [public services](#) such as [education](#), [health care](#), [workers’ compensation](#), and other services, including [child care](#) and care for the elderly.^[421] Social democracy is connected with the trade union [labour movement](#) and supports [collective bargaining](#) rights for workers.^[422] Most social democratic parties are affiliated with the [Socialist International](#).^[409]

Liberal socialism is a socialist political philosophy that includes [liberal](#) principles within it.^[423] Liberal socialism does not have the goal of abolishing [capitalism](#) with a [socialist economy](#);^[424] instead, it supports a [mixed economy](#) that includes both [public](#) and [private property](#) in capital goods.^{[425][426]} Although liberal socialism unequivocally favors a mixed market economy, it identifies legalistic and artificial monopolies to be the fault of [capitalism](#)^[427] and opposes an entirely unregulated economy.^[428] It considers both [liberty](#) and [equality](#) to be compatible and mutually dependent on each other.^[423] Principles that can be described as “liberal socialist” have been based upon or developed by the following philosophers: [John Stuart Mill](#), [Eduard Bernstein](#), [John Dewey](#), [Carlo Rosselli](#), [Norberto Bobbio](#), and [Chantal Mouffe](#).^[429] Other important liberal socialist figures include [Guido Calogero](#), [Piero Gobetti](#), [Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse](#), [John Maynard Keynes](#), and [R. H. Tawney](#).^[428] Liberal socialism has been particularly prominent in British and Italian politics.^[428]

Socialism and modern progressive social movements

Further information: [Socialist feminism](#), [Socialism and LGBT rights](#), [Eco-socialism](#), [Anarcha-feminism](#), [Green anarchism](#), and [Queer anarchism](#)

[Socialist feminism](#) is a branch of [feminism](#) that focuses upon both the public and private spheres of a woman’s life and argues that liberation can only be achieved by working to end both the economic and cultural sources of women’s oppression.^[430] Marxist feminism’s foundation is laid by [Friedrich Engels](#) in his analysis of gender oppression in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884). [August Bebel](#)’s *Woman under Socialism* (1879), the “single work dealing with sexuality most widely read by rank-and-file members of



Socialist feminist Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg, 1910

the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)".^[431] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both Clara Zetkin and Eleanor Marx were against the demonisation of men and supported a proletariat revolution that would overcome as many male–female inequalities as possible.^[432] As their movement already had the most radical demands in women's equality, most Marxist leaders, including Clara Zetkin^{[433][434]} and Alexandra Kollontai,^{[435][436]} counterposed Marxism against liberal feminism, rather than trying to combine them. Anarcha-feminism began with late 19th and early 20th century authors and theorists such as anarchist feminists Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre^[437] In the Spanish Civil War, an anarcha-feminist group, Mujeres Libres ("Free Women") linked to the Federación Anarquista Ibérica, organised to defend both anarchist and feminist ideas.^[438] In 1972, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union published "Socialist Feminism: A Strategy for the Women's Movement," which is believed to be the first to use the term "socialist feminism," in publication.^[439]

Many socialists were early advocates for LGBT rights. For early socialist Charles Fourier, true freedom could only occur without suppressing passions; the suppression of passions is not only destructive to the individual, but to society as a whole. Writing before the advent of the term 'homosexuality', Fourier recognised that both men and women have a wide range of sexual needs and preferences which may change throughout their lives, including same-sex sexuality and *androgénité*. He argued that all



Edward Carpenter, philosopher and activist who was instrumental in the foundation of the Fabian Society and the Labour Party as well as in the early LGBTI western movements

sexual expressions should be enjoyed as long as people are not abused, and that "affirming one's difference" can actually enhance social integration.^[440] In Oscar Wilde's *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*, he passionately advocates for an egalitarian society where wealth is shared by all, while warning of the dangers of social systems that crush individuality. Wilde's libertarian socialist politics were shared by other figures who actively campaigned for homosexual emancipation in the late 19th century such as Edward Carpenter.^[441] *The Intermediate Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women* was a book from 1908 and an early work arguing for gay liberation written by Edward Carpenter^[442] who was also an influential personality in the foundation of the Fabian Society and the Labour Party. After the Russian Revolution under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky, the Soviet Union abolished previous laws against homosexuality.^[443] Harry Hay was an early leader in the American LGBT rights movement as well as a member of the Communist Party USA. He is known for his roles in helping to found several gay organisations, including the Mattachine Society, the first sustained gay rights group in the United States which in its early days had a strong marxist influence. The *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* reports that "As Marxists the founders of the group believed that the injustice and oppression which they suf-

ferred stemmed from relationships deeply embedded in the structure of American society”.^[444] Also emerging from a number of events, such as the May 1968 insurrection in France, the anti-Vietnam war movement in the US and the Stonewall riots of 1969, militant Gay Liberation organisations began to spring up around the world. Many saw their roots in left radicalism more than in the established homophile groups of the time.^[445] The Gay Liberation Front took an anti-capitalist stance and attacked the nuclear family and traditional gender roles.^[446]

Eco-socialism, green socialism or socialist ecology is an political position merging aspects of Marxism, socialism, and/or libertarian socialism with that of green politics, ecology and alter-globalisation. Eco-socialists generally believe that the expansion of the capitalist system is the cause of social exclusion, poverty, war and environmental degradation through globalisation and imperialism, under the supervision of repressive states and transnational structures.^[447] Contrary to the depiction of Karl Marx by some environmentalists,^[448] social ecologists^[449] and fellow socialists^[450] as a productivist who favoured the domination of nature, eco-socialists have revisited Marx’s writings and believe that he “was a main originator of the ecological world-view”.^[451] Eco-socialist authors, like John Bellamy Foster^[452] and Paul Burkett,^[453] point to Marx’s discussion of a “metabolic rift” between man and nature, his statement that “private ownership of the globe by single individuals will appear quite absurd as private ownership of one man by another” and his observation that a society must “hand it [the planet] down to succeeding generations in an improved condition”.^[454] The English socialist William Morris is largely credited with developing key principles of what was later called eco-socialism.^[455] During the 1880s and 1890s, Morris promoted his eco-socialist ideas within the Social Democratic Federation and Socialist League.^[456] Green anarchism, or ecoanarchism, is a school of thought within anarchism which puts a particular emphasis on environmental issues. An important early influence was the thought of the American anarchist Henry David Thoreau and his book *Walden*^[457] and Élisée Reclus.^{[458][459]}

In the late 19th century there emerged anarcho-naturism as the fusion of anarchism and naturist philosophies within individualist anarchist circles in France, Spain, Cuba^[460] and Portugal.^[461] Social ecology is closely related to the work and ideas of Murray Bookchin and influenced by anarchist Peter Kropotkin. Bookchin’s first book, *Our Synthetic Environment*, was published under the pseudonym Lewis Herber in 1962, a few months before Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring*.^[462] His groundbreaking essay “Ecology and Revolutionary Thought” introduced ecology as a concept in radical politics.^[463] In the 1970s, Barry Commoner, suggesting a left-wing response to the *Limits to Growth* model that predicted catastrophic resource depletion and spurred environmentalism, postulated that capitalist technologies were chiefly responsible

for environmental degradation, as opposed to population pressures.^[464] The 1990s saw the socialist feminists Mary Mellor^[465] and Ariel Salleh^[466] address environmental issues within an eco-socialist paradigm. With the rising profile of the anti-globalisation movement in the Global South, an “environmentalism of the poor”, combining ecological awareness and social justice, has also become prominent.^[467] David Pepper also released his important work, *Ecosocialism: From Deep Ecology to Social Justice*, in 1994, which critiques the current approach of many within Green politics, particularly deep ecologists.^[468] Currently, many Green Parties around the world, such as the Dutch Green Left Party (GroenLinks), contain strong eco-socialist elements. Radical Red-green alliances have been formed in many countries by eco-socialists, radical Greens and other radical left groups. In Denmark, the Red-Green Alliance was formed as a coalition of numerous radical parties. Within the European Parliament, a number of far-left parties from Northern Europe have organised themselves into the Nordic Green Left Alliance.

Syndicalism

Main article: Syndicalism

Syndicalism is a social movement that operates through industrial trade unions and rejects state socialism and the use of establishment politics to establish or promote socialism. They reject using state power to construct a socialist society, favouring strategies such as the general strike. Syndicalists advocate a socialist economy based on federated unions or syndicates of workers who own and manage the means of production. Some Marxist currents advocate Syndicalism, such as DeLeonism. Anarcho-syndicalism is a theory of anarchism which views syndicalism as a method for workers in capitalist society to gain control of an economy and, with that control, influence broader society. The Spanish Revolution, largely orchestrated by the anarcho-syndicalist trade union CNT during the Spanish Civil War offers an historical example.^[469] The International Workers’ Association is an international federation of anarcho-syndicalist labor unions and initiatives.

0.7.7 See also

- Criticisms of socialism
- List of anti-capitalist and communist parties with national parliamentary representation
- List of communist ideologies
- List of socialist countries
- List of socialist economists
- List of socialist songs
- Socialism by country

0.7.8 Notes

- [1] [2][3][4][5][6][7][8][9][10]
- [2] Sinclair, Upton (1918-01-01). *Upton Sinclair's: A Monthly Magazine: for Social Justice, by Peaceful Means If Possible*. Socialism, you see, is a bird with two wings. The definition is 'social ownership and democratic control of the instruments and means of production.'
- [3] Nove, Alec. "Socialism". *New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics, Second Edition* (2008). A society may be defined as socialist if the major part of the means of production of goods and services is in some sense socially owned and operated, by state, socialised or cooperative enterprises. The practical issues of socialism comprise the relationships between management and workforce within the enterprise, the interrelationships between production units (plan versus markets), and, if the state owns and operates any part of the economy, who controls it and how.
- [4] Rosser, Mariana V. and J Barkley Jr. (July 23, 2003). *Comparative Economics in a Transforming World Economy*. MIT Press. p. 53. ISBN 978-0262182348. Socialism is an economic system characterised by state or collective ownership of the means of production, land, and capital.
- [5] "What else does a socialist economic system involve? Those who favor socialism generally speak of social ownership, social control, or socialization of the means of production as the distinctive positive feature of a socialist economic system" N. Scott Arnold. *The Philosophy and Economics of Market Socialism : A Critical Study*. Oxford University Press. 1998. p. 8
- [6] Busky, Donald F. (20 July 2000). *Democratic Socialism: A Global Survey*. Praeger. p. 2. ISBN 978-0275968861. Socialism may be defined as movements for social ownership and control of the economy. It is this idea that is the common element found in the many forms of socialism.
- [7] Bertrand Badie; Dirk Berg-Schlosser; Leonardo Morlino (2011). *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*. SAGE Publications, Inc. p. 2456. ISBN 978-1412959636. Socialist systems are those regimes based on the economic and political theory of socialism, which advocates public ownership and cooperative management of the means of production and allocation of resources.
- [8] Zimbalist, Sherman and Brown, Andrew, Howard J. and Stuart (October 1988). *Comparing Economic Systems: A Political-Economic Approach*. Harcourt College Pub. p. 7. ISBN 978-0155124035. Pure socialism is defined as a system wherein all of the means of production are owned and run by the government and/or cooperative, nonprofit groups.
- [9] Brus, Włodzimierz (5 November 2015). *The Economics and Politics of Socialism*. Routledge. p. 87. ISBN 978-0415866477. This alteration in the relationship between economy and politics is evident in the very definition of a socialist economic system. The basic characteristic of such a system is generally reckoned to be the predominance of the social ownership of the means of production.
- [10] Michie, Jonathan (1 January 2001). *Readers Guide to the Social Sciences*. Routledge. p. 1516. ISBN 978-1579580919. Just as private ownership defines capitalism, social ownership defines socialism. The essential characteristic of socialism in theory is that it destroys social hierarchies, and therefore leads to a politically and economically egalitarian society. Two closely related consequences follow. First, every individual is entitled to an equal ownership share that earns an aliquot part of the total social dividend...Second, in order to eliminate social hierarchy in the workplace, enterprises are run by those employed, and not by the representatives of private or state capital. Thus, the well-known historical tendency of the divorce between ownership and management is brought to an end. The society – i.e. every individual equally – owns capital and those who work are entitled to manage their own economic affairs.
- [11] "2. (Government, Politics & Diplomacy) any of various social or political theories or movements in which the common welfare is to be achieved through the establishment of a socialist economic system" "Socialism" at The Free dictionary
- [12] O'Hara, Phillip (September 2003). *Encyclopedia of Political Economy, Volume 2*. Routledge. p. 71. ISBN 0-415-24187-1. In order of increasing decentralisation (at least) three forms of socialised ownership can be distinguished: state-owned firms, employee-owned (or socially) owned firms, and citizen ownership of equity.
- [13] Peter Lamb, J. C. Docherty. *Historical dictionary of socialism*. Lanham, Maryland, UK; Oxford, England, UK: Scarecrow Press, Inc, 2006. p. 1.
- [14] Arnold, Scott (1994). *The Philosophy and Economics of Market Socialism: A Critical Study*. Oxford University Press. pp. 7–8. ISBN 978-0195088274. This term is harder to define, since socialists disagree among themselves about what socialism 'really is.' It would seem that everyone (socialists and nonsocialists alike) could at least agree that it is not a system in which there is widespread private ownership of the means of production...To be a socialist is not just to believe in certain ends, goals, values, or ideals. It also requires a belief in a certain institutional means to achieve those ends; whatever that may mean in positive terms, it certainly presupposes, at a minimum, the belief that these ends and values cannot be achieved in an economic system in which there is widespread private ownership of the means of production...Those who favor socialism generally speak of social ownership, social control, or socialization of the means of production as the distinctive positive feature of a socialist economic system.
- [15] Hastings, Mason and Pyper, Adrian, Alistair and Hugh (December 21, 2000). *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*. Oxford University Press. p. 677. ISBN 978-0198600244. Socialists have always recognized that there are many possible forms of social ownership of which co-operative ownership is one...Nevertheless, socialism has throughout its history been inseparable from some form of common ownership. By its very nature it involves the abolition of private ownership of capital; bringing the means of production, distribution, and exchange

into public ownership and control is central to its philosophy. It is difficult to see how it can survive, in theory or practice, without this central idea.

- [16] Kolb, Robert (19 October 2007). *Encyclopedia of Business Ethics and Society, First Edition*. SAGE Publications, Inc. p. 1345. ISBN 978-1412916523. There are many forms of socialism, all of which eliminate private ownership of capital and replace it with collective ownership. These many forms, all focused on advancing distributive justice for long-term social welfare, can be divided into two broad types of socialism: nonmarket and market.
- [17] [18][19][20][21][22][23][24][25]
- [18] Bockman, Johanna (2011). *Markets in the name of Socialism: The Left-Wing origins of Neoliberalism*. Stanford University Press. p. 20. ISBN 978-0-8047-7566-3. socialism would function without capitalist economic categories – such as money, prices, interest, profits and rent – and thus would function according to laws other than those described by current economic science. While some socialists recognised the need for money and prices at least during the transition from capitalism to socialism, socialists more commonly believed that the socialist economy would soon administratively mobilise the economy in physical units without the use of prices or money.
- [19] Steele, David Ramsay (September 1999). *From Marx to Mises: Post Capitalist Society and the Challenge of Economic Calculation*. Open Court. pp. 175–77. ISBN 978-0875484495. Especially before the 1930s, many socialists and anti-socialists implicitly accepted some form of the following for the incompatibility of state-owned industry and factor markets. A market transaction is an exchange of property titles between two independent transactors. Thus internal market exchanges cease when all of industry is brought into the ownership of a single entity, whether the state or some other organization...the discussion applies equally to any form of social or community ownership, where the owning entity is conceived as a single organization or administration.
- [20] *Is Socialism Dead? A Comment on Market Socialism and Basic Income Capitalism*, by Arneson, Richard J. 1992. *Ethics*, vol. 102, no. 3, pp. 485–511. April 1992: “Marxian socialism is often identified with the call to organize economic activity on a nonmarket basis.”
- [21] *Market Socialism: The Debate Among Socialists*, by Schweickart, David; Lawler, James; Ticktin, Hillel; Ollman, Bertell. 1998. From “The Difference Between Marxism and Market Socialism” (pp. 61–63): “More fundamentally, a socialist society must be one in which the economy is run on the principle of the direct satisfaction of human needs...Exchange-value, prices and so money are goals in themselves in a capitalist society or in any market. There is no necessary connection between the accumulation of capital or sums of money and human welfare. Under conditions of backwardness, the spur of money and the accumulation of wealth has led to a massive growth in industry and technology ... It seems an odd argument to say that a capitalist will only be efficient in producing use-value of a good quality when trying to make more money than the next capitalist. It would seem easier to rely on the planning of use-values in a rational way, which because there is no duplication, would be produced more cheaply and be of a higher quality.”
- [22] *The Economics of Feasible Socialism Revisited*, by Nove, Alexander. 1991. p. 13: “Under socialism, by definition, it (private property and factor markets) would be eliminated. There would then be something like ‘scientific management’, ‘the science of socially organized production’, but it would not be economics.”
- [23] Kotz, David M. “Socialism and Capitalism: Are They Qualitatively Different Socioeconomic Systems?” (PDF). *University of Massachusetts*. Retrieved 19 February 2011. “This understanding of socialism was held not just by revolutionary Marxist socialists but also by evolutionary socialists, Christian socialists, and even anarchists. At that time, there was also wide agreement about the basic institutions of the future socialist system: public ownership instead of private ownership of the means of production, economic planning instead of market forces, production for use instead of for profit.”
- [24] *Toward a Socialism for the Future, in the Wake of the Demise of the Socialism of the Past*, by Weisskopf, Thomas E. 1992. Review of *Radical Political Economics*, Vol. 24, No. 3-4, p. 2: “Socialism has historically been committed to the improvement of people’s material standards of living. Indeed, in earlier days many socialists saw the promotion of improving material living standards as the primary basis for socialism’s claim to superiority over capitalism, for socialism was to overcome the irrationality and inefficiency seen as endemic to a capitalist system of economic organization.”
- [25] Prychito, David L. (July 31, 2002). *Markets, Planning, and Democracy: Essays After the Collapse of Communism*. Edward Elgar Publishing. p. 12. ISBN 978-1840645194. Socialism is a system based upon de facto public or social ownership of the means of production, the abolition of a hierarchical division of labor in the enterprise, a consciously organized social division of labor. Under socialism, money, competitive pricing, and profit-loss accounting would be destroyed.
- [26] *Social Dividend versus Basic Income Guarantee in Market Socialism*, by Marangos, John. 2004. *International Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 34, no. 3, Fall 2004.
- [27] O'Hara, Phillip (September 2000). *Encyclopedia of Political Economy, Volume 2*. Routledge. p. 71. ISBN 978-0415241878. Market socialism is the general designation for a number of models of economic systems. On the one hand, the market mechanism is utilized to distribute economic output, to organize production and to allocate factor inputs. On the other hand, the economic surplus accrues to society at large rather than to a class of private (capitalist) owners, through some form of collective, public or social ownership of capital.
- [28] Pierson, Christopher (August 1995). *Socialism After Communism: The New Market Socialism*. Pennsylvania State Univ Press. p. 96. ISBN 978-0271014784. At the heart of the market socialist model is the abolition of the large-scale private ownership of capital and its replacement by some form of ‘social ownership’. Even the most

- conservative accounts of market socialism insist that this abolition of large-scale holdings of private capital is essential. This requirement is fully consistent with the market socialists' general claim that the vices of market capitalism lie not with the institutions of the market but with (the consequences of) the private ownership of capital...
- [29] "In fact, socialism has been both centralist and local; organized from above and built from below; visionary and pragmatic; revolutionary and reformist; anti-state and statist; internationalist and nationalist; harnessed to political parties and shunning them; an outgrowth of trade unionism and independent of it; a feature of rich industrialized countries and poor peasant-based communities" Michael Newman. *Socialism: A very Short introduction*. Oxford University Press. 2005. p. 2.
- [30] Often, this definition is invoked to distinguish democratic socialism from authoritarian socialism as in Malcolm Hamilton *Democratic Socialism in Britain and Sweden* (St Martin's Press 1989), in Donald F. Busky, *Democratic Socialism: A Global Survey* Greenwood Publishing, 2000, See pp. 7–8., Jim Tomlinson's *Democratic Socialism and Economic Policy: The Attlee Years, 1945–1951*, Norman Thomas *Democratic Socialism: a new appraisal* or Roy Hattersley's *Choose Freedom: The Future of Democratic Socialism*
- [31] Nicholas Guilhot, *The democracy makers: human rights and international order*, 2005, p. 33 "The opposition between the West and Soviet totalitarianism was often presented as an opposition both moral and epistemological between truth and falsehood. The democratic, social, and economic credentials of the Soviet Union were typically seen as "lies" and as the product of a deliberate and multi-form propaganda...In this context, the concept of totalitarianism was itself an asset. As it made possible the conversion of prewar anti-fascism into postwar anti-communism
- [32] David Caute, *Politics and the novel during the Cold War*, 2009, pp. 95–99
- [33] George A Reisch, *How the Cold War transformed philosophy of science: to the icy slopes of logic*, 2005, pp. 153–54
- [34] Bertrand Badie; Dirk Berg-Schlosser; Leonardo Morlino (2011). *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*. SAGE Publications, Inc. p. 1497. ISBN 978-1412959636. By continually modernizing the forces of production and promoting the division of labor, capitalism prepared the material conditions necessary for social cooperation and planned management in economic life...The search for private profit imposed fetters on the further development of production. The capitalist relations of production came finally into conflict with its forces of production.
- [35] Gasper, Phillip (October 2005). *The Communist Manifesto: a road map to history's most important political document*. Haymarket Books. p. 24. ISBN 1-931859-25-6. As the nineteenth century progressed, "socialist" came to signify not only concern with the social question, but opposition to capitalism and support for some form of social ownership.
- [36] Anthony Giddens. *Beyond Left and Right: The Future of Radical Politics*. 1998 edition. Cambridge, England, UK: Polity Press, 1994, 1998. p. 71.
- [37] "Chapter 1 looks at the foundations of the doctrine by examining the contribution made by various traditions of socialism in the period between the early 19th century and the aftermath of the First World War. The two forms that emerged as dominant by the early 1920s were social democracy and communism." Michael Newman. *Socialism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press. 2005. p. 5
- [38] George Thomas Kurian (ed). *The Encyclopedia of Political Science* CQ Press. Washington D.c. 2011. p.. 1554
- [39] 'State Capitalism' in the Soviet Union, M.C. Howard and J.E. King
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times and in all places, and consequently, that they are immutable in their principal points, though they may be subject to modification in details. Scientific socialism holds, the contrary, that the laws established by classical political economy, since the time of Adam Smith, are laws peculiar to the present period in the history of civilized humanity, and that they are, consequently, laws essentially relative to the period of their analysis and discovery.

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- [368] Anarchist historian **George Woodcock** report of **Mikhail Bakunin's** anti-authoritarianism and shows opposition to both state and non-state forms of authority as follows: "All anarchists deny authority; many of them fight against it." (p. 9) ... Bakunin did not convert the League's central committee to his full program, but he did persuade them to accept a remarkably radical recommendation to the Bern Congress of September 1868, demanding economic equality and implicitly attacking authority in both Church and State."
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- [384] **Hicks, Steven V.** and **Daniel E. Shannon**. *The American journal of economics and sociology*. Blackwell Pub, 2003. p. 612
- [385] **Miller, Wilbur R.** (2012). *The social history of crime and punishment in America. An encyclopedia*. 5 vols. London: Sage Publications. p. 1007. ISBN 1412988764. "There exist three major camps in libertarian thought: right-libertarianism, socialist libertarianism, and ..."
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- [388] "Therefore, rather than being an oxymoron, "libertarian socialism" indicates that true socialism must be libertarian and that a libertarian who is not a socialist is a phoney. As true socialists oppose wage labour, they must also oppose the state for the same reasons. Similarly, libertarians must oppose wage labour for the same reasons they must oppose the state." [http://www.infoshop.org/AnarchistFAQSectionI1 "I1. Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron" in **An Anarchist FAQ**
- [389] "So, libertarian socialism rejects the idea of state ownership and control of the economy, along with the state as such. Through workers' self-management it proposes to bring an end to authority, exploitation, and hierarchy in production." "I1. Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron" in **An Anarchist FAQ**

- [390] "...preferring a system of popular self governance via networks of decentralized, local voluntary, participatory, co-operative associations. Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class." *Social Philosophy and Policy*. Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. Pg. 305
- [391] Mendes, Silva. *Socialismo Libertário ou Anarchismo* Vol. 1 (1896): "Society should be free through mankind's spontaneous federative affiliation to life, based on the community of land and tools of the trade; meaning: Anarchy will be equality by abolition of **private property** (while retaining respect for **personal property**) and **liberty** by abolition of **authority**".
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- [394] "LibSoc share with LibCap an aversion to any interference to freedom of thought, expression or choice of lifestyle." Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class." *Social Philosophy and Policy*. Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. pp 305
- [395] "What is implied by the term 'libertarian socialism'? The idea that socialism is first and foremost about freedom and therefore about overcoming the domination, repression, and alienation that block the free flow of human creativity, thought, and action...An approach to socialism that incorporates cultural revolution, women's and children's liberation, and the critique and transformation of daily life, as well as the more traditional concerns of socialist politics. A politics that is completely revolutionary because it seeks to transform all of reality. We do not think that capturing the economy and the state lead automatically to the transformation of the rest of social being, nor do we equate liberation with changing our life-styles and our heads. Capitalism is a total system that invades all areas of life: socialism must be the overcoming of capitalist reality in its entirety, or it is nothing." "What is Libertarian Socialism?" by Ulli Diemer. Volume 2, Number 1 (Summer 1997 issue) of *The Red Menace*.
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- [397] "Authority is defined in terms of the right to exercise social control (as explored in the "sociology of power") and the correlative duty to obey (as explored in the "philosophy of practical reason"). Anarchism is distinguished, philosophically, by its scepticism towards such moral relations – by its questioning of the claims made for such normative power – and, practically, by its challenge to those "authoritative" powers which cannot justify their claims and which are therefore deemed illegitimate or without moral foundation." *Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism* by Paul McLaughlin. AshGate. 2007. p. 1
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- [399] Anarchist historian George Woodcock report of Mikhail Bakunin's anti-authoritarianism and shows opposition to both state and non-state forms of authority as follows: "All anarchists deny authority; many of them fight against it." (p. 9)...Bakunin did not convert the League's central committee to his full program, but he did persuade them to accept a remarkably radical recommendation to the Bern Congress of September 1868, demanding economic equality and implicitly attacking authority in both Church and State."
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0.8 Libertarian municipalism

Libertarian municipalism is a political program developed by libertarian socialist theorist Murray Bookchin, to create democratic citizens’ assemblies in towns and urban neighborhoods. The assemblies in these free municipalities join together to replace the state with a directly democratic confederation.

Bookchin became an advocate of face-to-face or assembly democracy in the 1950s, inspired by writings on the ancient Athenian polis by H. D. F. Kitto and Alfred Eckhard Zimmern. For the concept of confederation, he was influenced by the nineteenth century anarchist thinkers. Bookchin tied libertarian municipalism to a utopian vision for decentralizing cities into small, human-scaled eco-communities, and to a concept of urban revolution.

Libertarian municipalism uses the strategy of dual power to create a situation in which two powers—the municipal confederations and the nation-state—can coexist.

Bookchin’s *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship* (1986) is an overview of the historical conflict between city and nation-state, which also presents his municipalist program. In **Burlington, Vermont**, Bookchin attempted to put these ideas into practice by working with the Northern Vermont Greens, the Vermont Council for Democracy, and the Burlington Greens, retiring from politics in 1990. His ideas are summarized succinctly in *Remaking Society* (1989) and *The Murray Bookchin Reader* (1997).^[1]

While Bookchin long placed libertarian municipalism within the framework of postcolonial anarchism, in the late 1990s he broke with anarchism and in his final essay, *The Communalist Project* (2003), identified libertarian municipalism as the main component of communalism. Communalists believe that libertarian municipalism is both the means to achieve a rational society and the structure of that society.

Another program in which independent communities form a confederation was written by the Swiss historian and philosopher Adolf Gasser.^{[2][3]} His work led to an alternative proposal for a European community—the Council of European Municipalities and Regions—which was co-founded by Gasser in 1951. It still exists today, but has limited power since the centralized European Union became the European organization with the real power.

0.8.1 See also

- Cellular democracy
- Civic nationalism
- Civic virtue
- Democratic confederalism
- Direct democracy
- Dual power
- Green Mountain Anarchist Collective
- Inclusive democracy
- Participatory politics
- Populism
- Statecraft

0.8.2 Notes

- [1] Murray Bookchin, *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship* (1987 and 1992); Murray Bookchin, *Remaking Society* (1990 and 1998); and Janet Biehl, ed., *The Murray Bookchin Reader* (1998)

- [2] Berlijnse reflecties: Gemeentevrijheid als redding van Europa?. Berlijnserefecties.blogspot.com (2006-07-11). Retrieved on 2013-07-12.
- [3] Discussion on Gassers book *Gemeindefreiheit als Rettung Europas* (in dutch language)

0.8.3 References

- Adolf Gasser, *Gemeindefreiheit als Rettung Europas. Grundlagen einer ethischen Geschichtsauffassung*. Zweite, stark erweiterte Auflage. Verlag Bücherfreunde, Basel 1947. ASIN: B000XAB6A0. In 1983 republished as A. Gasser en F.-L. Knemeyer, *Gemeindefreiheit – kommunale Selbstverwaltung* (part 4 in the series: Studien zur Soziologie), ISBN 3-485-03090-2, Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung GmbH, München, 1983.
 - Published in French under the author and title: Gasser, Adolphe *L'autonomie communale et la reconstruction de l'Europe: principes d'une interprétation éthique de l'histoire*, Editions de la Baconnière. 1946., L'évolution du monde et des idées. Broché. 240 pages.
 - Published in Italian under the author and title: A. Gasser., *L'autonomia comunale e la ricostruzione dell'Europa*, Milano, La Fiaccola 1946 (1^a ed. in tedesco 1943);
- “Communal Freedom and Democracy, Adolf Gasser's attempt of a conceptual clarification” by Dr. Phil René Roca, Switzerland <http://www.currentconcerns.ch/index.php?id=1102> in *Current Concerns*, September 2010
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- Murray Bookchin, *The Meaning of Confederalism* (1989)
- Murray Bookchin, *Radical Politics in an Era of Advanced Capitalism* (1989)
- Murray Bookchin, *Resolution: On Gubernatorial Races* (1990)
- Murray Bookchin, *Libertarian Municipalism: An Overview* (1991)
- Murray Bookchin, *Urbanization Against Cities* (1993), lecture series at Concordia University,
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- Janet Biehl and Murray Bookchin, *The Politics of Social Ecology: Libertarian Municipalism* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1998), ISBN 1-55164-100-3, ISBN 978-1-55164-100-3
- Social Ecology London, English libertarian socialist study/action group
- Democratic Alternative, Scandinavian libertarian municipalist organization
- Paul F. Downton, *Ecopolis: architecture and cities for a changing climate: Volume 1 of Future City*, Springer, 2008, p. 157, ISBN 1-4020-8495-1, ISBN 978-1-4020-8495-9

0.9 Mutualism (economic theory)

This article is about the economic theory. For the biological term and other uses, see [Mutualism \(disambiguation\)](#).

Mutualism is an economic theory and anarchist school of thought that advocates a society where each person might possess a means of production, either individually or collectively, with trade representing equivalent amounts of labor in the free market.^[1] Integral to the scheme is the establishment of a mutual-credit bank that would lend to producers at a minimal interest rate, just high enough to cover administration.^[2] Mutualism is based on a labor theory of value that holds that when labor or its product is sold, in exchange, it ought to receive goods or services embodying “the amount of labor necessary to produce an article of exactly similar and equal utility”.^[3] Mutualism originated from the writings of philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.

Mutualists oppose the idea of individuals receiving an income through loans, investments, and rent, as they believe these individuals are not laboring. Though Proudhon opposed this type of income, he expressed that he

0.8.4 External links

- Murray Bookchin, *Radicalizing Democracy* (1985)
- Murray Bookchin, *The Greening of Politics* (1986)

had never intended "...to forbid or suppress, by sovereign decree, ground rent and interest on capital. I think that all these manifestations of human activity should remain free and voluntary for all: I ask for them no modifications, restrictions or suppressions, other than those which result naturally and of necessity from the universalization of the principle of reciprocity which I propose."^[4] Insofar as they ensure the worker's right to the full product of their labor, mutualists support **markets** and **property** in the product of labor. However, they argue for conditional titles to land, whose ownership is legitimate only so long as it remains in use or occupation (which Proudhon called "possession");^[5] thus advocating **personal property**, but not **private property**.

Although mutualism is similar to the economic doctrines of the 19th-century American **individualist anarchists**, unlike them, mutualism is in favor of large industries.^[6] Therefore, mutualism has been retrospectively characterized sometimes as being a form of individualist anarchism,^[7] and as ideologically situated between individualist and collectivist forms of anarchism as well.^[8] Proudhon himself described the "liberty" he pursued as "the synthesis of communism and property."^[9]

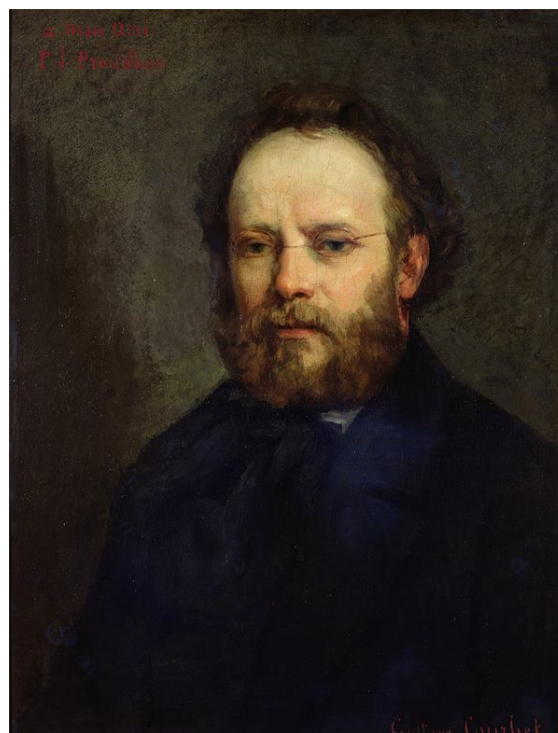
Mutualists have distinguished mutualism from **state socialism**, and do not advocate state control over the means of production. Benjamin Tucker said of Proudhon, that "though opposed to socializing the ownership of capital, [Proudhon] aimed nevertheless to socialize its effects by making its use beneficial to all instead of a means of impoverishing the many to enrich the few...by subjecting capital to the natural law of competition, thus bringing the price of its own use down to cost."^[10]

0.9.1 History

Mutualism, as a term, has seen a variety of related uses. Charles Fourier first used the French term *mutualisme* in 1822,^[11] although the reference was not to an economic system. The first use of the noun "mutualist" was in the *New-Harmony Gazette* by an American Owenite in 1826.^[12] In the early 1830s, a labor organization in Lyons, France, called themselves the "Mutuellists."

French origins

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was involved with the Lyons mutualists and later adopted the name to describe his own teachings.^[13] In *What Is Mutualism?* Clarence Lee Swartz gives his own account of the origin of the term, claiming that "[t]he word "mutualism" seems to have been first used by John Gray, an English writer, in 1832."^[14] When John Gray's 1825 *Lecture on Human Happiness* was first published in the United States in 1826, the publishers appended the *Preamble and constitution of the Friendly Association for Mutual Interests, located at Valley Forge*. 1826 also saw the publication of the *Con-*



Portrait of philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) by Gustave Courbet. Proudhon was the primary proponent of anarchist mutualism, and influenced many later individualist anarchist and social anarchist thinkers.

stitution of the Friendly Association for Mutual Interests at Kendal, Ohio.

By 1846, Proudhon was speaking of "mutualité" in his writings, and he used the term "mutuellisme," at least as early as 1848, in his "Programme Révolutionnaire." William B. Greene, in 1850, used the term "mutualism" to describe a mutual credit system similar to that of Proudhon. In 1850, the American newspaper *The Spirit of the Age*, edited by William Henry Channing, published proposals for a "mutualist township" by Joshua King Ingalls^[15] and Albert Brisbane,^[16] together with works by Proudhon,^[17] William B. Greene, Pierre Leroux, and others.

During the Second French Republic (1848–1852), Proudhon had his biggest public effect through his involvement with four newspapers: *Le Représentant du Peuple* (February 1848 – August 1848); *Le Peuple* (September 1848 – June 1849); *La Voix du Peuple* (September 1849 – May 1850); *Le Peuple de 1850* (June 1850 – October 1850). His polemical writing style, combined with his perception of himself as a political outsider, produced a cynical, combative journalism that appealed to many French workers but alienated others. He repeatedly criticised the government's policies and promoted reformation of credit and exchange. He tried to establish a popular bank (*Banque du peuple*) early in 1849, but despite over 13,000 people signing up (mostly workers), receipts were limited falling short of 18,000FF and the whole en-

terprise was essentially stillborn.

Proudhon ran for the constituent assembly in April 1848, but was not elected, although his name appeared on the ballots in Paris, Lyon, Besançon, and Lille, France. He was successful, in the complementary elections of June 4, and served as a deputy during the debates over the National Workshops, created by the February 25, 1848, decree passed by Republican Louis Blanc. The workshops were to give work to the unemployed. Proudhon was never enthusiastic about such workshops, perceiving them to be essentially charitable institutions that did not resolve the problems of the economic system. He was against their elimination unless an alternative could be found for the workers who relied on the workshops for subsistence.

Proudhon was surprised by the Revolutions of 1848 in France. He participated in the February uprising and the composition of what he termed “the first republican proclamation” of the new republic. But he had misgivings about the new provisional government, headed by Dupont de l'Eure (1767–1855), who, since the French Revolution in 1789, had been a longstanding politician, although often in the opposition. Proudhon published his own perspective for reform which was completed in 1849, *Solution du problème social* (“Solution of the Social Problem”), in which he laid out a program of mutual financial cooperation among workers. He believed this would transfer control of economic relations from capitalists and financiers to workers. The central part of his plan was the establishment of a bank to provide credit at a very low rate of interest and the issuing of exchange notes that would circulate instead of money based on gold.

Ideological development

Mutualism has been associated with two types of currency reform. Labor notes were first discussed in Owenite circles and received their first practical test in 1827 in the Time Store of former New Harmony member and individualist anarchist Josiah Warren. Mutual banking aimed at the monetization of all forms of wealth and the extension of free credit. It is most closely associated with William B. Greene, but Greene drew from the work of Proudhon, Edward Kellogg, and William Beck, as well as from the land bank tradition.

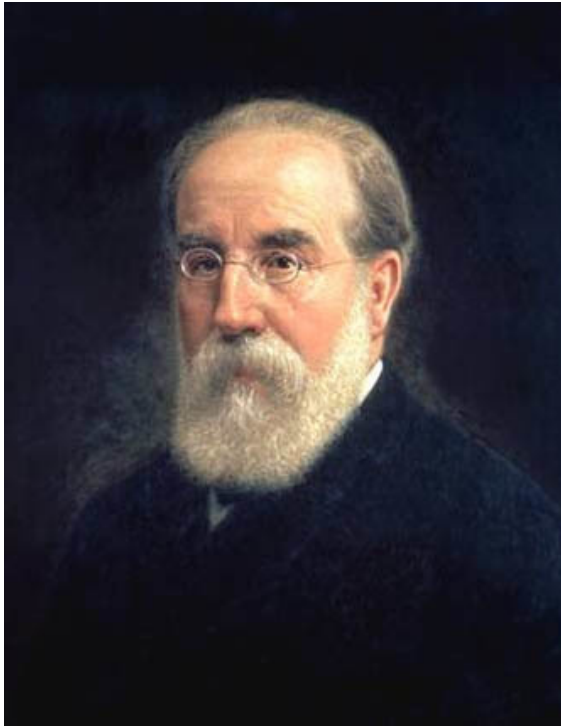
Mutualism can in many ways be considered “the original anarchy,” since Proudhon was the first to identify himself as an anarchist. Though mutualism is generally associated with anarchism, it is not necessarily anarchist. Historian Wendy McElroy reports that American individualist anarchism received an important influence of 3 European thinkers. “One of the most important of these influences was the french political philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon whose words “Liberty is not the Daughter But the Mother of Order” appeared as a motto on *Liberty's* masthead”^[18] (influential individualist anarchist publi-

cation of Benjamin Tucker). For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster “It is apparent...that Proudhonian Anarchism was to be found in the United States at least as early as 1848 and that it was not conscious of its affinity to the Individualist Anarchism of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews ... William B. Greene presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form.”^[19]

After 1850 Greene became active in labor reform.^[19] “He was elected vice-president of the New England Labor Reform League, the majority of the members holding to Proudhon’s scheme of mutual banking, and in 1869 president of the Massachusetts Labor Union.”^[19] He then publishes *Socialistic, Mutualistic, and Financial Fragments* (1875).^[19] He saw mutualism as the synthesis of “liberty and order.”^[19] His “associationism...is checked by individualism...“Mind your own business,” “Judge not that ye be not judged.” Over matters which are purely personal, as for example, moral conduct, the individual is sovereign, as well as over that which he himself produces. For this reason he demands “mutuality” in marriage—the equal right of a woman to her own personal freedom and property.”^[19]

Later, Benjamin Tucker, editor of the anarchist publication *Liberty*, connected his economic views with those of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Josiah Warren and Karl Marx, taking sides with Proudhon and Josiah Warren:

The economic principles of Modern Socialism are a logical deduction from the principle laid down by Adam Smith in the early chapters of his “Wealth of Nations,” – namely, that labor is the true measure of price ... Half a century or more after Smith enunciated the principle above stated, Socialism picked it up where he had dropped it, and in following it to its logical conclusions, made it the basis of a new economic philosophy ... This seems to have been done independently by three different men, of three different nationalities, in three different languages: Josiah Warren, an American; Pierre J. Proudhon, a Frenchman; Karl Marx, a German Jew ... That the work of this interesting trio should have been done so nearly simultaneously would seem to indicate that Socialism was in the air, and that the time was ripe and the conditions favorable for the appearance of this new school of thought. So far as priority of time is concerned, the credit seems to belong to Warren, the American, – a fact which should be noted by the stump orators who are so fond of declaiming against Socialism as an imported article. Benjamin Tucker. *Individual Liberty*^[20]



Francesc Pi i Margall, catalan brief President of the First Spanish Republic and main spanish translator of Proudhon's works

Nineteenth century Spain

Mutualist ideas found a fertile ground in the nineteenth century in Spain. In Spain Ramón de la Sagra established the anarchist journal *El Porvenir* in La Coruña in 1845 which was inspired by Proudhon's ideas.^[21] The catalan politician Francesc Pi i Margall became the principal translator of Proudhon's works into Spanish^[22] and later briefly became president of Spain in 1873 while being the leader of the Democratic Republican Federal Party. According to George Woodcock "These translations were to have a profound and lasting effect on the development of Spanish anarchism after 1870, but before that time Proudhonian ideas, as interpreted by Pi, already provided much of the inspiration for the federalist movement which sprang up in the early 1860's."^[23] According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* "During the Spanish revolution of 1873, Pi y Margall attempted to establish a decentralized, or "cantonalist", political system on Proudhonian lines."^[21] Pi i Margall was a dedicated theorist in his own right, especially through book-length works such as *La reacción y la revolución* (en: "Reaction and revolution" from 1855), *Las nacionalidades* (en: "Nationalities" from 1877), and *La Federación* from 1880. For prominent anarcho-syndicalist Rudolf Rocker "The first movement of the Spanish workers was strongly influenced by the ideas of Pi y Margall, leader of the Spanish Federalists and disciple of Proudhon. Pi y Margall was one of the outstanding theorists of his time and had a powerful influence on the development of libertarian ideas in Spain. His political ideas had much in com-

mon with those of Richard Price, Joseph Priestly (sic), Thomas Paine, Jefferson, and other representatives of the Anglo-American liberalism of the first period. He wanted to limit the power of the state to a minimum and gradually replace it by a Socialist economic order."^[24]

Internationalism

For historian of the First International G. M. Stekloff: "In April, 1856, there arrived from Paris a deputation of Proudhonist workers whose aim it was to bring about the foundation of a Universal League of Workers. The object of the League was the social emancipation of the working class, which, it was held, could only be achieved by a union of the workers of all lands against international capital. Since the deputation was one of Proudhonists, of course this emancipation was to be secured, not by political methods, but purely by economic means, through the foundation of productive and distributive co-operatives."^[25]

Later "It was in the 1863 elections that for the first time workers' candidates were run in opposition to bourgeois republicans, but they secured very few votes...a group of working-class Proudhonists (among whom were Murat and Tolain, who were subsequently to participate in the founding of the (First) International issued the famous Manifesto of the Sixty, which, though extremely moderate in tone, marked a turning point in the history of the French movement. For years and years the bourgeois liberals had been insisting that the revolution of 1789 had abolished class distinctions. The Manifesto of the Sixty loudly proclaimed that classes still existed. These classes were the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The latter had its specific class interests, which none but workers could be trusted to defend. The inference drawn by the Manifesto was that there must be independent working-class candidates."^[26] For Stekloff "the Proudhonists, who were at that date the leaders of the French section of the International. They looked upon the International Workingmen's Association as a sort of academy or synagogue, where Talmudists or similar experts could "investigate" the workers' problem; where in the spirit of Proudhon they could excogitate means for an accurate solution of the problem, without being disturbed by the stresses of a political campaign. Thus Fribourg, voicing the opinions of the Parisian group of the Proudhonists (Tolain and Co.) assured his readers that "the International was the greatest attempt ever made in modern times to aid the proletariat towards the conquest, by peaceful, constitutional, and moral methods, of the place which rightly belongs to the workers in the sunshine of civilisation."^[27]

"The Belgian Federation threw in its lot with the anarchist International at its Brussels Congress, held in December, 1872...those taking part in the socialist movement of the Belgian intelligentsia were inspired by Proudhonist ideas which naturally led them to oppose the Marxist outlook."^[28]

Nineteenth-century mutualists considered themselves **libertarian socialists**.^[29] While still oriented towards **cooperation**, mutualists favor **free market** solutions, believing that most inequalities are the result of preferential conditions created by government intervention.^[30] Mutualism is something of a middle way between **classical economics** and **socialism**, with some characteristics of both. Modern-day Mutualist **Kevin Carson**, considers anarchist mutualism to be “free market socialism.”

Proudhon supported **labor-owned cooperative firms** and associations^[31] for “we need not hesitate, for we have no choice ... it is necessary to form an ASSOCIATION among workers ... because without that, they would remain related as subordinates and superiors, and there would ensue two ... castes of masters and wage-workers, which is repugnant to a free and democratic society” and so “it becomes necessary for the workers to form themselves into democratic societies, with equal conditions for all members, on pain of a relapse into **feudalism**.”^[32] As for capital goods (man-made, non-land, “**means of production**”), mutualist opinions differs on whether these should be commonly managed public assets or private property.

Mutualism also had a considerable influence in the **Paris Commune**. **George Woodcock** manifests that “a notable contribution to the activities of the Commune and particularly to the organization of public services was made by members of various anarchist factions, including the mutualists **Courbet**, **Longuet**, and **Vermorel**, the **libertarian collectivists** **Varlin**, **Malon**, and **Lefrangais**, and the **bakuninists** **Elie** and **Elisée Reclus** and **Louise Michel**.”^[33]

0.9.2 Theory

See also: **Cost the limit of price**

The primary aspects of mutualism are **free association**, mutualist credit, contract (or federation/confederation), and gradualism (or dual-power). Mutualism is often described by its proponents as advocating an “anti-capitalist free market”.

Mutualists argue that most of the economic problems associated with capitalism each amount to a violation of the *cost principle*, or as **Josiah Warren** interchangeably said, “Cost the limit of price.” It was inspired by the **labor theory of value**, which was popularized, though not invented, by **Adam Smith** in 1776 (Proudhon mentioned Smith as an inspiration). The labor theory of value holds that the actual price of a thing (or the “true cost”) is the amount of labor that was undertaken to produce it. In Warren’s terms, cost should be the “limit of price,” with “cost” referring to the amount of labor required to produce a good or service. Anyone who sells goods should charge no more than the cost to himself of acquiring these goods.

Free association

Mutualists argue that association is only necessary where there is an organic combination of forces. For instance, an operation that requires specialization and many different workers performing their individual tasks to complete a unified product, i.e., a factory. In this situation, workers are inherently dependent on each other—and without association they are related as subordinate and superior, master and wage-slave.

An operation that can be performed by an individual without the help of specialized workers does *not* require association. Proudhon argued that peasants do not require societal form, and only feigned association for the purposes of solidarity in abolishing rents, buying clubs, etc. He recognized that their work is inherently sovereign and free. In commenting on the degree of association that is preferable Proudhon said:

In cases in which production requires great division of labour, it is necessary to form an ASSOCIATION among the workers... because without that they would remain isolated as subordinates and superiors, and there would ensue two industrial castes of masters and wage workers, which is repugnant in a free and democratic society. But where the product can be obtained by the action of an individual or a family... there is no opportunity for association.^[34]

For Proudhon, mutualism involved creating “industrial democracy”, a system where workplaces would be “handed over to democratically organised workers’ associations ... We want these associations to be models for agriculture, industry and trade, the pioneering core of that vast federation of companies and societies woven into the common cloth of the democratic social Republic.”^[35] He urged “workers to form themselves into democratic societies, with equal conditions for all members, on pain of a relapse into feudalism.” This would result in “Capitalistic and proprietary exploitation, stopped everywhere, the wage system abolished, equal and just exchange guaranteed.”^[36] Workers would no longer sell their labour to a capitalist but rather work for themselves in co-operatives.

As Robert Graham notes, “Proudhon’s market socialism is indissolubly linked to his notions of industry democracy and workers’ self-management.”^[37] K. Steven Vincent notes in his in-depth analysis of this aspect of Proudhon’s ideas that “Proudhon consistently advanced a program of industrial democracy which would return control and direction of the economy to the workers.” For Proudhon, “... strong workers’ associations ... would enable the workers to determine jointly by election how the enterprise was to be directed and operated on a day-to-day basis.”^[38]

Mutual credit

Main article: [Mutual credit](#)

Mutualists argue that [free banking](#) should be taken back by the people to establish systems of free credit. They contend that banks have a monopoly on credit, just as capitalists have a monopoly on the means of production, and landlords have a monopoly on land. Banks are essentially creating money by lending out deposits that do not actually belong to them, then charging interest on the difference. Mutualists argue that by establishing a democratically run [mutual bank](#) or [credit union](#), it would be possible to issue free credit so that money could be created for the benefit of the participants rather than for the benefit of the bankers. Individualist anarchists noted for their detailed views on mutualist banking include [Proudhon](#), [William B. Greene](#), and [Lysander Spooner](#).

Some modern forms of mutual credit are [LETS](#) and the [Ripple monetary system](#) project.

In a session of the French legislature, Proudhon proposed a government-imposed [income tax](#) to fund his mutual banking scheme, with some tax brackets reaching as high as 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ percent and 50 percent, which was turned down by the legislature.^[39] This income tax Proudhon proposed to fund his bank was to be levied on rents, interest, debts, and salaries.^{[40][41]} Specifically, Proudhon's proposed law would have required all capitalists and stockholders to disburse one sixth of their income to their tenants and debtors, and another sixth to the national treasury to fund the bank.^[42]

This scheme was vehemently objected to by others in the legislature, including [Frédéric Bastiat](#);^[42] the reason given for the income tax's rejection was that it would result in economic ruin and that it violated "the right of property."^[43] In his debates with Bastiat, Proudhon did once propose funding a national bank with a voluntary tax of 1%.^[44] Proudhon also argued for the abolition of all taxes.^[45]

Contract and federation

Mutualism holds that producers should exchange their goods at cost-value using systems of "contract." While Proudhon's early definitions of cost-value were based on fixed assumptions about the value of labor-hours, he later redefined cost-value to include other factors such as the intensity of labor, the nature of the work involved, etc. He also expanded his notions of "contract" into expanded notions of "federation." As Proudhon argued,

I have shown the contractor, at the birth of industry, negotiating on equal terms with his comrades, who have since become his workmen. It is plain, in fact, that this original equality was bound to disappear through the advan-

tageous position of the master and the dependent position of the wage-workers. In vain does the law assure the right of each to enterprise ... When an establishment has had leisure to develop itself, enlarge its foundations, ballast itself with capital, and assure itself a body of patrons, what can a workman do against a power so superior?^[46]

Gradualism and dual-power

Main article: [Dual power](#)

Beneath the governmental machinery, in the shadow of political institutions, out of the sight of statemen and priests, society is producing its own organism, slowly and silently; and constructing a new order, the expression of its vitality and autonomy...^[47]

0.9.3 Mutualism and capitalism

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was one of the most famous philosophers who articulated thoughts on the nature of property. He is known for claiming that "[property is theft](#)", but is less known for the claims that "property is liberty" and "property is impossible". According to [Colin Ward](#), Proudhon did not see a contradiction between these slogans. This was because Proudhon distinguished between what he considered to be two distinct forms of property often bound up in the single label. To the mutualist, this is the distinction between property created by coercion and property created by labor. Property is theft "when it is related to a landowner or capitalist whose ownership is derived from conquest or exploitation and [is] only maintained through the state, property laws, police, and an army". Property is freedom for "the peasant or artisan family [who have] a natural right to a home, land [they may] cultivate, [...] to tools of a trade", and the fruits of that cultivation—but not to ownership or control of the lands and lives of others. The former is considered illegitimate property, the latter legitimate property.

Proudhon argued that property in the product of labor is essential to liberty, while property that strayed from "possession" ("occupancy and use") was the basis for tyranny and would lead a society to destroy itself. The conception of entitlement property as a destructive force and illegitimate institution can be seen in this quote by Proudhon,

Then if we are associated for the sake of liberty, equality, and security, we are not associated for the sake of property; then if property is a natural right, this natural right is not social,

but anti-social. Property and society are utterly irreconcilable institutions. It is as impossible to associate two proprietors as to join two magnets by their opposite poles. Either society must perish, or it must destroy property. If property is a natural, absolute, imprescriptible, and inalienable right, why, in all ages, has there been so much speculation as to its origin? – for this is one of its distinguishing characteristics. The origin of a natural right! Good God! who ever inquired into the origin of the rights of liberty, security, or equality? (What is Property?)

Similarly, Proudhon warned that a society with private property could lead to statist relations between people:

The purchaser draws boundaries, fences himself in, and says, 'This is mine; each one by himself, each one for himself.' Here, then, is a piece of land upon which, henceforth, no one has right to step, save the proprietor and his friends; which can benefit nobody, save the proprietor and his servants. Let these multiply, and soon the people ... will have nowhere to rest, no place of shelter, no ground to till. They will die of hunger at the proprietor's door, on the edge of that property which was their birth-right; and the proprietor, watching them die, will exclaim, 'So perish idlers and vagrants.'^[48]

Mutualist Clarence Lee Swartz says in *What is Mutualism*:

It is, therefore, one of the purposes of Mutualists, not only to awaken in the people the appreciation of and desire for freedom, but also to arouse in them a determination to abolish the legal restrictions now placed upon non-invasive human activities and to institute, through purely voluntary associations, such measures as will liberate all of us from the exactions of privilege and the power of concentrated capital.

Unlike capitalist private-property supporters, Proudhon stressed equality. He thought all workers should own property and have access to capital. He stressed that in every cooperative “every worker employed in the association [must have] an undivided share in the property of the company”.^[49] This distinction Proudhon made between different kinds of property has been articulated by some later anarchist and socialist theorists as one of the first distinctions between private property and personal property; the latter having direct use-value to the individual possessing it.

0.9.4 Criticisms

In Europe a contemporary critic of Proudhon was the early anarchist communist Joseph Déjacque^{[50][51]} Unlike and against Proudhon, he argued that, “it is not the product of his or her labor that the worker has a right to, but to the satisfaction of his or her needs, whatever may be their nature.”^{[52][53][54]} Returning to New York he was able to serialise his book in his periodical *Le Libéraire, Journal du Mouvement social*. Published in 27 issues from June 9, 1858, to February 4, 1861, *Le Libéraire* was the first anarcho-communist journal published in the United States.

One area of disagreement between mutualists and anarchist communists stems from Proudhon's advocacy of money and later labour vouchers to compensate individuals for their labor as well as markets or artificial markets for goods and services. Peter Kropotkin, like other anarchist communists, advocated the abolition of labor remuneration and questioned, “how can this new form of wages, the labor note, be sanctioned by those who admit that houses, fields, mills are no longer private property, that they belong to the commune or the nation?”^[55] According to George Woodcock, Kropotkin believed that a wage system in any form, whether “administered by Banks of the People or by workers' associations through labor cheques” is a form of compulsion.^[56]

Collectivist anarchist Mikhail Bakunin was an adamant critic of Proudhonian mutualism as well,^[57] stating, “How ridiculous are the ideas of the individualists of the Jean Jacques Rousseau school and of the Proudhonian mutualists who conceive society as the result of the free contract of individuals absolutely independent of one another and entering into mutual relations only because of the convention drawn up among men. As if these men had dropped from the skies, bringing with them speech, will, original thought, and as if they were alien to anything of the earth, that is, anything having social origin.”^[58]

Criticism from pro-market sectors has been common as well. Economist George Reisman charges that mutualism supports exploitation when it does not recognize a right of an individual to protect land that he has mixed his labor with if he happens to not be using it. Reisman sees the seizure of such land as the theft of the product of labor and has said that “Mutualism claims to oppose the exploitation of labor, i.e. the theft of any part of its product. But when it comes to labor that has been mixed with land, it turns a blind eye out foursquare on the side of the exploiter.”^[59]

0.9.5 Mutualism today

Kevin Carson is a contemporary mutualist and author of *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*. In its preface Carson describes this work as “an attempt to revive individualist anarchist political economy, to incorporate

the useful developments of the last hundred years, and to make it relevant to the problems of the twenty-first century.”^[60] Contemporary mutualists are among those involved in the [Alliance of the Libertarian Left](#) and in the [Voluntary Cooperation Movement](#).

Carson holds that [capitalism](#) has been founded on “an act of robbery as massive as feudalism,” and argues that capitalism could not exist in the absence of a state. He says “[i]t is state intervention that distinguishes capitalism from the free market”.^[61] He does not define capitalism in the idealized sense, but says that when he talks about “capitalism” he is referring to what he calls “[actually existing capitalism](#).” He believes the term “laissez-faire capitalism” is an oxymoron because capitalism, he argues, is “organization of society, incorporating elements of tax, usury, landlordism, and tariff, which thus denies the Free Market while pretending to exemplify it”. However, he says he has no quarrel with anarcho-capitalists who use the term “laissez-faire capitalism” and distinguish it from “actually existing capitalism.”^[citation needed]. He says he has deliberately chosen to resurrect an old definition of the term.^[62]

Carson argues that the centralization of wealth into a [class hierarchy](#) is due to state intervention to protect the [ruling class](#), by using a money monopoly, granting [patents](#) and [subsidies](#) to corporations, imposing discriminatory taxation, and intervening militarily to gain access to international markets. Carson’s thesis is that an authentic free market economy would not be capitalism as the separation of labor from ownership and the subordination of labor to capital would be impossible, bringing a class-less society where people could easily choose between working as a freelancer, working for a fair wage, taking part of a cooperative, or being an entrepreneur. He notes, as did Tucker before him, that a mutualist free market system would involve significantly different property rights than capitalism is based on, particularly in terms of land and intellectual property.

0.9.6 See also

- [Geolibertarianism](#)
- [Individualist anarchism](#)
- [Individualist anarchism in France](#)
- [Labor theory of property](#)
- [Labor theory of value](#)
- [Left-libertarianism](#)
- [Left-wing market anarchism](#)
- [Libertarian socialism](#)
- [Socialist economics](#)
- [Syndicalism](#)

- [Worker cooperative](#)
- [Workplace democracy](#)
- [Workers’ self-management](#)

0.9.7 Notes and references

Notes

1. ^ “Involved with radical politics and in his contact with the Marxists, he [Proudhon] soon rejected their doctrine, seeking rather a middle way between socialist theories and classical economics.” - Irving Horowitz, *The Anarchists*, 1964, Dell Publishing
2. ^ Some critics object to the use of the term *capitalism* in reference to historical or actually existing economic arrangements, which they term *mixed economies*. They reserve the term for the *abstract ideal* or *future possibility* of a genuinely free market. This sort of *free-market capitalism* may closely follow Carson’s *free-market anti-capitalism* in its practical details except for the fact that Carson does not recognize a right of an individual to protect land that he has transformed through labor or purchased to be protected when he is not using it. Carson, like other mutualists, only recognize occupancy and use as the standard for retaining legitimate control over something. According to Carson, “For mutualists, occupancy and use is the only legitimate standard for establishing ownership of land, regardless of how many times it has changed hands. An existing owner may transfer ownership by sale or gift; but the new owner may establish legitimate title to the land only by his own occupancy and use. A change in occupancy will amount to a change in ownership. Absentee landlord rent, and exclusion of homesteaders from vacant land by an absentee landlord, are both considered illegitimate by mutualists. The actual occupant is considered the owner of a tract of land, and any attempt to collect rent by a self-styled landlord is regarded as a violent invasion of the possessor’s absolute right of property. (p. 200. of Carson’s “Mutualist Political Economy”).
3. ^ See *The Iron Fist Behind The Invisible Hand*.
4. ^ “For mutualists, occupancy and use is the only legitimate standard for establishing ownership of land, regardless of how many times it has changed hands. According the mutualist Kevin Carson “A change in occupancy will amount to a change in ownership.” An existing owner may transfer ownership by sale or gift; but the new owner may establish legitimate title to the land only by his own occupancy and use. **A change in occupancy will amount to a change in ownership.** Absentee landlord rent, and exclusion of homesteaders from vacant land by an absentee

landlord, are both considered illegitimate by mutualists. The actual occupant is considered the owner of a tract of land, and any attempt to collect rent by a self-styled landlord is regarded as a violent invasion of the possessor's absolute right of property. (p. 200. of Carson's "Mutualist Political Economy." (editor's emphasis)

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Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought, Blackwell Publishing 1991 ISBN 0-631-17944-5, p. 11
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0.9.9 External links

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- *Plan of the Cincinnati Labor for Labor Store* by Josiah Warren
- *Proudhon and Anarchism* by Larry Gambone – contains a discussion on Proudhonist mutualism
- *Mutual Banking* by William B. Greene
- *What is Mutualism?* by Clarence Lee Swartz (1927) – A classic text on Mutualism
- *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* Peter Kropotkin 1902
- *Anarchist-Mutualism* by John William Lloyd, a criticism

- *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy* by Kevin Carson. For more of Carson's points of view about mutualism you can check his [blog](#).
- *Journal of Libertarian Studies* Vol. 20 Num. 1. This issue is devoted to Kevin Carson's *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*. It includes critiques and Carson's rejoinders.
- *Mutualism: A Philosophy for Thieves* by George Reisman.

0.10 Autonomism

For other uses, see [Autonomism \(disambiguation\)](#).
Not to be confused with [antinomianism](#).

Autonomism or **Autonomist Marxism** is a set of



Raised fist, stenciled protest symbol of Autonomie at the Ernst-Kirchweiger-Haus in Vienna, Austria

anti-authoritarian left-wing political and social movements and theories.^{[1][2][3]} As a theoretical system, it first emerged in Italy in the 1960s from workerist (*operaismo*) communism. Later, post-Marxist and anarchist tendencies became significant after influence from the Situationists, the failure of Italian far-left movements in the 1970s, and the emergence of a number of important theorists including Antonio Negri, who had contributed to the 1969 founding of *Potere Operaio*, as well as Mario Tronti, Paolo Virno and Franco "Bifo" Berardi.

Georgy Katsiaficas summarizes the forms of autonomous movements saying that "In contrast to the centralized decisions and hierarchical authority structures of modern institutions, autonomous social movements involve people directly in decisions affecting their everyday lives.

They seek to expand democracy and to help individuals break free of political structures and behavior patterns imposed from the outside."^[4] As such this has involved a call for the independence of social movements from political parties^[5] in a revolutionary perspective which seeks to create a practical political alternative to both [authoritarian socialism](#) and contemporary [representative democracy](#).^[6]

Autonomism influenced the German and Dutch *Autonomen*, the worldwide [social centre movement](#), and today is influential in Italy, France, and to a lesser extent the English-speaking countries. Those who describe themselves as autonomists now vary from Marxists to [anarchists](#).

0.10.1 Etymology

The term *autonomial/Autonomie* was first used in 1620, having been composed out of two Greek words, "auto-nomos", referring to someone or something which lives by his/her own rule. *Autonomy*, in this sense, is not independence. While independence refers to an autarchic kind of life, separated from the [community](#), autonomy refers to life in society but by one's own rule. Though the notion of *autonomism* was alien to the ancient Greeks, the concept is indirectly endorsed by [Aristotle](#), who stated that only beasts or gods could be independent and live apart from the *polis* ("community"), while [Kant](#) defined the Enlightenment by autonomy of thought and the famous "*Sapere aude*" ("dare to know").

0.10.2 The Marxist Autonomist theory

Unlike other forms of [Marxism](#), autonomist Marxism emphasises the ability of the [working class](#) to force changes to the organization of the [capitalist system](#) independent of the [state](#), [trade unions](#) or [political parties](#). Autonomists are less concerned with party political organization than are other Marxists, focusing instead on self-organized action outside of traditional organizational structures. Autonomist Marxism is thus a "bottom-up" theory: it draws attention to activities that autonomists see as everyday working-class resistance to capitalism, such as [absenteeism](#), slow working, socialization in the workplace, [sabotage](#), and other subversive activities.

Like other Marxists, autonomists see [class struggle](#) as being of central importance. However, autonomists have a broader definition of the working class than do other Marxists: as well as wage-earning workers (both [white collar](#) and [blue collar](#)), autonomists also include in this category the unwaged (students, the unemployed, homemakers, etc.), who are traditionally deprived of any form of union representation.

Early theorists (such as [Mario Tronti](#), [Antonio Negri](#), [Sergio Bologna](#), and [Paolo Virno](#)) developed notions of

“immaterial” and “social labour” that extended the Marxist concept of labour to all society. They suggested that modern society’s wealth was produced by unaccountable collective work, and that only a little of this was redistributed to the workers in the form of wages. Other Italian autonomists—particularly feminists, such as **Mariarosa Dalla Costa** and **Silvia Federici**—emphasised the importance of feminism and the value of unpaid female labour to capitalist society.

A scholar of the movement, Michael Ryan, writes that

Autonomy, as a movement and as a theory, opposes the notion that capitalism is an irrational system which can be made rational through planning. Instead, it assumes the workers’ viewpoint, privileging their activity as the lever of revolutionary passage as that which alone can construct a communist society. Economics is seen as being entirely political; economic relations are direct political relations of force between class subjects. And it is in the economic category of the social worker, not in an alienated political form like the party, that the initiative for political change resides.^[7]

0.10.3 Italian autonomism



Antonio Negri, a leading theorist of Italian autonomism

Autonomist Marxism—referred to in Italy as *operaismo*, which translates literally as “labourism”—first appeared in Italy in the early 1960s. Arguably, the emergence of early autonomism can be traced to the dissatisfaction of automotive workers in **Turin** with their union, which reached an agreement with **FIAT**. The disillusionment of these workers with their organised representation, along with the resultant riots (in particular the 1962 riots by

FIAT workers in Turin, “fatti di Piazza Statuto”), were critical factors in the development of a theory of self-organised labour representation outside the scope of traditional representatives such as trade unions.

In 1969, the *operaismo* approach was active mainly in two different groups: *Lotta Continua*, led by **Adriano Sofri** (which had a very significant Roman Catholic cultural matrix), and *Potere Operaio*, led by **Antonio Negri**, **Franco Piperno**, **Oreste Scalzone**, and **Valerio Morucci**. **Mario Capanna** was the charismatic leader of the Milan student movement, which had a more classical Marxist-Leninist approach.

Influences

Through translations made available by Danilo Montaldi and others, the Italian autonomists drew upon previous activist research in the United States by the **Johnson-Forest Tendency** and in France by the group **Socialisme ou Barbarie**. The Johnson-Forest Tendency had studied working-class life and struggles within the US auto industry, publishing pamphlets such as “The American Worker” (1947), “Punching Out” (1952), and “Union Committeemen and Wildcat Strikes” (1955). That work was translated into French by Socialisme ou Barbarie and published, serially, in their journal. They too began investigating and writing about what was going on inside workplaces, in their case inside both auto factories and insurance offices.

The journal *Quaderni Rossi* (“Red Notebooks”), produced between 1961 and 1965, and its successor *Classe Operaia* (“Working Class”), produced between 1963 and 1966, were also influential in the development of early autonomism. Both were founded by **Antonio Negri** and **Mario Tronti**.

Pirate radio stations also were a factor in spreading autonomist ideas. **Bologna's Radio Alice** was an example of such a station.

Direct action

The Italian student movement, including the **Indiani Metropolitani** (Metropolitan Indians), starting from 1966 with the murder of student **Paolo Rossi** by neo-fascists at **Rome University**, engaged in various direct action operations, including riots and occupations, along with more peaceful activities such as self-reduction, in which individuals refused to pay for such services and goods as public transport, electricity, gas, rent, and food. Several clashes occurred between students and the police during the occupations of universities in the winter of 1967–68, during the **Fiat** occupations, and in March 1968 in Rome during the **Battle of Valle Giulia**.

Indiani Metropolitani were a small faction active in the Italian far-left protest movement during 1976 and 1977,

in the so-called "**Years of Lead**". The Indiani Metropolitani were the so-called 'creative' wing of the movement. Its adherents wore face-paint like the war-paint of **Native Americans** and dressed like **hippies**. The emphasis was on "stare insieme" (being together), spontaneity and the arts, especially music. The group was active in Rome, during the occupation of the university La Sapienza in 1977.

On 11 March 1977, riots took place in Bologna following the killing of student Francesco Lorusso by police.

Beginning in 1979, the state effectively prosecuted the autonomist movement, accusing it of protecting the **Red Brigades**, which had kidnapped and assassinated **Aldo Moro**. 12,000 far-left activists were detained; 600 fled the country, including 300 to France and 200 to South America.^[8]



Member of the Italian Social Movement *Tute Bianche*



Askatasuna "autonomist" social center in Turin (2016)

Tute Bianche was a militant Italian social movement, active from 1994 to 2001. Activists covered their bodies with padding so as to resist the blows of police, to push through police lines, and to march together in large blocks for mutual protection during demonstrations. The tute bianche movement reached its apex during the anti-G8 protests in Genoa, in July 2001, with a turn-out of an estimated 10,000 protesters in a single "padded block", ironically after a collective decision to go without the

white overalls. Shortly after Genoa the Ya Basta Association disbanded, with certain segments reforming into the "Disobbedienti" which literally means "Disobedients". This philosophy includes the occupation and creation of **squatted** self-managed social centers, anti-sexist **activism**, support for immigrant's rights and refugees seeking political asylum, as well as the process of walking together in large formations during demonstrations held in the streets, by force if necessary in case of clashes with police.

Central to the tute bianche movement was the Italian **Ya Basta Association**, a network of groups throughout Italy that was inspired by the **Zapatista Army of National Liberation** uprising in Chiapas in 1994. Ya Basta primarily originated in the "autonomist" social centers of Milan, particularly **Centro Sociale Leoncavallo**. These social centers grew out of the Italian Autonomia movement of the 1970 and 80s. The tute bianche have had international variations of one sort or another. For instance, in Britain a group calling itself **WOMBLES** adopted the tactics, even though the political orientation of WOMBLES differed from the Italian movement. In Spain, "Mono Blanco" was the preferred identifier. The first North American variant of the tute bianche, the **NYC Ya Basta Collective** (based in NYC) wore yellow overalls, rather than white.

Further information: [Years of Lead \(Italy\)](#)

0.10.4 The French *autonome* movement



Tear - Paris, 2016

In France, the Marxist group *Socialisme ou Barbarie*, led by philosopher *Cornelius Castoriadis*, could be said to be one of the first autonomist groups. *Socialisme ou Barbarie* drew upon the activist research of the American Johnson-Forest Tendency inside US auto plants and carried out their own investigations into rank-and-file workers struggles, struggles that were autonomous of union or party leadership.

Also parallel to the work of the Johnson-Forest Tendency, *Socialisme ou Barbarie* harshly criticised the *Communist* regime in the *USSR*, which it considered a form of "bureaucratic capitalism" and not at all the *socialism* it claimed to be. Philosopher *Jean-François Lyotard* was also part of this movement.

However, the Italian influence of the *operaismo* movement was more directly felt in the creation of the review *Matériaux pour l'intervention* (1972–73) by Yann Moulier-Boutang, a French economist close to Toni Negri. This led in turn to the creation of the *Camarades* group (1974–78). Along with others, Moulier-Boutang joined the Centre International pour des Nouveaux Espaces de Liberté (CINEL), founded three years earlier by *Félix Guattari*, and assisted Italian activists accused of terrorism, of whom at least 300 fled to France.

The French autonome mouvement organised itself in the AGPA (Assemblée Parisienne des Groupes Autonomes, "Parisian Assembly of Autonomie Groups"; 1977–78). Many tendencies were present in it, including the *Camarades* group led by Moulier-Boutang, members of the Organisation communiste libertaire, some people referring themselves to the "Desiring Autonomy" of Bob Nadoulek, but also squatters and street-wise people (including the groupe Marge). French autonomes supported captured *Red Army Faction* former members. *Jean-Paul Sartre* also intervened on the conditions for the detention of RAF detainees.

The militant group *Action directe* appeared in 1979 and carried out several violent direct actions. *Action Directe* claimed responsibility for the murders of *Renault's* CEO *Georges Besse* and General Audran. *Georges Besse* had been CEO of nuclear company *Eurodif*. *Action Directe* was dissolved in 1987.

In the 1980s, the autonomist movement underwent a deep crisis in Italy because of effective prosecution by the State, and was stronger in Germany than in France. It remained present in Parisian squats and in some riots (for example in 1980 near the *Jussieu Campus* in Paris, or in 1982 in the *Ardennes* department during anti-nuclear demonstrations). From 1986 to 1994 the French group "*Comité des mal logés*" occupied several buildings of the French national social housing authority to denounce the cruel lack of lodging for workers, they were several hundred and took their decisions in democratic assembly, with support from all autonomous groups of Paris, many of them were worked on the anti prison. In the 1980s, the French autonomists published the periodicals *CAT Pages*

(1981–82), *Rebelles* (1981–93), *Tout !* (1982–85), *Molotov et Confetti* (1984), *Les Fossoyeurs du Vieux Monde*, *La Chôme* (1984–85), and *Contre* (1987–89).

In the 1990s, the French autonomist movement was present in struggles led by unemployed people, with *Travailleurs, Chômeurs, et Précaires en colère* (TCP, "Angry Workers, Unemployed, and Marginalised people") and *l'Assemblée générale des chômeurs de Jussieu* ("General Assembly of Jussieu's unemployed people"). It was also involved in the *alter-globalisation* movement and above all in the solidarity with illegal foreigners (*Collective Des Papiers pour tous* ("Permits for all", 1996) and *Collectif Anti-Expulsion* (1998–2005)). Several autonomist journals date from this time: *Quilombo* (1988–93), *Apache* (1990–98), *Tic-Tac* (1995–97), *Karoshi* (1998–99), and *Tiqun* (1999–2001).

From 19 to 28 July 2002, a *No borders* camp was made in *Strasbourg* to protest against anti-immigration policies, in particular inside the *Schengen European space*.

In 2003, autonomists came into conflict with the *French Socialist Party* (PS) during a demonstration that took place in the frame of the *European Social Forum* in *Saint-Denis* (Paris). At the end of December, hundreds of unemployed people helped themselves in the *Bon Marché* supermarket to be able to celebrate Christmas (an action called "*autoréduction*" (of prices) in French). *French riot police* (CRS) physically opposed the unemployed people inside the shop. Autonomes rioted during the *spring 2006* protests against the CPE, and again after the *2007 presidential election* when *Nicolas Sarkozy* was elected.

On 11 November 2008, the French police arrested ten people, including five living in a farmhouse on a hill overlooking Tarnac, and accused them of associating with a "terrorist enterprise" by sabotaging TGV's overhead lines. Nine out of ten were let go and only *Julien Coupat*, the alleged leader, remained in custody for about a year, charged with "directing a terrorist group" by the Paris Prosecutor's office.

0.10.5 The German *Autonome* movement in the 1970s and 1980s

In Germany, *Autonome* was used during the late 1970s to depict the most radical part of the political left.^[9] These individuals participated in practically all actions of the social movements at the time, especially in demonstrations against *nuclear energy* plants (Brokdorf 1981, Wackersdorf 1986) and in actions against the construction of airport runways (Frankfurt 1976–86). The defense of *squats* against the police such as in *Hamburg's Hafenstraße* was also a major "task" for the "autonome" movement. The Dutch anarchist *Autonomen* movement from the 1960s also concentrated on squatting.

Tactics of the "Autonome" were usually militant, including the construction of barricades or throwing stones or

molotov cocktails at the police. During their most powerful times in the early 1980s, on at least one occasion the police had to take flight.

Because of their outfit (heavy black clothing, ski masks, helmets), the “Autonome” were dubbed *der schwarze Block* by the German media, and in these tactics were similar to modern **black blocs**. In 1989, laws regarding demonstrations in Germany were changed, prohibiting the use of so-called “passive weaponry” such as helmets or padding and covering your face.

Today, the “autonome” scene in Germany is greatly reduced and concentrates mainly on **anti-fascist** actions, ecology, solidarity with **refugees**, and **feminism**. There are larger and more militant groups still in operation, such as in Switzerland or Italy.

falling since 1990–91.

Parallel to such participation in social movements, a large number of social centres (many of them squatted) exist to this day around Greece, and many of them participate in social struggles on a local level. These social centres, whether they now identify as “Autonomist” or not (most use more generic terms such as “anti-authoritarian”, while some identify as “anarchist”), function in the ways that historically emerged through “Autonomia”. There is also a multitude of small political groups which identify as “Autonomist”, ranging from workerist to post-modernist. Most of them are still connected to the respective groups that identify as “Anarchist”.

See also: **Squatting § Greece**

0.10.6 The Greek *Anarcho-autonomoi*

In Greece, the *anarcho-autonomoi* (Greek *αναρχο-αυτόνομοι*: “anarchist-autonomists”) emerged as an important trend in the youth and student movement, first during the 1973 **Athens Polytechnic uprising** against the military dictatorship that ruled the country at the time. After the collapse of the dictatorship in 1974, the “anarcho-autonomoi” became considerably influential, firstly as a social trend within the youth and then as a (very loose and diverse) political trend. The definition “anarcho-autonomoi”, itself, is much debated. One reason for this is that it was originally coined by opponents. However, it was also quite quickly adopted by many adherents, used as a generic term.

Before 1973, in Greece, there was very little tradition in anarchism or libertarian socialism in general. An exception to this was Agis Stinas, an early comrade of **Cornelius Castoriadis**. Castoriadis belonged to Stinas’s small Council Communist group (before he emigrated to France) and was influenced by it; later these roles were turned around. The small groups that existed were almost (physically) eliminated by the Nazis, the local establishment, and the Stalinist communist party during the Nazi occupation and the Greek Civil War that followed, with Castoriadis and Stinas, themselves, being two of the few survivors.

Thus, the radical Greek youth in the 1970s, having very little relative background to refer to, resided to an extensive “syncretism” of multiple trends originating in the respective movements in other European countries. Anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist trends converged with situationist, workerist, or other autonomist trends and even with radical (non-autonomist) Marxist trends. The “anarcho-autonomoi” made a very strong stand during the 1978–80 student movement, coming into violent confrontation with the police and the (also, of considerable influence) Stalinist communist youth (K.N.E). Such stands were repeated whenever the student, worker, and youth movements were rising (in 1987, 1990–91, 1998–99, and 2006–7). However, their intensity has been

0.10.7 Influence

The Autonomist Marxist and *Autonomen* movements provided inspiration to some on the revolutionary left in English-speaking countries, particularly among anarchists, many of whom have adopted autonomist tactics. Some English-speaking anarchists even describe themselves as *Autonomists*. The Italian *operaismo* movement also influenced Marxist academics such as **Harry Cleaver**, **John Holloway**, Steve Wright, and Nick Dyer-Witheford. In Denmark and Sweden, the word is used as a catch-all phrase for anarchists and the extra-parliamentary left in general, as was seen in the media coverage of the eviction of the **Ungdomshuset squat** in **Copenhagen** in March 2007.

0.10.8 See also

Autonomist thinkers

- **Franco “Bifo” Berardi**
- **George Caffentzis**
- **Silvia Federici**
- **Michael Hardt**
- **John Holloway**
- **Antonio Negri**
- **Mario Tronti**
- **Paolo Virno**

Movements and organizations

- **Blitz** (Norway)
- **Disobbedienti** (ex **Tute Bianche**)
- **Homeless Workers’ Movement MTST**

- Kämpa tillsammans! Kämpa tillsammans!
- London Autonomists
- Swedish Anarcho-syndicalist Youth Federation
- Ungdomshuset, Danish autonomist squat

Autonomist publications

- *Aufheben*
- *Multitudes* magazine
- *ROAR Magazine*

Others

- Autonomy
- Affective labor
- Direct democracy
- Horizontalidad
- Kommune 1
- Popular assembly
- Spontaneism
- Sui iuris
- Open Marxism
- Hakim Bey on autonomous zones

0.10.9 References

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- [2] Georgy Katsiaficas. *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life*, AK Press 2006
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- [9] *FIRE AND FLAMES: A History of the German Autonomist Movement* by Geronimo. AK Press. 2012

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0.11 Communalism (political philosophy)

Not to be confused with **Communism**.

Communalism (spelled with a capital C to differentiate it from other forms) is a **libertarian socialist** political philosophy developed by author and activist **Murray Bookchin** as a political system to complement his environmental philosophy of **social ecology**. Communalism proposes that **markets** be abolished and that land and enterprises - i.e., **private property** - be placed increasingly in the custody of the community – more precisely, the custody of citizens in free assemblies and their delegates in confederal councils. (However, Communalism makes allowances for **personal property**.) The planning of work, the choice of technologies, the management and distribution of goods are seen as questions that can only be resolved in practice. The maxim "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" is taken as a bedrock guide for an economically rational society, where all goods are designed and manufactured to have the highest durability and quality, a society where needs are guided by rational and ecological standards, and where the ancient notions of limit and balance replace the capitalist imperative of "grow or die".

In such a municipal economy – confederal, interdependent, and rational by ecological, not only technological, standards – Communalists hold that the special interests that divide people today into workers, professionals, managers, capitalist owners and so on would be melded into a general interest (a *social* interest) in which people see themselves as citizens guided strictly by the needs of their community and region rather than by personal proclivities and vocational concerns.^{[1][2]} Here, it is hoped, **citizenship** would come into its own, and rational as well as ecological interpretations of the public good would supplant **class** and hierarchical interests.

0.10.11 External links

Archives

- Libertarian Communist Library Mario Tronti Archive
- Libertarian Communist Library Sergio Bologna Archive
- Libertarian Communist Library Mariarosa Dalla Costa Archive
- Libertarian Communist Library Nick Dyer-Witheford Archive
- Libertarian Communist Library Antonio Negri Archive
- Libertarian Communist Library Raniero Panzieri Archive
- Libertarian Communist Library Harry Cleaver Archive

Others

- Articles by members of the *operaismo* movement
- Aut-op-sy - Autonomist forum and texts
- Rekombinant - Autonomist forum and mailing list

0.11.1 Overview

While renowned as an influential thinker of **social anarchism** for much of his life, beginning in 1995, Bookchin became increasingly critical of political anarchism, and in 1999 took a decisive stand against anarchist ideology. He had come to recognize his political beliefs as a genuinely new form of **libertarian socialism**, and positioned its politics firmly in the framework of a new political ideology. While originally conceived as being within the existing framework of **social anarchism**, he developed Communalism into a separate ideology which incorporates what he saw as the most beneficial elements of **left anarchism**, **Marxism**, **syndicalism**, and **radical ecology**.

0.11.2 Politics

Libertarian municipalism

Main article: **Libertarian municipalism**

Starting in the 1970s, Bookchin argued that the arena for libertarian social change should be the **municipal** level. In a 2001 interview he summarized his views this way:

“The overriding problem is to change the structure of society so that people gain power. The best arena to do that is the municipality — the city, town, and village — where we have an opportunity to create a face-to-face democracy.”

In 1980 Bookchin used the term “libertarian municipalism”, to describe a system in which **libertarian** institutions of directly **democratic** assemblies would oppose and replace the **state** with a confederation of free municipalities. Libertarian municipalism intends to create a situation in which the two powers — the municipal confederations and the nation-state — cannot coexist. Communalists hold that this is a method to achieve a liberated society.

Libertarian municipalism is not seen merely as an effort to “take over” city and municipal councils to construct a more “environmentally friendly” government, but also an effort to transform and democratize these structures, to root them in popular assemblies, and to knit them together along confederal lines to appropriate a regional economy. Bookchin summarized this process in the saying “democratize the republic, then radicalize the democracy”.

It is a **dual power** that contests the legitimacy of the existing state power. Communalists hold that such a movement should be expected to begin slowly, perhaps sporadically, in communities here and there that initially may demand only the ability to alter the structuring of society before enough interlinked confederations exist to demand the outright institutional power to replace the cen-

tralized state. The growing tension created by the emergence of municipal confederations would represent a confrontation between the state and the political realms. It is believed this confrontation can be resolved only after Communalism forms the new politics of a popular movement and ultimately captures the imagination of society at large.

Confederalism

Communalists see as equally important the need for **confederation** — the interlining of communities with one another through recallable **delegates** mandated by municipal citizens’ assemblies and whose sole functions are coordinative and administrative. This is similar to the system of “nested councils” found in **participatory politics**.

According to Bookchin, “**Confederation** has a long history of its own that dates back to antiquity and that surfaced as a major alternative to the **nation-state**. From the American Revolution through the French Revolution and the Spanish Revolution of 1936, confederalism constituted a major challenge to state centralism”. Communalism is seen to add a radically democratic dimension to the contemporary discussions of confederation (e.g. **Yugoslavia** and **Czechoslovakia**) by calling for confederations not of nation-states but of municipalities and of the neighborhoods of large cities as well as towns and villages.

Policy and administration

Communalists make a clear distinction between the concepts of *policy* and *administration*. This distinction is seen as fundamental to Communalist principles.

Policy is defined by being made by a community or neighborhood assembly of free citizens; **administration** on the other hand, is performed by confederal councils a level up from the local assemblies which are composed of mandated, recallable **delegates** of wards, towns, and villages. If particular communities or neighborhoods — or a minority grouping of them — choose to go their own way to a point where human rights are violated or where ecological destruction is permitted, the majority in a local or regional confederation would have the right to prevent such practices through its confederal council. This is explained not as a denial of democracy but the assertion of a shared agreement by all to recognize **civil rights** and maintain the ecological integrity of a region.

Policy-making remains local, but its administration is vested in the confederal network as a whole. The **confederation** is intended to be a community of communities based on distinct **human rights** and ecological imperatives.

Participation in currently existing political systems

One of the core distinctions between **left anarchism** and **Communalism** is that **Communalists** are not opposed in principle to taking part in currently existing political institutions until such a time as it is deemed unnecessary. **Communalists** see no issues with supporting candidates or political parties in mainstream electoral politics—especially municipal elections—as long as prospective candidates are **libertarian socialist** and **anti-statist** in policy. The particular goal of this process is to elevate **Communalists** (or those sympathetic to **Communalism**) to a position of power so as to construct face-to-face municipal assemblies to maximize **direct democracy** and make existing forms of **representative democracy** increasingly irrelevant.

0.11.3 Economics

Communalism proposes a radically different form of **economy** – one that is neither **nationalized** nor **collectivized** according to **syndicalist** precepts. It proposes that **markets** be abolished and that land and enterprises be placed increasingly in the custody of the community – more precisely, the custody of citizens in free assemblies and their delegates in confederal councils. How work should be planned, what technologies should be used, how goods should be distributed are seen as questions that can only be resolved in practice. The maxim “from each according to ability, to each according to need” is taken as a bedrock guide for an economically rational society, provided to be sure that goods are of the highest durability and quality, that needs are guided by rational and ecological standards, and that the ancient notions of limit and balance replace the **capitalist** imperative of “grow or die”.

In such a municipal economy – confederal, interdependent, and rational by ecological, not simply technological, standards – **Communalists** hold that the special interests that divide people today into workers, professionals, managers, and so on would be melded into a general interest in which people see themselves as citizens guided strictly by the needs of their community and region rather than by personal proclivities and vocational concerns. Here, it is hoped, **citizenship** would come into its own, and rational as well as ecological interpretations of the public good would supplant **class** and hierarchical interests.

0.11.4 See also

- Cellular democracy
- Direct democracy
- Eco-communalism
- Inclusive democracy

- *The Law of Peoples*
- Libertarian municipalism
- Libertarian socialism
- *Monthly Review*
- Participatory politics
- Social ecology

0.11.5 Notes

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0.11.6 References and external links

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- Murray Bookchin's overview of Libertarian Municipalism
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0.12 Participism

Participism is a **libertarian socialist** political philosophy consisting of two independently created economic and political systems: **participatory economics** or “parecon” and **participatory politics** or “parpolity”. Participism is intended as an alternative to both **capitalism** and centrally-planned **state socialism**. Participism has significantly informed the International Organization for a Participatory Society.

0.12.1 Overview

Advocates of participism envision remaking all of human society from the bottom up according to principles of **direct participatory democracy** and replacing economic and social competition with cooperation. Supporters of what is termed a “participatory society” support the eventual dissolution of the centralized state, markets, and

money (in its current form) placing it in the tradition of anti-authoritarian libertarian socialism. To elucidate their vision for a new society, advocates of participism categorize their aspirations into what they term a “liberating theory”.

Liberating theory is a **holistic** framework for understanding society that looks at the whole of society and the interrelations among different parts of people’s social lives. Participism groups human society into four primary “spheres”, all of which are set within an international and **ecological** context, and each of which has a set of defining functions:

- The **political** sphere: policy-making, administration, and collective implementation.
- The **economic** sphere: production, consumption, and allocation of the material means of life.
- The **kinship** sphere: procreation, nurturance, socialisation, gender, sexuality, and organisation of daily home life.
- The **community** sphere: development of collectively shared historical identities, culture, religion, spirituality, linguistic relations, lifestyles, and social celebrations.

Within each sphere there are two components. The first component is the *Human Centre*, the collection of people living within a society. Each person has needs, desires, personalities, characteristics, skills, capacities, and consciousness. The second component is the *Institutional Boundary*, all of society’s social institutions that come together to form interconnected roles, relationships, and commonly held expectations and patterns of behaviour, that produce and reproduce societal outcomes. Through these institutions come together to help shape who people are as individuals.

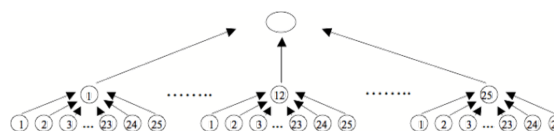
Participatory politics

Main article: **Participatory politics**

Parpolity is the political system first proposed by **Stephen R. Shalom**, professor of **political science** at William Paterson University in New Jersey. Shalom has stated that Parpolity is meant as a long range vision of where **social justice** should reach its apex within the field of politics and should complement the level of participation in the economy with an equal degree of participation in policy and administrative matters.

The values on which parpolity is based are:

- **freedom**
- **self-management**



A diagram of the nested council structure.

- **justice**
- **solidarity**
- and **tolerance**.

The goal, according to Shalom, is to create a political system that will allow people to participate, as much as possible in a direct and face to face manner. The proposed decision-making principle is that every person should have say in a decision proportionate to the degree to which she or he is affected by that decision.

The vision is critical of aspects of modern representative democracies arguing that the level of political control by the people isn't sufficient. To address this problem parpolity suggests a system of Nested Councils, which would include every adult member of a given society.

In a country or society run according to participism, there would be local councils of voting citizens consisting of 25-50 members. These local councils would be able to pass any law that affected only the local council. No higher council would be able to override the decisions of a lower council, only a council court would be able to challenge a local law on **human rights** grounds. The councils would be based on **consensus**, though majority votes are allowed when issues cannot be agreed upon.

Each local council would send a delegate to a higher level council, until that council fills with 25-50 members. These second level councils would pass laws on matters that effect the 625 to 2500 citizens that it represents. A delegate to a higher level council is bound to communicate the views of her or his sending council, but is not bound to vote as the sending council might wish. Otherwise, Shalom points out that there is no point in having nested councils, and everyone might as well vote on everything. A delegate is recallable at any time by her or his sending council. Rotation of delegates would be mandatory, and delegates would be required to return to their sending councils frequently.

The second level council sends a delegate to a third level council, the third level councils send delegates to a fourth level and so on until all citizens are represented. Five levels with 50 people on every council would represent 312,500,000 voters (around the population of the United States). However, the actual number of people represented would be even higher, given that young children would not be voting. Thus, with a further sixth level nested council, the entire human population could be represented. This would not however be equatable to a global world state, but rather would involve the dissolution of all

existing **nation-states** and their replacement with a world-wide **confederal** “coordinating body” made of delegates immediately recallable by the nested council below them.

Lower level councils have the opportunity to hold referendums at any time to challenge the decisions of a higher level council. This would theoretically be an easy procedure, as when a threshold of lower level councils call for a referendum, one would then be held. Shalom points out that sending every issue to lower level councils is a waste of time, as it is equivalent to **referendum** democracy.

There would be staff employed to help manage council affairs. Their duties would perhaps include minute taking and researching issues for the council. These council staff would work in a balanced job complex defined by a participatory economy.

Participatory economics

Main article: **Participatory economics**

Parecon is an economic system proposed primarily by activist and political theorist **Michael Albert** and radical economist **Robin Hahnel**, among others. It uses participatory decision making as an economic mechanism to guide the **production, consumption and allocation** of resources in a given society. Proposed as an alternative to contemporary capitalist market economies and also an alternative to centrally planned socialism or **coordinatorism**, it is described as “an anarchistic economic vision”, and a form of **socialism** as under *parecon*, the means of production are **owned in common**.

The underlying values that *parecon* seeks to implement are equity, solidarity, diversity, **workers’ self-management** and efficiency. (Efficiency here means accomplishing goals without wasting valued assets.) It proposes to attain these ends mainly through the following principles and institutions:

- **workers’ and consumers’ councils** utilizing self-managerial methods for making decisions,
- balanced job complexes,
- remuneration according to effort and sacrifice, and
- **participatory planning**.

In place of money *parecon* would have a form of currency in which **personal vouchers** or “credits” would be awarded for work done to purchase goods and services. Unlike money, credits would disappear upon purchase, and would be non-transferable between individuals, making bribery and monetary theft impossible. Also, the only items or services with a price attached would most likely be those considered wants or non-essentials and anything deemed a need would be completely free of charge (e.g.: health care, public transportation).

Albert and Hahnel have stressed that *parecon* is only meant to address an alternative *economic* theory and must be accompanied by equally important alternative visions in the fields of politics, culture and kinship. The authors have also discussed elements of **social anarchism** in the field of politics, **polyculturalism** in the field of culture, and **feminism** in the field of family/kinship and gender relations as being possible foundations for future alternative visions in these other spheres of society. Since the publication of Albert’s book “*Parecon*”, other thinkers have come forward and incorporated these concepts which have rounded participism into a more fully formed political and social ideology.

Feminist kinship

See also *Nurture kinship and Free love*

Outside of both political and economic relations there still exists the sphere of human kinship. Participism sees this as a vital component in a liberated society and applies feminist principles to this aspect of human relations. Feminist kinship relations are seen to seek to free people from oppressive definitions that have been socially imposed and to abolish all sexual divisions of labour and **sexist** and **heterosexist** demarcation of individuals according to gender and sexuality.

Participism holds that a participatory society must be respectful on an individual’s nature, inclinations, and choices and all people must be provided with the means to pursue the lives they want regardless of their gender, sexual orientation, or age. Feminist kinship relations are dependent on the liberation of women, **LGBTQ** persons, youth, the elderly, and intersex (**hermaphroditic** and **pseudohermaphroditic**) individuals.

To extend liberation into daily home life, a participatory society aims to provide the means for traditional couples, single parents, **lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, transgender**, and **intersex** parents, communal parenting, **polygamy** (especially **polyandry**), **polyamorous** and multiple parenting arrangements to develop and flourish. It is believed that within the home and the community, the task of raising children must be elevated in status. Highly personalised interaction between children and adults should be encouraged, and responsibilities for these interactions must be distributed equitably throughout society without segregating tasks by gender. A participatory society would provide parents with access to high quality day-care, flexible work hours, and parental leave options allowing them to play a more active role in the lives of their children.

The liberation of women and society from patriarchal and **heteronormative** oppression, according to participism, requires total reproductive freedom. Society must provide all members with the right to family planning, without shame or guilt for performing or soliciting an abortion or for engaging in alternative sexual behavior and without

fear of sterilization or economic deprivation; the right to have or not to have children and to terminate undesired pregnancies through unhindered access to **birth control** and unregulated **abortion**, respectively; and the right to comprehensive sexual education and **healthcare** that provide every citizen with information and resources to live a healthy and fulfilling sex life.

In such **sex-positive** participatory societies the full exploration of human sexuality, with the possible exception of **child sexuality**, would be accepted and embraced as normative. Participism encourages the exercise of and experimentation of different forms of sexuality by consenting partners.

Polycultural community

Human society is held to have long and brutal history of conquest, **colonisation**, **genocide**, and slavery which cannot be transcended easily. To begin the step-by-step process of building a new historical legacy and set of behavioural expectations between **communities**, a participatory society would construct intercommunalist institutions to provide communities with the means to assure the preservation of their diverse cultural traditions and to allow for their continual development. With **polycultural** intercommunalism, all material and psychological privileges that are currently granted to a section of the population at the expense of the dignity and standards of living for oppressed communities, as well as the division of communities into subservient positions according to culture, ethnicity, nationality, and religion, will be dissolved.

The multiplicity of cultural communities and the historical contributions of different communities would be respected, valued, and preserved by guaranteeing each sufficient material and communicative means to reproduce, self-define, develop their own cultural traditions, and represent their culture to all other communities. Through construction of intercommunalist relations and institutions that guarantee each community the means necessary to carry on and develop their traditions, a participatory society assists eliminating negative inter-community relations and encourages positive interaction between communities that can enhance the internal characteristics of each.

In a participatory society, individuals would be free to choose the cultural communities they prefer and members of every community would have the right of dissent and to leave. Intervention would not be permitted except to preserve this right for all. Those outside a community would also be free to criticize cultural practices that they believe violate acceptable social norms, but the majority would not have the power to impose its will on a vulnerable minority.

0.12.2 Criticisms

Anarchism

Certain **anarchists** of the libcom community (an internet community of libertarian communists) have criticized the **parpolity** aspect of participism for deciding beforehand the scale and scope of the councils whilst only practice, they argue, can accurately indicate the size and scale of anarchist confederations and other organizational platforms, especially since each region is unique with unique residents and unique solutions and unique wants. Anarchists argue that such blueprints containing detailed information are either dangerous or pointless. Furthermore, some anarchists have criticized the potential use of referendums to challenge decisions taken by higher councils as this implies both a top-down structure and an absence of **vis-à-vis democracy** as they argue that referendums are not participatory.^[1]

They have also criticized the enforcement of laws passed by councils rather than the use of supposed voluntary custom or **customary law** which develops through mutual recognition rather than being enforced by an external authority, as they argue the laws passed by such councils would need to be.^[1]

Capitalism

The **criticism of socialism** could be applied to participism as well, as advocates of capitalism object to the absence of a market and **private property** in a hypothetical participatory society. However, in a debate with David Horowitz, Michael Albert argued that those criticisms could not apply to **parecon**, as it was especially designed to take them into account. New specific criticisms should then be formulated. For instance, in an answer to the comments of David Kotz and John O'Neill about one of their articles on the subject, Albert and Hahnel assert that they designed **parecon** understanding "that knowledge is distributed unequally throughout society",^[2] hypothetically answering to the famous criticisms of Friedrich Von Hayek on the possibility of planning.

0.12.3 See also

- **Participatory culture**

0.12.4 References

- [1] **Parecon or libertarian communism?**. libcom.org. Retrieved on 2013-07-12.
- [2] Albert, Michael and Robin Hahnel. 2002. "Reply". In *Science and Society*, vol. 66, no. 1, p. 26, [online]. <http://gesd.free.fr/albert.pdf>

0.12.5 External links

- Participatory economics website
- Vancouver Participatory Economics Collective
- Old Market Autonomous Zone (Winnipeg)
- Article about Parpolity: Political Vision for a Good Society by Stephen R. Shalom
- Stephen Shalom interviewed about Parpolity by Vancouver COOP Radio
- MP3 Audio of above interview with Stephen Shalom
- Projects for a Participatory Society web site
- International Organization for a Participatory Society

0.13 Guild socialism

Guild socialism is a political movement advocating workers' control of industry through the medium of trade-related guilds "in an implied contractual relationship with the public".^[1] It originated in the United Kingdom and was at its most influential in the first quarter of the 20th century. It was strongly associated with G. D. H. Cole and influenced by the ideas of William Morris.

0.13.1 History and development

Guild socialism was partly inspired by the guilds of craftsmen and other skilled workers which had existed in England in the Middle Ages. In 1906, Arthur Penty published *Restoration of the Gild System* in which he opposed factory production and advocated a return to an earlier period of artisanal production organised through guilds.^{[2]:102} The following year, the journal *The New Age* became an advocate of guild socialism, although in the context of modern industry rather than the medieval setting favoured by Penty.^[3]

In 1914, S. G. Hobson, a leading contributor to *The New Age*, published *National Guilds: An Inquiry into the Wage System and the Way Out*. In this work, guilds were presented as an alternative to state control of industry or conventional trade union activity. Guilds, unlike the existing trade unions, would not confine their demands to matters of wages and conditions but would seek to obtain control of industry for the workers whom they represented. Ultimately, industrial guilds would serve as the organs through which industry would be organised in a future socialist society.

The guild socialists "stood for state ownership of industry, combined with 'workers' control' through delegation of authority to national guilds organized internally on democratic lines. About the state itself they differed,

some believing it would remain more or less in its existing form and others that it would be transformed into a federal body representing the workers' guilds, consumers' organizations, local government bodies, and other social structures."^[4]

Ernst Wigforss—a leading theorist of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden—was also inspired by and stood ideologically close to the ideas of Fabian Society and the guild socialism inspired by people like R. H. Tawney, L.T. Hobhouse and J. A. Hobson. He made contributions in his early writings about industrial democracy and workers' self-management.

The theory of guild socialism was developed and popularised by G. D. H. Cole who formed the National Guilds League in 1915 and published several books on guild socialism, including *Self-Government in Industry* (1917) and *Guild Socialism Restated* (1920). A National Building Guild was established after World War I but collapsed after funding was withdrawn in 1921.^{[2]:110}

0.13.2 See also

- Mutualism
- Anarcho-syndicalism
- Distributism
- Libertarian socialism
- Alfred Richard Orage
- Bertrand Russell
- Christopher Lasch
- Workplace democracy

0.13.3 Footnotes

- [1] "Guild Socialism". Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 31 May. 2012
- [2] Hirst, Paul (1994). *Associative Democracy: New Forms of Economic and Social Governance*. Polity Press. ISBN 9780745609522.
- [3] Martin, Wallace (1967). *"The New Age" under Orage*. Manchester University Press. p. 206.
- [4] "Guild Socialism". Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 31 May. 2012

0.13.4 External links

- Cole, G. D. H. (1922). "Guild Socialism". *Encyclopædia Britannica* (12th ed.).

0.14 Luxemburgism



Rosa Luxemburg, the ideological mother of Luxemburgism.

Luxemburgism is a variant of **Marxist** revolutionary theory based on the writings of **Rosa Luxemburg**. According to **M. K. Dziewanowski**, the term was originally coined by **Bolshevik** leaders denouncing the deviations of Luxemburg's followers from traditional **Leninism**, but it has since been adopted by her followers themselves.

Luxemburgism is a Marxist tendency within **Libertarian Marxism** which, while supporting the **Russian Revolution**, as Luxemburg did, agrees with her criticisms of the politics of the Bolsheviks.

0.14.1 Luxemburgist theory

Democratic revolutionary socialism

The chief tenets of Luxemburgism are a commitment to democracy and the necessity of the revolution taking place as soon as possible. In this regard, it is similar to **Council Communism**, but differs in that, for example, Luxemburgists do not reject elections by principle. It resembles **anarchism** in its insistence that only relying on the people themselves as opposed to their leaders can avoid an authoritarian society, but differs in that it sees the importance of a **revolutionary party**, and mainly the centrality of the **working class** in the revolutionary

struggle. It resembles **Trotskyism** in its opposition to the **totalitarianism** of **Stalinist** government while simultaneously avoiding the reformist politics of **Social Democracy**, and believing in a vanguard party but differs from Trotskyism in arguing that **Lenin** and **Trotsky** also made undemocratic errors as well as different views on national self-determination.

Luxemburg's idea of democracy, which **Stanley Aronowitz** calls "*generalized* democracy in an unarticulated form", represents Luxemburgism's greatest break with "mainstream communism", since it effectively diminishes the role of the **Communist Party**, but is in fact very similar to the views of **Karl Marx** ("The **emancipation** of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves"). According to Aronowitz, the vagueness of Luxembourgian democracy is one reason for its initial difficulty in gaining widespread support. However, since the fall of the **Soviet Union**, Luxemburgism has been seen by some socialist thinkers as a way to avoid the totalitarianism of Stalinism. Early on, Luxemburg attacked undemocratic tendencies present in the Russian Revolution:

Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element. Public life gradually falls asleep, a few dozen party leaders of inexhaustible energy and boundless experience direct and rule. Among them, in reality only a dozen outstanding heads do the leading and an elite of the working class is invited from time to time to meetings where they are to applaud the speeches of the leaders, and to approve proposed resolutions unanimously – at bottom, then, a clique affair – a dictatorship, to be sure, not the dictatorship of the proletariat but only the dictatorship of a handful of politicians, that is a dictatorship in the bourgeois sense, in the sense of the rule of the **Jacobins** (the postponement of the Soviet Congress from three-month periods to six-month periods!) Yes, we can go even further: such conditions must inevitably cause a brutalization of public life: attempted assassinations, shooting of hostages, etc. (Lenin's speech on discipline and corruption.)"^[1]

The strategic contribution of Luxemburgism is principally based on her insistence on socialist democracy:

Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the members of one party – however numerous they may be – is no freedom at all. Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently. Not

because of any fanatical concept of “justice” but because all that is instructive, wholesome and purifying in political freedom depends on this essential characteristic, and its effectiveness vanishes when “freedom” becomes a special privilege.(...)But socialist democracy is not something which begins only in the promised land after the foundations of socialist economy are created; it does not come as some sort of Christmas present for the worthy people who, in the interim, have loyally supported a handful of socialist dictators. Socialist democracy begins simultaneously with the beginnings of the destruction of class rule and of the construction of socialism.”^[2]

Opposition to imperialist war and capitalism

While being critical of the politics of the Bolsheviks, Rosa Luxemburg saw the behaviour of the **Social Democratic Second International** as a complete betrayal of socialism. As she saw it, at the outset of the **First World War** the Social Democratic Parties around the world betrayed the world’s working class by supporting their own individual bourgeoisies in the war. This included her own **Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)**, the majority of whose delegates in the **Reichstag** voted for war credits.

Rosa Luxemburg opposed the sending of the working class youth of each country to what she viewed as slaughter in a war over which of the national bourgeoisies would control world resources and markets. She broke from the **Second International**, viewing it as nothing more than an opportunist party that was doing administrative work for the capitalists. Rosa Luxemburg, with **Karl Liebknecht**, organized a strong movement in Germany with these views, but was imprisoned and, after her release, killed for her work during the failed **German Revolution** of 1919 - a revolution which the German Social Democratic Party violently opposed.

Criticism of Leninism

See also: **Anti-Leninism**

In “The Russian Revolution”, written in a German jail during World War I, Luxemburg critiqued Bolsheviks’ absolutist political practice and opportunist policies—i.e., their suppression of the Constituent Assembly in January 1918, their support for the partition of the old feudal estates to the peasant communes. She derived this critique from Marx’s original concept of the “revolution in permanence.” Marx outlines this strategy in his March 1850 “Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League.” As opposed to the Bolsheviks’ neo-**Blanquist** interpretation of **permanent revolution**, Marx argued that the role of the working class revolutionary

party was not to create a one-party state, nor to give away land—even in semi-feudal countries like Germany in 1850, or Russia in 1917, where the working class was in the minority.

Rather, Marx argued that the role of the working class was, within structures of radical democracy, to organize, arm and defend themselves in **workers’ councils** and militias, to campaign for their own socialist political program, to expand workers’ rights, and to seize and farm collectively the feudal estates. Because the Bolsheviks failed to fulfil this Marxian program, Luxemburg argued, the Revolution bureaucratized, the cities starved, and the peasant soldiers in the Army were demoralized and deserted in order to get back home for the land grab. Thus the Germans easily invaded and took Ukraine. They justified this, during the **Brest-Litovsk treaty** negotiations, in the very same terms of “national self-determination” (for the Ukrainian bourgeoisie) that the Bolsheviks had promoted as an aid to socialist revolution, and that Luxemburg critiqued, years earlier, in her “The National Question,” and in this document.

Luxemburg criticized Lenin’s ideas on how to organize a revolutionary party as likely to lead to a loss of internal democracy and the domination of the party by a few leaders. Ironically, in her most famous attack on Lenin’s views, the 1904 *Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy, or, Leninism or Marxism?*,^[3] a response to Lenin’s 1903 *What Is To Be Done?*, Luxemburg was more worried that the authoritarianism she saw in Leninism would lead to **sectarianism** and irrelevancy than that it would lead to a dictatorship after a successful revolution - although she also warned of the latter danger. Luxemburg died before Stalin’s assumption of power, and never had a chance to come up with a complete theory of Stalinism, but her criticisms of the Bolsheviks have been taken up by many writers in their arguments about the origins of Stalinism, including many who are otherwise far from Luxemburgism.

Rosa Luxemburg also criticized Lenin’s views on the right of the oppressed nations of the former **Czarist Empire** to self-determination. She saw this as a ready-made formula for imperialist intervention in those countries on behalf of bourgeois forces hostile to socialism. Proponents of Lenin’s position on the nationalities argue that it was in fact what brought many members of the different nationalities of the former Czarist Empire together in supporting the Bolshevik-led revolution.

Dialectic of Spontaneity and Organisation

See also: **Revolutionary spontaneity**

The *Dialectic of Spontaneity and Organisation* was the central feature of Rosa Luxemburg’s political philosophy, wherein “spontaneity” is a grass roots, even anarchistic, approach to organising a party-oriented **class struggle**.

Spontaneity and organisation, she argued, are not separable or separate activities, but different moments of one political process; one does not exist without the other. These beliefs arose from her view that there is an elementary, spontaneous class struggle from which class struggle evolves to a higher level:

“The working classes in every country only learn to fight in the course of their struggles ... Social democracy ... is only the advance guard of the **proletariat**, a small piece of the total working masses; blood from their blood, and flesh from their flesh. Social democracy seeks and finds the ways, and particular slogans, of the workers’ struggle only in the course of the development of this struggle, and gains directions for the way forward through this struggle alone.”^[4]

Organisation mediates spontaneity; organisation must mediate spontaneity. It would be wrong to accuse Rosa Luxemburg of holding “spontaneism” as an abstraction. She developed the *Dialectic of Spontaneity and Organisation* under the influence of mass strikes in Europe, especially the Russian Revolution of 1905. Unlike the social democratic orthodoxy of the Second International, she did not regard organisation as product of scientific-theoretic insight to historical imperatives, but as product of the working classes’ struggles:

“Social democracy is simply the embodiment of the modern proletariat’s class struggle, a struggle which is driven by a consciousness of its own historic consequences. The masses are in reality their own leaders, dialectically creating their own development process. The more that social democracy develops, grows, and becomes stronger, the more the enlightened masses of workers will take their own destinies, the leadership of their movement, and the determination of its direction into their own hands. And as the entire social democracy movement is only the conscious advance guard of the proletarian class movement, which in the words of the **Communist Manifesto** represent in every single moment of the struggle the permanent interests of liberation and the partial group interests of the workforce *vis à vis* the interests of the movement as whole, so within the social democracy its leaders are the more powerful, the more influential, the more clearly and consciously they make themselves merely the mouthpiece of the will and striving of the enlightened masses, merely the agents of the objective laws of the class movement.”^[5]

and

“The modern proletarian class does not carry out its struggle according to a plan set out in some book or theory; the modern workers’ struggle is a part of history, a part of social progress, and in the middle of history, in the middle of progress, in the middle of the fight, we learn how we must fight... That’s exactly what is laudable about it, that’s exactly why this colossal piece of culture, within the modern workers’ movement, is epoch-defining: that the great masses of the working people first forge from their own consciousness, from their own belief, and even from their own understanding the weapons of their own liberation.”^[6]

0.14.2 Present-day Luxemburgism



Free Socialist Republic Of Germany

Portrait of the revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg.

As of 2014 very few active Luxemburgist revolutionary movements exist. Two small international networks claim to be Luxemburgists : **Communist Democracy** (Luxemburgist), founded in 2005, and the **International Luxemburgist Network**, founded in 2008.

Feminists and Trotskyists, as well as leftists in Germany, especially show interest in Luxemburg’s ideas. Distinguished modern Marxist thinkers such as **Ernest Mandel**, who has even been characterised as “Luxemburgist”, have seen Luxemburgism as a corrective to revolutionary theory.^[7] In 2002 ten thousand people marched in Berlin for Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and another 90,000 people laid carnations on their graves.^[8]

Many socialists, whether they regard themselves as Luxemburgist or not, see Rosa Luxemburg as a martyr for revolutionary socialism. For Luxemburgists, her stalwart dedication to democracy and vigorous repudiation of capitalism exemplifies the socialist concept of democracy that they view as the essential element of socialism rather than as a contradiction of it. Many socialist currents today, particularly **Trotskyists** and **left communists**, consider Rosa Luxemburg to have had an important influence on their theory and politics. However, while respecting Luxemburg, these organizations do not consider themselves “Luxemburgist”.

0.14.3 See also

- **Libertarian Marxism**
- **Spartakusbund** (Spartacist League)
- **Revolutionary spontaneity**
- **Solidarity (U.S.)**
- **Novi Plamen**
- **Radical Left Group ROZA (Greece)**

0.14.4 References

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 - [2] *The Russian Revolution*, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1918/russian-revolution/ch06.htm>
 - [3] **Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy**
 - [4] *In a Revolutionary Hour: What Next?, Collected Works* 1.2, p.554
 - [5] *The Political Leader of the German Working Classes, Collected Works* 2, p.280
 - [6] *The Politics of Mass Strikes and Unions, Collected Works* 2, p.465
 - [7] **The Actuality of Ernest Mandel** by Gilbert Achcar
 - [8] **Workers World Jan. 31, 2002: Berlin events honor left-wing leaders**
- Aronowitz, Stanley. “Postmodernism and Politics.” *Social Text*, No. 21: *Universal Abandon? The Politics of Postmodernism* (1989), pp. 46–62.
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 - LeBlanc, Paul (1993). *Lenin and the Revolutionary Party*. Prometheus Books. ISBN 157392427X.

0.14.5 External links

- **Rosa Luxemburg Internet Archive**
- **Feminist account of Luxemburg’s importance** by Beverly G. Merrick
- **Libertarian Communist Library Archive**
- **Democratie Communiste (Luxemburgist group)** (in French, Spanish and English)
- **Espacio Rosa Luxemburg**
- **Critique Sociale**

0.15 Utopian socialism

Utopian socialism is a label used to define the first currents of modern socialist thought as exemplified by the work of **Henri de Saint-Simon**, **Charles Fourier**, **Étienne Cabet**, and **Robert Owen**.^[1] Utopian socialism is often described as the presentation of visions and outlines for imaginary or futuristic ideal societies, with positive ideals being the main reason for moving society in such a direction. Later socialists and critics of utopian socialism viewed “utopian socialism” as not being grounded in actual material conditions of existing society, and in some cases, as reactionary. These visions of ideal societies competed with **Marxist**-inspired revolutionary social democratic movements.^[2]

The term is most often applied to those socialists who lived in the first quarter of the 19th century who were ascribed the label “utopian” by later socialists as a pejorative in order to imply naïveté and to dismiss their ideas as fanciful and unrealistic.^[3] A similar school of thought that emerged in the early 20th century is **ethical socialism**, which makes the case for socialism on moral grounds.

One key difference between utopian socialists and other socialists (including most **anarchists**) is that utopian socialists generally do not believe any form of class struggle or political revolution is necessary for socialism to emerge. Utopians believe that people of all classes can voluntarily adopt their plan for society if it is presented convincingly.^[2] They feel their form of cooperative socialism can be established among like-minded people within the existing society, and that their small communities can demonstrate the feasibility of their plan for society.^[2]

0.15.1 Definition

See also: **Utopia**

The thinkers identified as utopian socialist did not use the term *utopian* to refer to their ideas. **Karl Marx** and **Friedrich Engels** were the first thinkers to refer to them

as *utopian*, referring to all socialist ideas that simply presented a vision and distant goal of an ethically just society as utopian. This utopian mindset which held an integrated conception of the goal, the means to produce said goal, and an understanding of the way that those means would inevitably be produced through examining social and economic phenomena, can be contrasted with *scientific socialism*, which has been likened to *Taylorism*.

This distinction was made clear in Engels' work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1892, part of an earlier publication, the *Anti-Dühring* from 1878). Utopian socialists were seen as wanting to expand the principles of the French revolution in order to create a more "rational" society. Despite being labeled as utopian by later socialists, their aims were not always utopian, and their values often included rigid support for the scientific method and the creation of a society based upon scientific understanding.^[4]

0.15.2 Development

The term "utopian socialism" was introduced by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848, although shortly before its publication Marx had already attacked the ideas of *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon* in *Das Elend der Philosophie* (originally written in French, 1847). The term was used by later socialist thinkers to describe early socialist or quasi-socialist intellectuals who created hypothetical visions of *egalitarian*, *communist*, *meritocratic*, or other notions of "perfect" societies without considering how these societies could be created or sustained.

In *Das Elend der Philosophie*, English title 'The Poverty of Philosophy', Marx criticized the economic and philosophical arguments of Proudhon set forth in *The System of Economic Contradictions, or The Philosophy of Poverty*. Marx accused Proudhon of wanting to rise above the bourgeoisie. In the history of Marx's thought and *Marxism*, this work is pivotal in the distinction between the concepts of utopian socialism and what Marx and the Marxists claimed as *scientific socialism*.

Although utopian socialists shared few political, social, or economic perspectives, Marx and Engels argued that they shared certain intellectual characteristics. In *The Communist Manifesto*,^[5] Marx and Engels wrote, "The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, causes Socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favored. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class. For how can people, when once they understand their system, fail to see it in the best possible plan of the best possible state of society? Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary, action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means,

and endeavor, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel."

Marx and Engels used the term "*scientific socialism*" to describe the type of socialism they saw themselves developing. According to Engels, socialism was not "an accidental discovery of this or that ingenious brain, but the necessary outcome of the struggle between two historically developed classes – the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Its task was no longer to manufacture a system of society as perfect as possible, but to examine the historical-economic succession of events from which these classes and their antagonism had of necessity sprung, and to discover in the economic conditions thus created the means of ending the conflict."

Critics have argued that utopian socialists who established experimental communities were in fact trying to apply the *scientific method* to human social organization, and were therefore not utopian. For instance, *Joshua Muravchik*, on the basis of *Karl Popper's* definition of science as "the practice of experimentation, of hypothesis and test" argued that "Owen and Fourier and their followers were the real 'scientific socialists.' They hit upon the idea of socialism, and they tested it by attempting to form socialist communities." Muravchik further argued that, in contrast, Marx made untestable predictions about the future, and that Marx's view that socialism would be created by impersonal historical forces may lead one to conclude that it is unnecessary to strive for socialism, because it will happen anyway.^[6]

Since the mid-19th century, *Marxism* and *Marxism-Leninism* overtook utopian socialism in terms of intellectual development and number of adherents. At one time, almost half of the world's population was governed by self-proclaimed Marxists.^[7] Currents like *Saint-Simonianism* and *Fourierism* attracted the interest of numerous later authors but failed to compete with the now dominant Marxist, Proudhonist, or Leninist schools on a political level. It has been noted that they exerted a significant influence on the emergence of new religious movements such as *Spiritualism* and *Occultism*.^[8]

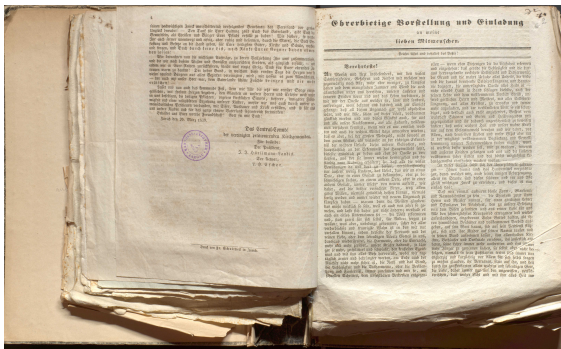
0.15.3 In literature and in practice

Perhaps the first utopian socialist was *Thomas More* (1478-1535), who wrote about an imaginary socialist society in his book *Utopia*, which was published in 1516. The contemporary definition of the English word "utopia" derives from this work. Many aspects of More's description of Utopia was influenced by life in monasteries.^[9]

Saint-Simonianism was a French political and social movement of the first half of the 19th century, inspired by the ideas of *Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon* (1760–1825). His ideas influenced *Auguste Comte* (who was, for a time, Saint-Simon's secretary),



Robert Owen was one of the founders of Utopian socialism.



Utopian socialist pamphlet of Swiss social medical doctor Rudolf Sutermeister (1802-1868)

Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill, and many other thinkers and social theorists.

Robert Owen (1771–1858) was a successful Welsh businessman who devoted much of his profits to improving the lives of his employees. His reputation grew when he set up a textile factory in New Lanark, Scotland, co-funded by his teacher, the utilitarian Jeremy Bentham, and introduced shorter working hours, schools for children and renovated housing. He wrote about his ideas in his book *A New View of Society*, which was published in 1813, and *An Explanation of the Cause of Distress which pervades the civilized parts of the world* in 1823. He also set up an Owenite commune called New Harmony in Indiana, USA. This collapsed when one of his business partners ran off with all the profits. Owen's main contribution to socialist thought was the view that human social behavior is not fixed or absolute, and that humans have the free will to organize themselves into any kind of society they wished.

Charles Fourier (1772–1837) was by far the most utopian of socialists. Rejecting the industrial revolution altogether and thus the problems that arose with it, he made various fanciful claims about the ideal world he envisioned. Despite some clearly non-socialist inclinations, he contributed significantly - if indirectly - to the socialist movement. His writings about turning work into play influenced the young Karl Marx and helped him devise his theory of alienation. Also a contributor to feminism, Fourier invented the concept of *phalanstère*, units of people based on a theory of passions and of their combination. Several colonies based on Fourier's ideas were founded in the United States by Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley.

Étienne Cabet (1788–1856), influenced by Robert Owen, published a book in 1840 entitled *Travel and adventures of Lord William Carisdall in Icaria* in which he described an ideal communalist society. His attempts to form real socialist communities based on his ideas, through the Icarian movement, did not survive, but one such community was the precursor of *Corning, Iowa*. Possibly inspired by Christianity, he coined the word "communism" and influenced other thinkers, including Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Edward Bellamy (1850–1898) published *Looking Backward* in 1888, a utopian romance novel about a future socialist society. In Bellamy's utopia, property was held in common and money replaced with a system of equal credit for all. Valid for a year and non-transferable between individuals, credit expenditure was to be tracked via 'credit-cards' (which bear no resemblance to modern credit cards which are tools of debt-finance). Labour was compulsory from age 21 to 40, and organised via various departments of an 'Industrial Army' to which most citizens belonged. Working hours were to be cut drastically due to technological advances (including organisational). People were expected to be motivated by a Religion of Solidarity, and criminal behavior was treated as a form of mental illness or 'atavism'. The book ranked as second or third best seller of its time (after *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Ben Hur*). In 1897, Bellamy published a sequel entitled *Equality* as a reply to his critics, and which lacked the Industrial Army and other authoritarian aspects.

William Morris (1834–1896) published *News from Nowhere* in 1890, partly as a response to Bellamy's *Looking Backwards*, which he equated with the socialism of Fabians such as Sydney Webb. Morris' vision of the future socialist society was centred around his concept of useful work as opposed to useless toil, and the redemption of human labour. Morris believed that all work should be artistic, in the sense that the worker should find it both pleasurable and an outlet for creativity. Morris' conception of labour thus bears strong resemblance to Fourier's, while Bellamy's (the reduction of labour) is more akin to that of Saint-Simon or in aspects Marx.

The Brotherhood Church in Britain and the Life and La-

bor Commune in Russia were based on the Christian anarchist ideas of Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910).

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) and Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921) wrote about anarchist forms of socialism in their books. Proudhon wrote *What is Property?* (1840) and *The System of Economic Contradictions, or The Philosophy of Poverty* (1847). Kropotkin wrote *The Conquest of Bread* (1892) and *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1912). Many of the anarchist collectives formed in Spain, especially in Aragon and Catalonia, during the Spanish Civil War were based on their ideas.^[10]

Many participants in the historical kibbutz movement in Israel were motivated by utopian socialist ideas.^[11]

Augustin Souchy (1892–1984) spent most of his life investigating and participating in many kinds of socialist communities. He wrote about his experiences in his autobiography *Beware! Anarchist!*.

Behavioral psychologist B.F. Skinner (1904–1990) published *Walden Two* in 1948. The Twin Oaks Community was originally based on his ideas.

Ursula K. Le Guin (born 1929) wrote about an impoverished anarchist society in her book *The Dispossessed*, published in 1974. In it, the anarchists agree to leave their home planet and colonize a barely habitable moon in order to avoid a bloody revolution.

0.15.4 Related concepts

Some communities of the modern intentional community movement, such as kibbutzim, could be categorized as utopian socialist.

Religious sects whose members live communally, such as the Hutterites or Bruderhof Communities, for example, are not usually called “utopian socialists”, although their way of living is a prime example. They have been categorized as religious socialists by some.^[12]

Classless modes of production in hunter-gatherer societies are referred to as “primitive communism” by Marxists to stress their classless nature.^[13]

A related concept is that of a *socialist utopia*, usually depicted in works of fiction as possible ways society can turn out to be in the future, and often combined with notions of a technologically revolutionized economy.

0.15.5 Notable utopian socialists

0.15.6 Notable utopian communities

Utopian communities have existed all over the world. In various forms and locations, they have existed continuously in the United States since the 1730s, beginning with Ephrata Cloister, a religious community in what is now

Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.^[14]

Owenian communities

- New Lanark
- New Harmony

Fourierist communities

- Brook Farm
- La Reunion (Dallas) (founded in 1855) by Victor Considérant
- North American Phalanx

Icarian communities

- Corning, Iowa

Anarchist communities

- Life and Labor Commune
- Socialist Community of Modern Times
- Whiteway Colony

Others

- Sointula
- Kaweah Colony
- Llano del Rio
- Los Mochis
- Nevada City, Nevada
- Oneida Community
- Ruskin Colony
- Rugby, Tennessee

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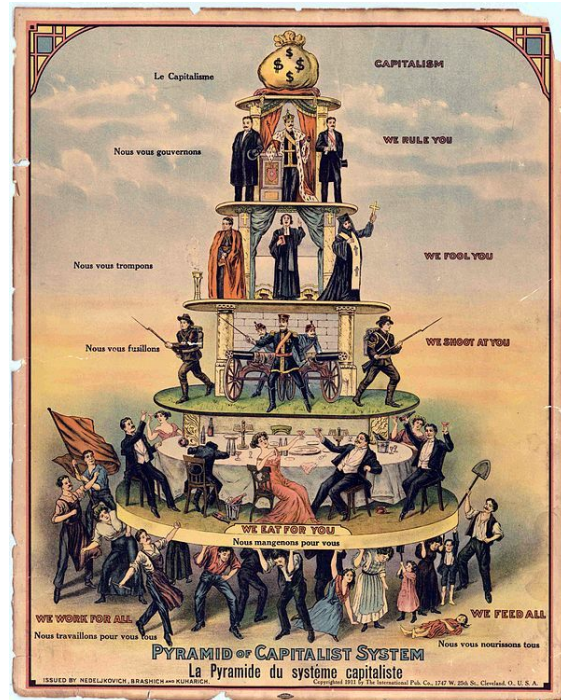
0.15.10 External links

- Be Utopian: Demand the Realistic by Robert Pollin, *The Nation*, March 9, 2009

0.16 Anti-capitalism

This article lists ideologies opposed to capitalism and describes them briefly. For arguments against capitalism, see **criticism of capitalism**.

Anti-capitalism encompasses a wide variety of movements, ideas and attitudes that oppose capitalism. Anti-capitalists, in the strict sense of the word, are those who



"Pyramid of Capitalist System", a 1911 Industrial Workers of the World poster

wish to replace capitalism with another type of economic system.

0.16.1 Socialism

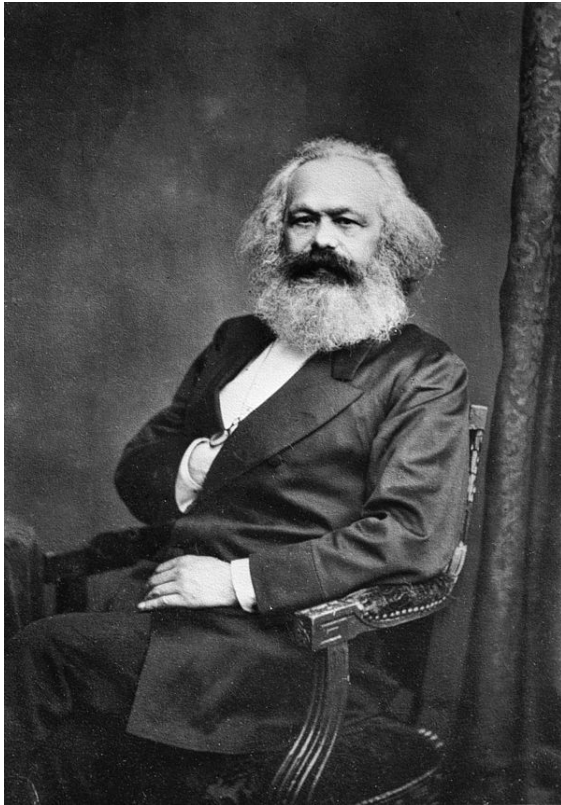
Main article: **Socialism**

Socialism advocates public or direct worker ownership and administration of the **means of production** and allocation of resources, and a society characterized by equal access to resources for all individuals, with an **egalitarian** method of compensation.^{[1][2]}

1. A theory or policy of social organisation which aims at or advocates the ownership and control of the means of production, capital, land, property, etc., by the community as a whole, and their administration or distribution in the interests of all.

2. Socialists argue for a **cooperative/community** economy, or the **commanding heights of the economy**,^[3] with democratic control by the people over the state, although there have been some undemocratic philosophies. "State" or "worker cooperative" ownership is in fundamental opposition to "private" ownership of **means of production**, which is a defining feature of capitalism. Most socialists argue that capitalism unfairly concentrates power, wealth and profit, among a small segment of society that controls **capital** and derives its wealth through **exploitation**.

Socialists argue that the accumulation of capital generates waste through externalizations that require costly corrective regulatory measures. They also point out that this process generates wasteful industries and practices



Karl Marx, one of the “founding fathers” of anti-Capitalist thought and communism

that exist only to generate sufficient demand for products to be sold at a profit (such as high-pressure advertisement); thereby creating rather than satisfying economic demand.^{[4][5]}

Socialists argue that capitalism consists of irrational activity, such as the purchasing of commodities only to sell at a later time when their price appreciates, rather than for consumption, even if the commodity cannot be sold at a profit to individuals in need; they argue that *making money*, or accumulation of capital, does not correspond to the satisfaction of demand.^[6]

Private ownership imposes constraints on planning, leading to inaccessible economic decisions that result in immoral production, unemployment and a tremendous waste of material resources during crisis of *overproduction*. According to socialists, private property in the means of production becomes obsolete when it concentrates into centralized, socialized institutions based on private appropriation of revenue (but based on cooperative work and internal planning in allocation of inputs) until the role of the capitalist becomes redundant.^[7] With no need for *capital accumulation* and a class of owners, private property in the means of production is perceived as being an outdated form of economic organization that should be replaced by a free association of individuals based on public or *common ownership* of these socialized assets.^[8] Socialists view private property relations as limiting the potential of *productive forces* in the economy.^[9]

Early socialists (*Utopian socialists* and *Ricardian socialists*) criticized capitalism for concentrating *power* and *wealth* within a small segment of society,^[10] and does not utilise available *technology* and resources to their maximum potential in the interests of the public.^[9]

Anarchist and libertarian socialist criticisms

Main articles: *Anarchist economics* and *Libertarian socialism*

For the influential *German individualist anarchist*



Emma Goldman famously denounced wage slavery by saying: “The only difference is that you are hired slaves instead of block slaves.”^[11]

philosopher *Max Stirner* “private property is a spook which “lives by the grace of law” and it “becomes ‘mine’ only by effect of the law”. In other words, private property exists purely “through the protection of the State, through the State’s grace.” Recognising its need for state protection, Stirner is also aware that “[i]t need not make any difference to the ‘good citizens’ who protects them and their principles, whether an absolute King or a constitutional one, a republic, if only they are protected. And what is their principle, whose protector they always ‘love’? Not that of labour”, rather it is “interest-bearing possession . . . labouring capital, therefore . . . labour certainly, yet little or none at all of one’s own, but labour of capital and of the -- subject labourers”.^[12] French anarchist *Pierre Joseph Proudhon* opposed government privilege that protects capitalist, banking and land interests, and the accumulation or acquisition of property (and any form of *coercion* that led to it) which he believed

hampers competition and keeps wealth in the hands of the few. The Spanish individualist anarchist Miguel Gimenez Igualada sees “capitalism is an effect of government; the disappearance of government means capitalism falls from its pedestal vertiginously...That which we call capitalism is not something else but a product of the State, within which the only thing that is being pushed forward is profit, good or badly acquired. And so to fight against capitalism is a pointless task, since be it **State capitalism** or Enterprise capitalism, as long as Government exists, exploiting capital will exist. The fight, but of consciousness, is against the State.”.^[13]

Within anarchism there emerged a critique of **wage slavery** which refers to a situation perceived as quasi-voluntary slavery,^[14] where a person's livelihood depends on wages, especially when the dependence is total and immediate.^{[15][16]} It is a negatively connoted term used to draw an analogy between slavery and wage labor by focusing on similarities between owning and renting a person. The term *wage slavery* has been used to criticize economic exploitation and social stratification, with the former seen primarily as unequal bargaining power between labor and capital (particularly when workers are paid comparatively low wages, e.g. in **sweatshops**),^[17] and the latter as a lack of workers' self-management, fulfilling job choices and leisure in an economy.^{[18][19][20]} Libertarian socialists believe if freedom is valued, then society must work towards a system in which individuals have the power to decide economic issues along with political issues. Libertarian socialists seek to replace unjustified authority with **direct democracy**, voluntary federation, and popular autonomy in all aspects of life,^[21] including physical communities and economic enterprises. With the advent of the **industrial revolution**, thinkers such as Proudhon and Marx elaborated the comparison between wage labor and slavery in the context of a critique of societal property not intended for active personal use.^{[22][23]} Luddites emphasized the dehumanization brought about by machines while later Emma Goldman famously denounced wage slavery by saying: “The only difference is that you are hired slaves instead of block slaves.”.^[24] American anarchist Emma Goldman believed that the economic system of capitalism was incompatible with human liberty. “The only demand that property recognizes,” she wrote in *Anarchism and Other Essays*, “is its own gluttonous appetite for greater wealth, because wealth means power; the power to subdue, to crush, to exploit, the power to enslave, to outrage, to degrade.”^[25] She also argued that capitalism dehumanized workers, “turning the producer into a mere particle of a machine, with less will and decision than his master of steel and iron.”^[26]

Noam Chomsky contends that there is little moral difference between chattel slavery and renting one's self to an owner or “**wage slavery**”. He feels that it is an attack on personal integrity that undermines individual freedom. He holds that workers should own and control

their workplace.^[27] Many libertarian socialists argue that large-scale voluntary associations should manage industrial manufacture, while workers retain rights to the individual products of their labor.^[28] As such, they see a distinction between the concepts of “private property” and “**personal possession**”. Whereas “private property” grants an individual exclusive control over a thing whether it is in use or not, and regardless of its productive capacity, “possession” grants no rights to things that are not in use.^[29]

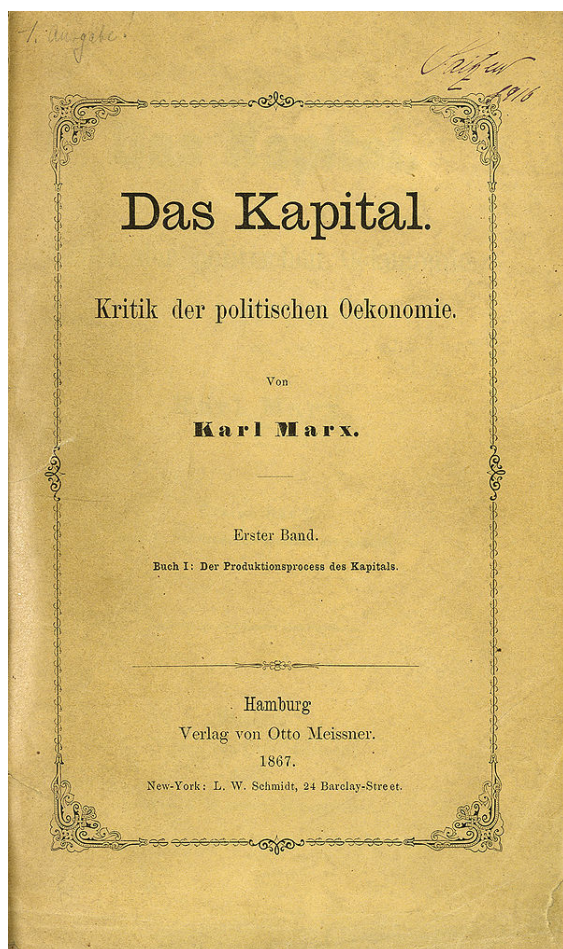
In addition to individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker's “big four” monopolies (land, money, tariffs, and patents), Carson argues that the **state** has also transferred wealth to the wealthy by subsidizing organizational centralization, in the form of transportation and communication subsidies. He believes that Tucker overlooked this issue due to Tucker's focus on individual market transactions, whereas Carson also focuses on organizational issues. The theoretical sections of *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy* are presented as an attempt to integrate marginalist critiques into the labor theory of value.^[30] Carson has also been highly critical of intellectual property.^[31] The primary focus of his most recent work has been decentralized manufacturing and the informal and household economies.^[32] Carson holds that “**Capitalism**, arising as a new class society directly from the old class society of the **Middle Ages**, was founded on an act of robbery as massive as the earlier **feudal** conquest of the land. It has been sustained to the present by continual state intervention to protect its system of privilege without which its survival is unimaginable.”^[33] Carson coined the pejorative term “vulgar libertarianism,” a phrase that describes the use of a free market rhetoric in defense of corporate capitalism and economic inequality. According to Carson, the term is derived from the phrase “vulgar political economy,” which Karl Marx described as an economic order that “deliberately becomes increasingly apologetic and makes strenuous attempts to talk out of existence the ideas which contain the contradictions [existing in economic life].”^[34]

Marxism

Main article: **Marxism**

If we have chosen the position in life in which we can most of all work for mankind, no burdens can bow us down, because they are sacrifices for the benefit of all; then we shall experience no petty, limited, selfish joy, but our happiness will belong to millions, our deeds will live on quietly but perpetually at work, and over our ashes will be shed the hot tears of noble people..

— Karl Marx, 1837.^[35]



Capital: Critique of Political Economy, by Karl Marx, is a critical analysis of political economy, meant to reveal the economic laws of the capitalist mode of production

Karl Marx saw capitalism as a historical stage, once progressive but which would eventually stagnate due to internal contradictions and would eventually be followed by socialism. Karl Marx claimed that capitalism was nothing more than a necessary stepping stone for the progression of man, which would then face a political revolution before embracing the **classless society**.^[36] Marxists define **capital** as “a social, economic relation” between people (rather than between people and things). In this sense they seek to abolish capital. They believe that private ownership of the means of production enriches capitalists (owners of capital) at the expense of workers (“the rich get richer, and the poor get poorer”). In brief, they argue that the owners of the means of production do not work and therefore **exploit** the workforce. In Karl Marx’s view, the capitalists would eventually accumulate more and more capital impoverishing the working class, creating the social conditions for a revolution that would overthrow the institutions of capitalism. Private ownership over the means of production and distribution is seen as a dependency of non-owning classes on the ruling class, and ultimately a source of restriction of human freedom.

0.16.2 Barter

Barter is a system of exchange where **goods** or **services** are directly exchanged for other goods or services without using a **medium of exchange**, such as **money**. It is distinguishable from **gift economies** in many ways; one of them is that the **reciprocal exchange** is immediate and not delayed in time. It is usually **bilateral**, but may be **multilateral** (i.e., mediated through barter organizations) and, in most developed countries, usually only exists parallel to monetary systems to a very limited extent. Barter, as a replacement for money as the method of exchange, is used in times of monetary crisis, such as when the currency may be either unstable (e.g., **hyperinflation** or **deflationary spiral**) or simply unavailable for conducting commerce.

0.16.3 Wage slavery

Wage slavery refers to a situation where a person’s **livelihood** depends on **wages** or a **salary**, especially when the dependence is total and immediate. It is a **pejorative** term used to draw an analogy between **slavery** and **wage labor** by focusing on similarities between owning and renting a person.

The term wage slavery has been used to criticize **exploitation of labour** and **social stratification**, with the former seen primarily as unequal bargaining power between labor and capital (particularly when workers are paid comparatively low wages, e.g. in **sweatshops**), and the latter as a lack of **workers’ self-management**, fulfilling job choices, and leisure in an economy. The criticism of social stratification covers a wider range of employment choices bound by the pressures of a **hierarchical** society to perform otherwise unfulfilling work that deprives humans of their “species character” not only under threat of **starvation** or **poverty**, but also of **social stigma** and **status diminution**.

0.16.4 Criticisms of anti-capitalism

In constantly observing the negative side(s) of capitalism, anti-capitalists remain focused on capitalism, thus **co-performing**^[37] and further sustaining the actually criticised unsustainable capitalist system.^[38] Thus, the impression of capitalism as **hyper-adaptive**^[39] “system without an outside”.^[40] One way out of the trap is to understand that the observation of capitalism, a system strongly biased by and to the economy, implies functional differentiation. As the economy is only one out of 10 function systems, however, *both* pro- and anti-capitalist visions of society imply this economy-bias and, in return, a neglect of other **function systems**. Effective strategies for alternatives to capitalism therefore require a stronger focus on the non-economic function systems. A corresponding re-coding of capitalist organisations has recently been

proposed.^[41]

0.16.5 See also

- Anarchism
- Communism
- Criticism of capitalism
- Economic inequality
- Libertarian Socialism
- List of communist and anti-capitalist parties with parliamentary representation
- Marxism
- Social Democracy
- Post-capitalism
- Sustainable Capitalism

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0.17 Anti-statism

Anti-statism is a term describing opposition to state intervention into personal, social, and economic affairs.^{[1]:260} Anti-statism means opposition to the state and any form of government, and it differs from **anarchism** which means the opposition not only to the state but to any form of rulership. From this perspective, some economical and political theories that are clearly against state coercion but condone other types of rulership such as **anarcho-capitalism** (which says only voluntary and contractual rulerships are legitimate) are better described as forms of anti-statism rather than branches of anarchism.

0.17.1 General categories

Anti-statists differ greatly according to the beliefs they hold *in addition* to anti-statism.

A significant difficulty in determining whether a thinker or philosophy is anti-statist is the problem of defining the state itself. Terminology has changed over time, and past writers often used the word, "state" in a different

sense than we use it today. Thus, the anarchist **Mikhail Bakunin** used the term simply to mean a governing organization. Other writers used the term “state” to mean any law-making or law enforcement agency. **Karl Marx** defined the state as the institution used by the ruling class of a country to maintain the conditions of its rule. According to **Max Weber**, the state is an organization with an effective legal monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force in a particular geographic area.

Henry David Thoreau expressed this evolutionary anti-statist view in his essay *Civil Disobedience*:

I heartily accept the motto,—“That government is best which governs least”; and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe,—“That government is best which governs not at all”; and when men and women are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have.^[2]

0.17.2 Anti-statist philosophies

- Anarchism and its inner schools of thought:
 - Agorism
 - Anarcha-feminism
 - Anarchist communism
 - Anarcho-capitalism
 - Anarcho-naturism
 - Anarcho-pacifism
 - Anarcho-primitivism
 - Anarcho-syndicalism
 - Buddhist anarchism
 - Christian anarchism
 - Collectivist anarchism
 - Egoist anarchism and the philosophy of Max Stirner
 - Existentialist anarchism
 - Green anarchism
 - Individualist anarchism
 - Insurrectionary anarchism
 - Jewish anarchism
 - Libertarianism
 - Libertarian socialism
 - Mutualism
 - National anarchism
 - Social anarchism
 - Synthesis anarchism
 - Veganarchism
 - Voluntarism
- Nihilist movement
- Marxism

0.17.3 See also

- Anti-nationalism

0.17.4 References

- [1] Gallaher, Carolyn; Dahlman, Carl T.; Gilmartin, Mary; Mountz, Alison; Shirlow, Peter (2009). *Key Concepts in Political Geography*. London: SAGE. p. 392. ISBN 978-1-4129-4672-8. Retrieved July 31, 2014.
- [2] *Civil Disobedience*. Annotated works of Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau Society.

0.18 Eco-socialism

“Green socialism” redirects here. For the model of government inspired by Muammar Gaddafi, see **Third International Theory**.

Eco-socialism, **green socialism** or **socialist ecology** is an ideology merging aspects of socialism with that of green politics, ecology and alter-globalization or anti-globalization. Eco-socialists generally believe that the expansion of the capitalist system is the cause of social exclusion, poverty, war and environmental degradation through globalization and imperialism, under the supervision of repressive states and transnational structures.^[1]

Eco-socialists advocate dismantling capitalism, focusing on common ownership of the means of production by freely associated producers, and restoring the commons.^[1] **Caroline Lucas**, leader of the **Green Party of England and Wales**, has described her party’s brand of socialism as appealing to both middle-class environmentalists as well as working-class socialists.^[2]

0.18.1 Ideology

Eco-socialists are critical of many past and existing forms of both **Green politics** and **socialism**. They are often described as “**Red Greens**” - adherents to Green politics with clear anti-capitalist views, often inspired by **Marxism** (Red Greens are in contrast to **eco-capitalists** and **Green anarchists**).

The term “watermelon” is commonly applied, often pejoratively, to Greens who seem to put “social justice” goals above ecological ones, implying they are “green on the outside but red on the inside”; the term is usually attributed to either **Petr Beckmann** or, more frequently, **Warren T. Brookes**,^{[3][4][5]} both critics of environmentalism, and is common in Australia,^{[6][7]} New Zealand^[8] and the United States.^[9]

A New Zealand website, *The Watermelon*, uses the term proudly, stating that it is “green on the outside and liberal

on the inside”, while also citing “socialist political leanings”, reflecting the use of the term “liberal” to describe the **left wing** in many English-speaking countries.^[8] Red Greens are often considered “fundies” or “fundamentalist greens”, a term usually associated with **Deep Ecology** even though the **German Green Party** “fundi” faction included eco-socialists, and eco-socialists in other **Green Parties**, like **Derek Wall**, have been described in the press as fundies.^{[10][11]}

Eco-socialists also criticise bureaucratic and elite theories of self-described socialism such as **Maoism**, **Stalinism** and what other critics have termed **bureaucratic collectivism** or **state capitalism**. Instead, eco-socialists focus on imbuing socialism with ecology while keeping the emancipatory goals of “first-epoch” socialism.^[1] Eco-socialists aim for communal ownership of the **means of production** by “freely associated producers” with all forms of domination eclipsed, especially **gender inequality** and **racism**.^[1]

This often includes the restoration of **commons** land in opposition to **private property**,^[12] in which local control of resources valorizes the Marxist concept of use value above exchange value.^[13] Practically, eco-socialists have generated various strategies to mobilise action on an internationalist basis, developing networks of grassroots individuals and groups that can radically transform society through nonviolent “prefigurative projects” for a post-capitalist, post-statist world.^[13]

0.18.2 History

1880s–1930s – Marx, Morris and influence on the Russian Revolution

Contrary to the depiction of **Karl Marx** by some environmentalists,^[14] social ecologists^[15] and fellow socialists^[16] as a **productivist** who favoured the domination of nature, eco-socialists have revisited Marx’s writings and believe that he “was a main originator of the **ecological world-view**”.^[13] Eco-socialist authors, like **John Bellamy Foster**^[17] and **Paul Burkett**,^[18] point to Marx’s discussion of a “metabolic rift” between man and nature, his statement that “private ownership of the globe by single individuals will appear quite absurd as private ownership of one man by another” and his observation that a society must “hand it [the planet] down to succeeding generations in an improved condition”.^[19] Nonetheless, other eco-socialists feel that Marx overlooked a “recognition of nature in and for itself”, ignoring its “receptivity” and treating nature as “subjected to labor from the start” in an “entirely active relationship”.^[13]

William Morris, the English novelist, poet and designer, is largely credited with developing key principles of what was later called eco-socialism.^[20] During the 1880s and 1890s, Morris promoted his eco-socialist ideas within the **Social Democratic Federation** and **Socialist League**.^[21]

Following the **Russian Revolution**, some environmentalists and environmental scientists attempted to integrate ecological consciousness into **Bolshevism**, although many such people were later purged from the **Communist Party of the Soviet Union**.^[22] The “pre-revolutionary environmental movement”, encouraged by revolutionary scientist **Aleksandr Bogdanov** and the **Proletkul't** organisation, made efforts to “integrate production with natural laws and limits” in the first decade of Soviet rule, before **Joseph Stalin** attacked ecologists and the science of ecology and the **Soviet Union** fell into the pseudo-science of the state biologist **Trofim Lysenko**, who “set about to rearrange the Russian map” in ignorance of environmental limits.^[13]

Ecoanarchism

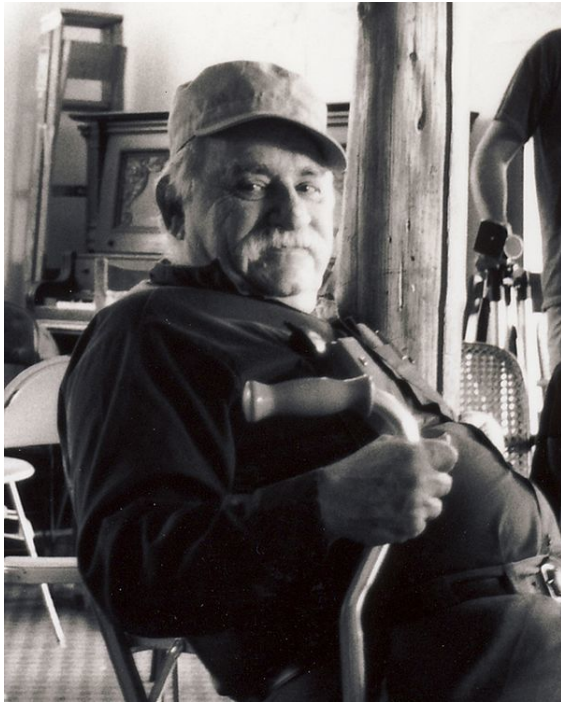
Main article: **Green anarchism**

Green anarchism, or ecoanarchism, is a school of thought within anarchism which puts a particular emphasis on **environmental issues**. An important early influence was the thought of the American anarchist **Henry David Thoreau** and his book *Walden*^[23] as well as **Leo Tolstoy**^[24] and **Elisee Reclus**.^{[25][26]} In the late 19th century there emerged **anarcho-naturism** as the fusion of anarchism and **naturist** philosophies within individualist anarchist circles in France, Spain, Cuba^[27] and Portugal.^{[24][28]} Several anarchists from the mid-20th century, including **Herbert Read**, **Ethel Mannin**, **Leopold Kohr**,^[29] **Jacques Ellul**,^[30] and **Paul Goodman**,^[31] also held proto-environmental views linked to their anarchism. Mannin’s 1944 book *Bread and Roses: A Utopian Survey and Blue-Print* has been described by anarchist historian **Robert Graham** as setting forth “an ecological vision in opposition to the prevailing and destructive industrial organization of society”.^[31] Important contemporary currents are **anarcho-primitivism** and **social ecology**.^[32]

Social ecology and communalism Main article: **Social ecology**

Main article: **Communalism (Political Philosophy)**

Social ecology is closely related to the work and ideas of **Murray Bookchin** and influenced by anarchist **Peter Kropotkin**. Social ecologists assert that the present **ecological crisis** has its roots in human social problems, and that the domination of human-over-nature stems from the domination of human-over-human.^[33] In 1958, Murray Bookchin defined himself as an **anarchist**,^[34] seeing parallels between anarchism and ecology. His first book, *Our Synthetic Environment*, was published under the pseudonym **Lewis Herber** in 1962, a few months before **Rachel Carson**’s *Silent Spring*.^[35] The book described a broad range of environmental ills but received little attention because of its political radicalism. His groundbreaking essay “Ecology and Revolutionary Thought” in-



Murray Bookchin

troduced **ecology** as a concept in radical politics.^[36] In 1968 he founded another group that published the influential *Anarchos* magazine, which published that and other innovative essays on post-scarcity and on ecological technologies such as solar and wind energy, and on decentralization and miniaturization. Lecturing throughout the United States, he helped popularize the concept of ecology to the **counterculture**.

Post-Scarcity Anarchism is a collection of essays written by Murray Bookchin and first published in 1971 by Ramparts Press.^[37] It outlines the possible form **anarchism** might take under conditions of **post-scarcity**. It is one of Bookchin's major works,^[38] and its radical thesis provoked controversy for being **utopian** and **messianic** in its faith in the liberatory potential of **technology**.^[39] Bookchin argues that **post-industrial societies** are also **post-scarcity societies**, and can thus imagine "the fulfillment of the social and cultural potentialities latent in a technology of abundance".^[39] The self-administration of society is now made possible by technological advancement and, when technology is used in an ecologically sensitive manner, the revolutionary potential of society will be much changed.^[40] In 1982, his book *The Ecology of Freedom* had a profound impact on the emerging ecology movement, both in the United States and abroad. He was a principal figure in the Burlington Greens in 1986-90, an ecology group that ran candidates for city council on a program to create neighborhood democracy.

Bookchin later developed a political philosophy to complement social ecology which he called "Communalism" (spelled with a capital "C" to differentiate it from other forms of communalism). While originally conceived as a

form of **Social anarchism**, he later developed Communalism into a separate ideology which incorporates what he saw as the most beneficial elements of Anarchism, Marxism, syndicalism, and radical ecology.

Politically, Communalists advocate a network of directly democratic citizens' assemblies in individual communities/cities organized in a confederal fashion. This method used to achieve this is called **Libertarian Municipalism** which involves the establishment of face-to-face democratic institutions which are to grow and expand confederally with the goal of eventually replacing the nation-state.

1970s–1990s – Rise of environmentalism and engagement with Marxism and 'actually existing socialism'

In the 1970s, Barry Commoner, suggesting a left-wing response to the *Limits to Growth* model that predicted catastrophic **resource depletion** and spurred **environmentalism**, postulated that capitalist technologies were chiefly responsible for **environmental degradation**, as opposed to **population pressures**.^[41] East German dissident writer and activist Rudolf Bahro published two books addressing the relationship between socialism and ecology – *The Alternative in Eastern Europe*^[42] and *Socialism and Survival*^[43] – which promoted a 'new party' and led to his arrest, for which he gained international notoriety.

At around the same time, Alan Roberts, an Australian Marxist, posited that people's unfulfilled needs fuelled **consumerism**.^[44] Fellow Australian Ted Trainer further called upon **socialists** to develop a system that met human needs, in contrast to the capitalist system of created wants.^[45] A key development in the 1980s was the creation of the journal *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* (CNS) with James O'Connor as founding editor and the first issue in 1988. The debates ensued led to a host of theoretical works by O'Connor, Carolyn Merchant, Paul Burkett and others.

The Australian Democratic Socialist Party launched the *Green Left Weekly* newspaper in 1991, following a period of working within Green Alliance and Green Party groups in formation. This ceased when the **Australian Greens** adopted a policy of proscription of other political groups in August 1991.^[46] The DSP also published a comprehensive policy resolution, "Socialism and Human Survival" in book form in 1990, with an expanded second edition in 1999 entitled "Environment, Capitalism & Socialism".^[47]

1990s onwards - Engagement with the anti-globalization movement and The Ecosocialist Manifesto

The 1990s saw the socialist feminists Mary Mellor^[48] and Ariel Salleh^[49] address environmental issues within an eco-socialist paradigm. With the rising pro-

file of the anti-globalization movement in the Global South, an "environmentalism of the poor", combining ecological awareness and social justice, has also become prominent.^[12] David Pepper also released his important work, *Ecosocialism: From Deep Ecology to Social Justice*, in 1994, which critiques the current approach of many within Green politics, particularly deep ecologists.^[50]

In 2001, Joel Kovel, a social scientist, psychiatrist and former candidate for the Green Party of the United States (GPUS) Presidential nomination in 2000, and Michael Löwy, an anthropologist and member of the Reunified Fourth International (a principal Trotskyist organisation), released *An ecosocialist manifesto*, which has been adopted by some organisations^[21] and suggests possible routes for the growth of eco-socialist consciousness.^[1] Kovel's 2002 work, *The Enemy of Nature: The End of Capitalism or the End of the World?*,^[13] is considered by many to be the most up-to-date exposition of eco-socialist thought.^[20]

In October 2007, the International Ecosocialist Network was founded in Paris.^[51]

Influence on current Green and socialist movements

Currently, many Green Parties around the world, such as the Dutch Green Left Party (GroenLinks), contain strong eco-socialist elements. Radical Red-green alliances have been formed in many countries by eco-socialists, radical Greens and other radical left groups. In Denmark, the Red-Green Alliance was formed as a coalition of numerous radical parties. Within the European Parliament, a number of far-left parties from Northern Europe have organized themselves into the Nordic Green Left Alliance. Red Greens feature heavily in the Green Party of Saskatchewan (in Canada but not necessarily affiliated to the Green Party of Canada) and then-recently GPUS that officially adopted ideology within party.^[52]

The Green Party of England and Wales features an eco-socialist group, Green Left, that was founded in June 2005 and whose members hold a number of influential positions within the party, including both the former Principal Speakers Siân Berry and Dr. Derek Wall, himself an eco-socialist and Marxist academic, as well as prominent Green Party candidate and human rights activist Peter Tatchell.^[21] Many Marxist organisations also contain eco-socialists, as evidenced by Löwy's involvement in the reunified Fourth International and *Socialist Resistance*, a British Marxist newspaper that reports on eco-socialist issues and has published two collections of essays on eco-socialist thought: *Ecosocialism or Barbarism?*, edited by Jane Kelly and Sheila Malone, and *The Global Fight for Climate Justice*, edited by Ian Angus with a foreword by Derek Wall.^{[53][54]}

Influence on "existing socialist" regimes

Eco-socialism has had a minor influence over developments in the environmental policies of what can be called "existing socialist" regimes, notably the People's Republic of China. Pan Yue, Deputy Director of the PRC's State Environmental Protection Administration, has acknowledged the influence of eco-socialist theory on his championing of environmentalism within China, which has gained him international acclaim (including being nominated for the Person of the Year Award 2006 by *The New Statesman*,^[55] a British current affairs magazine). Yue stated in an interview that, while he often finds eco-socialist theory "too idealistic" and lacking "ways of solving actual problems", he believes that it provides "political reference for China's scientific view of development", "gives socialist ideology room to expand" and offers "a theoretical basis for the establishment of fair international rules" on the environment.

He echoes much of eco-socialist thought, attacking international "environmental inequality", refusing to focus on technological fixes and arguing for the construction of "a harmonious, resource-saving and environmentally-friendly society". He also shows a knowledge of eco-socialist history, from the convergence of radical green politics and socialism and their political "red-green alliances" in the post-Soviet era. This focus on eco-socialism has informed an essay, *On Socialist Ecological Civilisation*, published in September 2006, which, according to chinadialogue, "sparked debate" in China.^[56] The current Constitution of Bolivia, promulgated in 2009, is the first both ecologic and pro-socialist Constitution in the world, making the Bolivian state officially ecosocialist.^[57]

Ecosocialist International Network (EIN) and other international eco-socialist organisations

In 2007, it was announced that attempts to form an Ecosocialist International Network (EIN) would be made and an inaugural meeting of the International occurred on October 7, 2007 in Paris.^[58] The meeting attracted "more than 60 activists from Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and the United States" and elected a Steering Committee featuring representatives from Britain, the United States, Canada, France, Greece, Argentina, Brazil and Australia, including Joel Kovel, Michael Löwy, Derek Wall, Ian Angus (editor of *Climate and Capitalism* in Canada) and Ariel Salleh. The Committee states that it wants "to incorporate members from China, India, Africa, Oceania and Eastern Europe". EIN held its second international conference in January 2009, in association with the next World Social Forum in Brazil.^[59] The conference released The Belem Ecosocialist Declaration.^[60]

International networking by eco-socialists has already

been seen in the Praxis Research and Education Center, a group of international researchers and activists. Based in Moscow and established in 1997, Praxis, as well as publishing books “by libertarian socialists, Marxist humanists, anarchists, [and] syndicalists”, running the Victor Serge Library and opposing war in Chechnya, states that it believes “that capitalism has brought life on the planet near to the brink of catastrophe, and that a form of ecosocialism needs to emerge to replace capitalism before it is too late”.^{[61][62]}

0.18.3 Critique of capitalist expansion and globalisation

Merging aspects of Marxism, socialism, environmentalism and ecology, eco-socialists generally believe that the capitalist system is the cause of social exclusion, inequality and environmental degradation through globalization and imperialism under the supervision of repressive states and transnational structures.

In the *Ecosocialist manifesto*, Kovel and Löwy suggest that capitalist expansion causes both “crises of ecology” through “rampant industrialization” and “societal breakdown” that springs “from the form of imperialism known as globalization”. They believe that capitalism’s expansion “exposes ecosystems” to pollutants, habitat destruction and resource depletion, “reducing the sensuous vitality of nature to the cold exchangeability required for the accumulation of capital”, while submerging “the majority of the world’s people to a mere reservoir of labor power” as it penetrates communities through “consumerism and depoliticization”.^[1]

Other eco-socialists, like Wall, highlight how, in the Global South, free-market capitalism structures economies to produce export-gearred crops that take water from traditional subsistence farms, increasing hunger and the likelihood of famine; furthermore, forests are increasingly cleared and enclosed to produce cash crops that separate people from their local means of production and aggravate poverty. Wall shows that many of the world’s poor have access to the means of production through “non-monetised communal means of production”, such as subsistence farming, but, despite providing for need and a level of prosperity, these are not included in conventional economics measures, like GNP.

Wall therefore views neo-liberal globalization as “part of the long struggle of the state and commercial interests to steal from those who subsist” by removing “access to the resources that sustain ordinary people across the globe”.^[20] Furthermore, Kovel sees neoliberalism as “a return to the pure logic of capital” that “has effectively swept away measures which had inhibited capital’s aggressivity, replacing them with naked exploitation of humanity and nature”; for Kovel, this “tearing down of boundaries and limits to accumulation is known as glob-

alization”, which was “a deliberate response to a serious accumulation crisis (in the 1970s) that had convinced the leaders of the global economy to install what we know as neoliberalism.”.^[63]

Furthermore, Guha and Martinez-Alier blame globalization for creating increased levels of waste and pollution, and then dumping the waste on the most vulnerable in society, particularly those in the Global South.^[12] Others have also noted that capitalism disproportionately affects the poorest in the Global North as well, leading to examples of resistance such as the environmental justice movement in the United States, consisting of working-class people and ethnic minorities who highlight the tendency for waste dumps, major road projects and incinerators to be constructed around socially excluded areas. However, as Wall highlights, such campaigns are often ignored or persecuted precisely because they originate among the most marginalized in society: the African-American radical green religious group MOVE, campaigning for ecological revolution and animal rights from Philadelphia, had many members imprisoned or even killed by US authorities from the 1970s onwards.^[20]

Eco-socialism disagrees with the elite theories of capitalism, which tend to label a specific class or social group as conspirators who construct a system that satisfies their greed and personal desires. Instead, eco-socialists suggest that the very system itself is self-perpetuating, fuelled by “extra-human” or “impersonal” forces. Kovel uses the Bhopal industrial disaster as an example. Many anti-corporate observers would blame the avarice of those at the top of many multi-national corporations, such as the Union Carbide Corporation in Bhopal, for seemingly isolated industrial accidents. Conversely, Kovel suggests that Union Carbide were experiencing a decrease in sales that led to falling profits, which, due to stock market conditions, translated into a drop in share values. The depreciation of share value made many shareholders sell their stock, weakening the company and leading to cost-cutting measures that eroded the safety procedures and mechanisms at the Bhopal site. Though this did not, in Kovel’s mind, make the Bhopal disaster inevitable, he believes that it illustrates the effect market forces can have on increasing the likelihood of ecological and social problems.^[13]

Use and exchange value

Eco-socialism focuses closely on Marx’s theories about the contradiction between use values and exchange values. Kovel posits that, within a market economy, goods are not produced to meet needs but are produced to be exchanged for money that we then use to acquire other goods; as we have to keep selling in order to keep buying, we must persuade others to buy our goods just to ensure our survival, which leads to the production of goods with no previous use that can be sold to sustain our ability to buy other goods.^[13]

Such goods, in an eco-socialist analysis, produce **exchange values** but have no **use value**. Eco-socialists like Kovel stress that this contradiction has reached a destructive extent, where certain essential activities - such as caring for relatives full-time and basic **subsistence** - are unrewarded, while unnecessary commodities earn individuals huge fortunes and fuel **consumerism** and **resource depletion**.^[13]

The “second contradiction” of capitalism

James O'Connor argues for a “second contradiction” of underproduction, to complement Marx's “first” contradiction of capital and labor. While the second contradiction is often considered a theory of environmental degradation, O'Connor's theory in fact goes much further. Building on the work of Karl Polanyi, along with Marx, O'Connor argues that capitalism necessarily undermines the “conditions of production” necessary to sustain the endless accumulation of capital. These conditions of production include soil, water, energy, and so forth. But they also include an adequate public education system, transportation infrastructures, and other services that are not produced directly by capital, but which capital needs in order to accumulate effectively. As the conditions of production are exhausted, the costs of production for capital increase. For this reason, the second contradiction generates an underproduction crisis tendency, with the rising cost of inputs and labor, to complement the overproduction tendency of too many commodities for too few customers. Like Marx's contradiction of capital and labor, the second contradiction therefore threatens the system's existence.^{[64][65]}

In addition, O'Connor believes that, in order to remedy environmental contradictions, the capitalist system innovates new technologies that overcome existing problems but introduce new ones.^[64]

O'Connor cites **nuclear power** as an example, which he sees as a form of producing energy that is advertised as an alternative to carbon-intensive, non-renewable **fossil fuels**, but creates long-term **radioactive waste** and other dangers to health and security. While O'Connor believes that capitalism is capable of spreading out its economic supports so widely that it can afford to destroy one **ecosystem** before moving onto another, he and many other eco-socialists now fear that, with the onset of globalization, the system is running out of new **ecosystems**.^[64] Kovel adds that capitalist firms have to continue to extract profit through a combination of intensive or extensive exploitation and selling to new markets, meaning that capitalism must **grow** indefinitely to exist, which he thinks is impossible on a planet of finite resources.^[13]

The role of the state and transnational organisations

Capitalist expansion is seen by eco-socialists as being

“hand in glove” with “corrupt and subservient client states” that repress dissent against the system, governed by **international organisations** “under the overall supervision of the **Western powers** and the **superpower** United States”, which subordinate peripheral nations economically and militarily.^[1] Kovel further claims that capitalism itself spurs conflict and, ultimately, **war**. Kovel states that the ‘War on Terror’, between **Islamist extremists** and the United States, is caused by “oil imperialism”, whereby the capitalist nations require control over sources of **energy**, especially oil, which are necessary to continue intensive **industrial growth** - in the quest for control of such resources, Kovel argues that the capitalist nations, specifically the United States, have come into conflict with the predominantly **Muslim** nations where oil is often found.^[13]

Eco-socialists believe that state or self-regulation of markets does not solve the crisis “because to do so requires setting limits upon accumulation”, which is “unacceptable” for a **growth-orientated** system; they believe that **terrorism** and revolutionary impulses cannot be tackled properly “because to do so would mean abandoning the logic of **empire**”. Instead, eco-socialists feel that increasing repressive **counter-terrorism** increases **alienation** and causes further **terrorism** and believe that state **counter-terrorist** methods are, in Kovel and Löwy's words, “evolving into a new and malignant variation of **fascism**”. They echo **Rosa Luxemburg's** “stark choice” between “socialism or barbarism”, which was believed to be a prediction of the coming of **fascism** and further forms of destructive capitalism at the beginning of the twentieth century (**Luxemburg** was in fact murdered by proto-fascist **Freikorps** in the revolutionary atmosphere of Germany in 1919).^[1]

0.18.4 Tensions within the Eco-Socialist discourse

Reflecting tensions within the environmental and socialist movements, there is some conflict of ideas. In practice however, a synthesis is emerging which calls for democratic regulation of industry in the interests of people and the environment, nationalisation of some key (environmental) industries, local democracy and an extension of co-ops and the library principle.^[66]

0.18.5 Critique of other forms of green politics

Eco-socialists criticise many within the **Green movement** for not being overtly **anti-capitalist**, for working within the existing capitalist, statist system, for voluntarism, or for reliance on technological fixes. The eco-socialist ideology is based on a critique of other forms of Green politics, including various forms of **Green economics**, **Localism**, **Deep Ecology**, **Bioregionalism** and even some

manifestations of radical green ideologies such as Eco-feminism and Social Ecology.

As Kovel puts it, eco-socialism differs from Green politics at the most fundamental level because the 'Four Pillars' of Green politics (and the 'Ten Key Values' of the US Green Party) do not include the demand for the emancipation of labour and the end of the separation between producers and the means of production.^[13] Many eco-socialists also oppose Malthusianism^[20] and are alarmed by the gulf between Green politics in the Global North and the Global South.^[12]

Opposition to within-system approaches, voluntarism and technological fixes

Eco-socialists are highly critical of those Greens who favour “working within the system”. While eco-socialists like Kovel recognise the ability of within-system approaches to raise awareness, and believe that “the struggle for an ecologically rational world must include a struggle for the state”, he believes that the mainstream Green movement is too easily co-opted by the current powerful socio-political forces as it “passes from citizen-based activism to ponderous bureaucracies scuffling for 'a seat at the table'”.^[13]

For Kovel, capitalism is “happy to enlist” the Green movement for “convenience”, “control over popular dissent” and “rationalization”. He further attacks within-system green initiatives like carbon trading, which he sees as a “capitalist shell game” that turns pollution “into a fresh source of profit”.^[13] Brian Tokar has further criticised carbon trading in this way, suggesting that it augments existing class inequality and gives the “largest 'players'... substantial control over the whole 'game'”.^[67]

In addition, Kovel criticises the “defeatism” of voluntarism in some local forms of environmentalism that do not connect: he suggests that they can be “drawn off into individualism” or co-opted to the demands of capitalism, as in the case of certain recycling projects, where citizens are “induced to provide free labor” to waste management industries who are involved in the “capitalization of nature”. He labels the notion on voluntarism “ecopolitics without struggle”.^[13]

Technological fixes to ecological problems are also rejected by eco-socialists. Saral Sarkar has updated the thesis of 1970s 'limits to growth' to exemplify the limits of new capitalist technologies such as hydrogen fuel cells, which require large amounts of energy to split molecules to obtain hydrogen.^[68] Furthermore, Kovel notes that “events in nature are reciprocal and multi-determined” and can therefore not be predictably “fixed”; socially, technologies cannot solve social problems because they are not “mechanical”. He posits an eco-socialist analysis, developed from Marx, that patterns of production and social organisation are more important than the forms of technology used within a given configuration of

society.^[13]

Under capitalism, he suggests that technology “has been the *sine qua non* of growth” - thus he believes that, even in a world with hypothetical “free energy”, the effect would be to lower the cost of automobile production, leading to the massive overproduction of vehicles, “collapsing infrastructure”, chronic resource depletion and the “paving over” of the “remainder of nature”. In the modern world, Kovel considers the supposed efficiency of new post-industrial commodities is a “plain illusion”, as miniaturized components involve many substances and are therefore non-recyclable (and, theoretically, only simple substances could be retrieved by burning out-of-date equipment, releasing more pollutants). He is quick to warn “environmental liberals” against overselling the virtues of renewable energies that cannot meet the mass energy consumption of the era; although he would still support renewable energy projects, he believes it is more important to restructure societies to reduce energy use before relying on renewable energy technologies alone.^[13]

Critique of Green economics

Eco-socialists have based their ideas for political strategy on a critique of several different trends in Green economics. At the most fundamental level, eco-socialists reject what Kovel calls “ecological economics” or the “ecological wing of mainstream economics” for being “uninterested in social transformation”. He further rejects the Neo-Smithian school, who believe in Adam Smith's vision of “a capitalism of small producers, freely exchanging with each other”, which is self-regulating and competitive.^[13]

The school is represented by thinkers like David Korten who believe in “regulated markets” checked by government and civil society but, for Kovel, they do not provide a critique of the expansive nature of capitalism away from localised production and ignore “questions of class, gender or any other category of domination”. Kovel also criticises their “fairy-tale” view of history, which refers to the abuse of “natural capital” by the materialism of the Scientific Revolution, an assumption that, in Kovel's eyes, seems to suggest that “nature had toiled to put the gift of capital into human hands”, rather than capitalism being a product of social relations in human history.^[13]

Other forms of Community-based economics are also rejected by eco-socialists such as Kovel, including followers of E. F. Schumacher and some members of the Cooperative movement, for advocating “no more than a very halting and isolated first step”. He thinks that their principles are “only partially realizable within the institutions of cooperatives in capitalist society” because “the internal cooperation” of cooperatives is “forever hemmed in and compromised” by the need to expand value and

compete within the market.^[13] Marx also believed that cooperatives within capitalism make workers into “their own capitalist... by enabling them to use the means of production for the employment of their own labour”.^[19]

For Kovel and other eco-socialists, Community-based economics and Green Localism are “a fantasy” because “strict localism belongs to the aboriginal stages of society” and would be an “ecological nightmare at present population levels” due to “heat losses from a multitude of dispersed sites, the squandering of scarce resources, the needless reproduction of effort, and cultural impoverishment”. While he feels that small-scale production units are “an essential part of the path towards an ecological society”, he sees them not as “an end in itself”; in his view, small enterprises can be either capitalist or socialist in their configuration and therefore must be “consistently anti-capitalist”, through recognition and support of the emancipation of labour, and exist “in a dialectic with the whole of things”, as human society will need large-scale projects, such as transport infrastructures.^[13]

He highlights the work of steady-state theorist Herman Daly, who exemplifies what eco-socialists see as the good and bad points of ecological economics — while Daly offers a critique of capitalism and a desire for “workers ownership”, he only believes in workers ownership “kept firmly within a capitalist market”, ignoring the eco-socialist desire for struggle in the emancipation of labour and hoping that the interests of labour and management today can be improved so that they are “in harmony”.^[13]

Critique of Deep Ecology

Despite the inclusion of both in political factions like the 'Fundies' of the German Green Party, eco-socialists and deep ecologists hold markedly opposite views. Eco-socialists like Kovel have attacked deep ecology because, like other forms of Green politics and Green economics, it features “virtuous souls” who have “no internal connection with the critique of capitalism and the emancipation of labor”. Kovel is particularly scathing about deep ecology and its “fatuous pronouncement” that Green politics is “neither left nor right, but ahead”, which, for him, ignores the notion that “that which does not confront the system comes its instrument”.^[13]

Even more scathingly, Kovel suggests that in “its effort to decentre humanity within nature”, deep ecologists can “go too far” and argue for the “splitting away of unwanted people”, as evidenced by their desire to preserve wilderness by removing the groups that have lived there “from time immemorial”. Kovel thinks that this lends legitimacy to “capitalist elites”, like the US State Department and the World Bank, who can make preservation of wilderness a part of their projects that “have added value as sites for ecotourism” but remove people from their land. Between 1986 and 1996, Kovel notes that over three million people were displaced by “conserva-

tion projects”; in the making of the US National Parks, three hundred Shoshone Indians were killed in the development of Yosemite.^[13]

Kovel believes that deep ecology has affected the rest of the Green movement and led to calls from restrictions on immigration, “often allying with reactionaries in a... cryptically racist quest”.^[13] Indeed, he finds traces of deep ecology in the “biological reduction” of Nazism, an ideology many “organicist thinkers” have found appealing, including Herbert Gruhl, a founder of the German Green Party (who subsequently left when it became more Left-wing) and originator of the phrase “neither left nor right, but ahead”. Kovel warns that, while 'ecofascism' is confined to a narrow band of far right intellectuals and disaffected white power skinheads who involved themselves alongside far left groups in the anti-globalization movement, it may be “imposed as a revolution from above to install an authoritarian regime in order to preserve the main workings of the system” in times of crisis.^[13]

Critique of bioregionalism

Bioregionalism, a philosophy developed by writers like Kirkpatrick Sale who believe in the self-sufficiency of “appropriate bioregional boundaries” drawn up by inhabitants of “an area”,^[69] has been thoroughly critiqued by Kovel, who fears that the “vagueness” of the area will lead to conflict and further boundaries between communities.^[13] While Sale cites the bioregional living of Native Americans,^[69] Kovel notes that such ideas are impossible to translate to populations of modern proportions, and evidences the fact that Native Americans held land in commons, rather than private property - thus, for eco-socialists, bioregionalism provides no understanding of what is needed to transform society, and what the inevitable “response of the capitalist state” would be to people constructing bioregionalism.^[13]

Kovel also attacks the problems of self-sufficiency. Where Sale believes in self-sufficient regions “each developing the energy of its peculiar ecology”, such as “wood in the northwest [USA]”,^[69] Kovel asks “how on earth” these can be made sufficient for regional needs, and notes the environmental damage of converting Seattle into a “forest-destroying and smoke-spewing wood-burning” city. Kovel also questions Sale's insistence on bioregions that do “not require connections with the outside, but within strict limits”, and whether this precludes journeys to visit family members and other forms of travel.^[13]

Critique of variants of eco-feminism

Like many variants of socialism and Green politics, eco-socialists recognise the importance of “the gendered bifurcation of nature” and support the emancipation of gender as it “is at the root of patriarchy and class”. Nevertheless, while Kovel believes that “any path out of cap-

italism must also be *eco-feminist*", he criticises types of *ecofeminism* that are not *anti-capitalist* and can "essentialize women's closeness to nature and build from there, submerging history into nature", becoming more at place in the "comforts of the *New Age Growth Centre*". These limitations, for Kovel, "keep *ecofeminism* from becoming a coherent social movement".^[13]

Critique of Social Ecology

While having much in common with the radical tradition of *Social Ecology*, eco-socialists still see themselves as distinct. Kovel believes this is because Social Ecologists see hierarchy "in-itself" as the cause of *ecological* destruction, whereas eco-socialists focus on *gender* and *class* domination embodied in capitalism and recognise that forms of authority that are not "an expropriation of human power for... self-aggrandizement", such as a student-teacher relationship that is "reciprocal and mutual", are beneficial.^[13]

In practice, Kovel describes *Social Ecology* as continuing the *anarchist* tradition of *non-violent direct action*, which is "necessary" but "not sufficient" because "it leaves unspoken the question of building an ecological society beyond *capital*". Furthermore, Social Ecologists and *anarchists* tend to focus on the state alone, rather than the class relations behind state domination (in the view of *Marxists*). Kovel fears that this is political, springing from historic hostility to *Marxism* among anarchists and sectarianism, which he points out as a fault of the "brilliant" but "dogmatic" founder of Social Ecology, *Murray Bookchin*.^[13]

Opposition to Malthusianism and Neo-Malthusianism

While *Malthusianism* and eco-socialism overlap within the *Green movement* because both address *over-industrialism*, and despite the fact that Eco-socialists, like many within the Green movement, are described as *neo-Malthusian* because of their criticism of *economic growth*, Eco-socialists are opposed to *Malthusianism*. This divergence stems from the difference between *Marxist* and *Malthusian* examinations of social injustice - whereas Marx blames *inequality on class* injustice, *Malthus* argued that the *working-class* remained poor because of their greater *fertility* and *birth rates*.

Neo-Malthusians have slightly modified this analysis by increasing their focus on *overconsumption* - nonetheless, eco-socialists find this attention inadequate. They point to the fact that *Malthus* did not thoroughly examine ecology and that *Garrett Hardin*, a key *Neo-Malthusian*, suggested that further *enclosed* and *privatised* land, as opposed to *commons*, would solve the chief environmental problem, which *Hardin* labeled the '*Tragedy of the Commons*'.^[20]

The "two varieties of environmentalism"

Guha and *Martinez-Alier* attack the gulf between what they see as the two "varieties of *environmentalism*" - the environmentalism of the *North*, an aesthetic environmentalism that is the privilege of wealthy people who no longer have basic material concerns, and the environmentalism of the *South*, where people's local environment is a source of communal wealth and such issues are a question of survival.^[12] Nonetheless, other eco-socialists, such as *Wall*, have also pointed out that capitalism disproportionately affects the poorest in the Global North as well, leading to examples of resistance such as the *environmental justice* movement in the US and groups like *MOVE*.^[20]

0.18.6 Critique of other forms of socialism

Eco-socialists choose to use the term '*socialist*', despite "the failings of its twentieth century interpretations", because it "still stands for the supersession of *capital*" and thus "the name, and the reality" must "become adequate for this time".^[1] Eco-socialists have nonetheless often diverged with other *Marxist* movements. Eco-socialism has also been partly influenced by and associated with *agrarian socialism* as well as some forms of *Christian socialism*, especially in the United States.

Critique of 'Actually Existing Socialisms'

For Kovel and *Lowy*, eco-socialism is "the realization of the "first-epoch" socialisms" by resurrecting the notion of "free development of all producers", distancing themselves from "the attenuated, reformist aims of *social democracy* and the *productivist* structures of the *bureaucratic variations* of socialism", such as forms of *Leninism* and *Stalinism*.^[1] They ground the failure of past socialist movements in "underdevelopment in the context of hostility by existing *capitalist* powers", which led to "the denial of internal democracy" and "emulation of *capitalist productivism*".^[1] Kovel believes that the forms of 'actually existing socialism' consisted of "public ownership of the means of production", rather than meeting "the true definition" of socialism as "a *free association of producers*", with the Party-State bureaucracy acting as the "alienating substitute 'public'".^[13]

In analysing the *Russian Revolution*, Kovel feels that "conspiratorial" revolutionary movements "cut off from the development of society" will "find society an inert mass requiring leadership from above". From this, he notes that the anti-democratic *Tsarist* heritage meant that the *Bolsheviks*, who were aided into power by *World War One*, were a minority who, when faced with a counter-revolution and invading *Western* powers, continued "the extraordinary needs of '*war communism*'", which "put the seal of *authoritarianism*" on the revolution; thus, for Kovel, *Lenin* and *Trotsky* "resorted to terror", shut down

the **Soviets** (workers' councils) and emulated "capitalist efficiency and **productivism** as a means of survival", setting the stage for **Stalinism**.^[13]

Lenin, in Kovel's eyes, came to oppose the nascent **Bolshevik environmentalism** and its champion **Aleksandr Bogdanov**, who was later attacked for "idealism"; Kovel describes Lenin's philosophy as "a sharply dualistic **materialism**, rather similar to the **Cartesian** separation of matter and consciousness, and perfectly tooled... to the active working over of the dead, dull matter by the human hand", which led him to want to overcome Russian backwardness through rapid **industrialization**. This tendency was, according to Kovel, augmented by a desire to catch-up with the **West** and the "severe crisis" of the revolution's first years.^[13]

Furthermore, Kovel quotes **Trotsky**, who believed in a **Communist** "superman" who would "learn how to move rivers and mountains".^[70] Kovel believes that, in Stalin's "revolution from above" and mass terror in response to the early 1930s economic crisis, Trotsky's writings "were given official imprimatur", despite the fact that Trotsky himself was eventually purged, as **Stalinism** attacked "the very notion of ecology... in addition to ecologies". Kovel adds that Stalin "would win the gold medal for enmity to nature", and that, in the face of massive **environmental degradation**, the inflexible **Soviet** bureaucracy became increasingly inefficient and unable to emulate capitalist accumulation, leading to a "vicious cycle" that led to its collapse.^[13]

Critique of the wider socialist movement

Beyond the forms of 'actually existing socialism', Kovel criticises **socialists** in general as treating ecology "as an afterthought" and holding "a naive faith in the ecological capacities of a **working-class** defined by generations of **capitalist** production". He exemplifies **David McNally**, who advocated increasing consumption levels under socialism, which, for Kovel, contradicts any notion of natural limits. He also criticises McNally's belief in releasing the "positive side of **capital's** self-expansion"^[71] after the emancipation of labor; instead, Kovel argues that a **socialist** society would "seek not to become larger" but would rather become "more *realized*", choosing sufficiency and eschewing **economic growth**. Kovel further adds that the **socialist** movement was historically conditioned by its origins in the era of **industrialization** so that, when modern socialists like McNally advocate a socialism that "cannot be at the expense of the range of human satisfaction",^[71] they fail "to recognize that these satisfactions can be problematic with respect to nature when they have been historically shaped by the domination of nature".^[13]

0.18.7 Eco-socialist strategy

Eco-socialists generally advocate the **non-violent** dismantling of capitalism and the state, focusing on collective ownership of the **means of production** by freely associated producers and restoration of the **Commons**.^[1] To get to an eco-socialist society, eco-socialists advocate **working-class anti-capitalist** resistance but also believe that there is potential for agency in autonomous, grassroots individuals and groups across the world who can build "prefigurative" projects for **non-violent** radical social change.^[13]

These prefigurative steps go "beyond the **market** and the state"^[20] and base production on the enhancement of **use values**, leading to the internationalization of resistance communities in an 'Eco-socialist Party' or network of grassroots groups focused on **non-violent**, radical social transformation. An 'Eco-socialist revolution' is then carried out.^[13]

Agency

Many eco-socialists, like Alan Roberts, have encouraged **working-class** action and resistance, such as the '**green ban**' movement in which workers refuse to participate in projects that are ecologically harmful.^[44] Similarly, Kovel focuses on **working-class** involvement in the formation of eco-socialist parties or their increased involvement in existing **Green Parties**; however, he believes that, unlike many other forms of **socialist** analysis, "there is no privileged agent" or revolutionary **class**, and that there is potential for agency in numerous autonomous, grassroots individuals and groups who can build "prefigurative" projects for **non-violent** radical social change. He defines "prefiguration" as "the potential for the given to contain the lineaments of what is to be", meaning that "a moment toward the future exists embedded in every point of the social organism where a need arises".^[13]

If "everything has prefigurative potential", Kovel notes that forms of potential **ecological** production will be "scattered", and thus suggests that "the task is to free them and connect them". While all "human **ecosystems**" have "ecosocialist potential", Kovel points out that ones such as the **World Bank** have low potential, whereas internally democratic **anti-globalization** "affinity groups" have a high potential through a dialectic that involves the "active bringing and holding together of negations", such as the group acting as an alternative institution ("production of an **ecological/socialist** alternative") and trying to shut down a **G8** summit meeting ("resistance to capital"). Therefore, "practices that in the same motion enhance **use-values** and diminish **exchange-values** are the ideal" for eco-socialists.^[13]

Prefiguration

For Kovel, the main prefigurative steps “are that people ruthlessly criticize the capitalist system... and that they include in this a consistent attack on the widespread belief that there can be no alternative to it”, which will then “deligitimate the system and release people into struggle”. Kovel justifies this by stating that “radical criticism of the given... can be a material force”, even without an alternative, “because it can seize the mind of the masses of people”, leading to “dynamic” and “exponential”, rather than “incremental” and “linear”, victories that spread rapidly. Following this, he advocates the expansion of the dialectical eco-socialist potential of groups through sustaining the confrontation and internal cohesion of *human ecosystems*, leading to an “activation” of potentials in others that will “spread across the whole social field” as “a new set of orienting principles” that define an ideology or “'party-life' formation”.^[13]

In the short-term, eco-socialists like Kovel advocate activities that have the “promise of breaking down the commodity form”. This includes organizing labor, which is a “reconfiguring of the *use-value* of labor power”; forming *cooperatives*, allowing “a relatively free association of labor”; forming localised currencies, which he sees as “undercutting the value-basis of money”; and supporting “radical media” that, in his eyes, involve an “undoing of the fetishism of commodities”. Arran Gare, Wall and Kovel have advocated economic *localisation* in the same vein as many in the *Green movement*, although they stress that it must be a prefigurative step rather than an end in itself.^{[20][72]}

Kovel also advises political parties attempting to “democratize the state” that there should be “dialogue but no compromise” with established political parties, and that there must be “a continual association of electoral work with movement work” to avoid “being sucked back into the system”. Such parties, he believes, should focus on “the local rungs of the political system” first, before running national campaigns that “challenge the existing system by the elementary means of exposing its broken promises”.^[13]

Kovel believes in building prefigurations around forms of production based on *use values*, which will provide a practical vision of a *post-capitalist, post-statist* system. Such projects include *Indymedia* (“a democratic rendering of the *use-values* of new technologies such as the Internet, and a continual involvement in wider struggle”), *open-source software*, *Wikipedia*, *public libraries* and many other initiatives, especially those developed within the *anti-globalisation movement*.^[13] These strategies, in Wall’s words, “go beyond the *market* and the state” by rejecting the supposed dichotomy between *private enterprise* and *state-owned* production, while also rejecting any combination of the two through a *mixed economy*. He states that these present forms of “amphibious politics”, which are “half in the dirty water of the present but

seeking to move on to a new, unexplored territory”.^[20]

Wall suggests that *open source software*, for example, opens up “a new form of *commons regime in cyberspace*”, which he praises as production “for the pleasure of invention” that gives “access to resources without exchange”. He believes that *open source* has “bypassed” both the *market* and the state, and could provide “developing countries with free access to vital computer software”. Furthermore, he suggests that an “*open source economy*” means that “the barrier between user and provider is eroded”, allowing for “cooperative creativity”. He links this to *Marxism* and the notion of *usufruct*, asserting that “Marx would have been a *Firefox* user”.^[20]

Internationalization of prefiguration and the 'Eco-socialist Party'

Many eco-socialists have noted that the potential for building such projects is easier for media workers than for those in heavy industry because of the decline in *trade unionism* and the *globalized division of labor* which divides workers. However, Kovel believes that examples like the *Christian Bruderhof Communities* (despite elements of *patriarchy* that he attacks) show that “communitistic” organizations can “survive rather well in a heavily industrialized *market*” if they are “protected” from the dependence on the *market* by “anti-capitalist intentionality”. He further posits that *class struggle* is “internationalized in the face of globalization”, as evidenced by a wave of *strikes* across the *Global South* in the first half of the year 2000; indeed, he says that “labor’s most cherished values are already immanently ecocentric”.^[13]

Kovel therefore thinks that these universalizing tendencies must lead to the formation of “a consciously 'Eco-socialist Party'” that is neither like a parliamentary or vanguardist party. Instead, Kovel advocates a form of *political party* “grounded in communities of resistance”, where delegates from these communities form the core of the party’s activists, and these delegates and the “open and transparent” assembly they form are subject to *recall* and regular rotation of members. He holds up the *Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN)* and the *Gaviotas* movement as examples of such communities, which “are produced outside capitalist circuits” and show that “there can be no single way valid for all peoples”.^[13]

Nonetheless, he also firmly believes in connecting these movements, stating that “ecosocialism will be international or it will be nothing” and hoping that the Eco-socialist Party can retain the autonomy of local communities while supporting them materially. With an ever-expanding party, Kovel hopes that “defections” by *capitalists* will occur, leading eventually to the *armed forces* and *police* who, in joining the *revolution*, will signify that “the turning point is reached”.^[13]

0.18.8 'The Revolution' and transition to eco-socialism

'The Revolution' as envisaged by eco-socialists involves an immediate socio-political transition. Internationally, eco-socialists believe in a reform of the nature of **money** and the formation of a 'World People's Trade Organisation' (WPTO) that democratizes and improves world **trade** through the calculation of an 'Ecological Price' (EP) for goods. This would then be followed by a transformation of socioeconomic conditions towards ecological production, **commons** land and notions of **usufruct** (that seek to improve the common property possessed by society) to end private **property**. Eco-socialists assert that this must be carried out with adherence to **non-violence**.^[13]

The immediate aftermath of the revolution

Eco-socialists like **Kovel** use the term "Eco-socialist revolution" to describe the transition to an eco-socialist world society. In the immediate socio-political transition, he believes that four groups will emerge from the revolution – revolutionaries, those "whose productive activity is directly compatible with ecological production" (such as nurses, schoolteachers, librarians, independent farmers and many other examples), those "whose pre-revolutionary practice was given over to **capital**" (including the **bourgeoisie**, advertising executives and more) and "the workers whose activity added surplus value to capitalist commodities".^[13]

In terms of political organisation, he advocates an "interim assembly" made up of the revolutionaries that can "devise incentives to make sure that vital functions are maintained" (such as short-term continuation of "differential remuneration" for labor), "handle the redistribution of social roles and assets", convene "in widespread locations", and send delegates to regional, state, national and international organisations, where every level has an "executive council" that is rotated and can be recalled. From there, he asserts that "productive communities" will "form the political as well as economic unit of society" and "organize others" to make a transition to eco-socialist production.^[13]

He adds that people will be allowed to be members of any community they choose with "associate membership" of others, such as a **doctor** having main membership of healthcare communities as a **doctor** and associate membership of child-rearing communities as a father. Each locality would, in Kovel's eyes, require one community that administered the areas of jurisdiction through an elected assembly. High-level assemblies would have additional "supervisory" roles over localities to monitor the development of **ecosystemic** integrity, and administer "society-wide services" like transport in "state-like functions", before the interim assembly can transfer responsibilities to "the level of the society as a whole through appropriate and democratically responsive committees".^[13]

Transnational trade and capital reform

Part of the eco-socialist transition, in Kovel's eyes, is the reforming **money** to retain its use in "enabling exchanges" while reducing its functions as "a commodity in its own right" and "repository of value". He argues for directing **money** to "enhancement of **use-values**" through a "subsidization of **use-values**" that "preserves the functioning core of the economy while gaining time and space for rebuilding it". Internationally, he believes in the immediate cessation of **speculation** in **currencies** ("breaking down the function of money as commodity, and redirecting funds on **use-values**"), the cancellation of the debt of the **Global South** ("breaking the back of the value function" of money) and the redirecting the "vast reservoir of mainly phony value" to reparations and "ecologically sound development". He suggests the end of military aid and other forms of support to "**comprador elites** in the **South**" will eventually "lead to their collapse".^[13]

In terms of **trade**, Kovel advocates a 'World People's Trade Organization' (WPTO), "responsible to a confederation of popular bodies", in which "the degree of control over **trade** is... proportional to involvement with production", meaning that "farmers would have a special say over food trade" and so on. He posits that the WPTO should have an elected council that will oversee a reform of prices in favour of an 'Ecological Price' (EP) "determined by the difference between actual **use-values** and fully realized ones", thus having low **tariffs** for forms of ecological production like **organic agriculture**; he also envisages the high **tariffs** on non-ecological production providing subsidies to ecological production units.^[13]

The EP would also internalize the costs of current **externalities** (like **pollution**) and "would be set as a function of the distance traded", reducing the effects of long-distance transport like **carbon emissions** and increased **packaging** of goods. He thinks that this will provide a "standard of transformation" for non-ecological industries, like the **automobile industry**, thus spurring changes towards ecological production.^[13]

Ecological production

Eco-socialists pursue "**ecological** production" that, according to **Kovel**, goes beyond the **socialist** vision of the emancipation of labor to "the realization of **use-values** and the appropriation of intrinsic value". He envisions a form of production in which "the making of a thing becomes part of the thing made" so that, using a high quality meal as an analogy, "pleasure would obtain for the cooking of the meal" - thus activities "reserved as hobbies under capitalism" would "compose the fabric of everyday life" under eco-socialism.^[13]

This, for Kovel, is achieved if labor is "freely chosen and developed... with a fully realized **use-value**" achieved by a "negation" of **exchange-value**, and he exemplifies the

Food Not Bombs project for adopting this. He believes that the notion of “mutual recognition... for the process as well as the product” will avoid **exploitation** and **hierarchy**. With production allowing humanity to “live more directly and receptively embedded in **nature**”, Kovel predicts that “a reorientation of human need” will occur that recognises **ecological** limits and sees **technology** as “fully participant in the life of **eco-systems**”, thus removing it from profit-making exercises.^[13]

In the course on an Eco-socialist revolution, writers like Kovel advocate the a “rapid conversion to ecosocialist production” for all enterprises, followed by “restoring **ecosystemic** integrity to the workplace” through steps like workers ownership. He then believes that the new enterprises can build “socially developed plans” of production for societal needs, such as efficient light-rail transport components. At the same time, Kovel argues for the transformation of essential but, under capitalism, non-productive labour, such as child care, into productive labour, “thereby giving reproductive labour a status equivalent to productive labour”.^[13]

During such a transition, he believes that income should be guaranteed and that money will still be used under “new conditions of value... according to use and to the degree to which ecosystem integrity is developed and advanced by any particular production”. Within this structure, Kovel asserts that markets and will become unnecessary – although “market phenomena” in personal exchanges and other small instances might be adopted – and communities and elected assemblies will democratically decide on the allocation of resources.^[13] Istvan Meszaros believes that such “genuinely planned and self-managed (as opposed to bureaucratically planned from above) productive activities” are essential if eco-socialism is to meet its “fundamental objectives”.^[73]

Eco-socialists are quick to assert that their focus on “production” does not mean that there will be an increase in production and labor under Eco-socialism. Kovel thinks that the emancipation of labor and the realization of **use-value** will allow “the spheres of work and culture to be reintegrated”. He cites the example of **Paraguayan Indian** communities (organised by **Jesuits**) in the eighteenth century who made sure that all community members learned musical instruments, and had labourers take musical instruments to the fields and takes turns playing music or harvesting.^[13]

Commons, property and 'usufruct'

Most eco-socialists, including Guha and Martinez-Alier, echo subsistence eco-feminists like Vandana Shiva when they argue for the restoration of **commons** land over **private property**. They blame **ecological** degradation on the inclination to short-term, profit-inspired decisions inherent within a **market** system. For them, **privatization** of land strips people of their local communal resources

in the name of creating markets for **neo-liberal globalisation**, which benefits a minority. In their view, successful **commons** systems have been set up around the world throughout history to manage areas cooperatively, based on long-term needs and **sustainability** instead of short-term profit.^[12]

Many eco-socialists focus on a modified version of the notion of ‘**Usufruct**’ to replace capitalist private **property** arrangements. As a legal term, **Usufruct** refers to the legal right to use and derive profit or benefit from **property** that belongs to another person, as long as the property is not damaged. According to eco-socialists like Kovel, a modern interpretation of the idea is “where one uses, enjoys – and through that, improves – another’s property”, as its **Latin** etymology “condenses the two meanings of use – as in **use-value**, and enjoyment – and as in the gratification expressed in freely associated labour”. The idea, according to Kovel, has roots in the **Code of Hammurabi** and was first mentioned in **Roman law** “where it applied to ambiguities between masters and slaves with respect to property”; it also features in **Islamic Sharia law**, **Aztec law** and the **Napoleonic Code**.^[13]

Crucially for eco-socialists, Marx mentioned the idea when he stated that human beings are no more than the planet’s “usufructaries, and, like *boni patres familias*, they must hand it down to succeeding generations in an improved condition”.^[19] Kovel and others have taken on this reading, asserting that, in an eco-socialist society, “everyone will have... rights of use and ownership over those means of production necessary to express the creativity of human nature”, namely “a place of one’s own” to decorate to personal taste, some personal possessions, the body and its attendant sexual and **reproductive rights**.^[13]

However, Kovel sees **property** as “self-contradictory” because individuals emerge “in a tissue of social relations” and “nested circles”, with the self at the centre and extended circles where “issues of sharing arise from early childhood on”. He believes that “the full self is enhanced more by giving than by taking” and that eco-socialism is realized when material possessions weigh “lightly” upon the self – thus restoration of **use-value** allows things to be taken “concretely and sensuously” but “lightly, since things are enjoyed for themselves and not as buttresses for a shaky ego”.^[13]

This, for Kovel, reverses what Marxists see as the **commodity fetishism** and atomization of individuals (through the “unappeasable craving” for “having and excluding others from having”) under capitalism. Under eco-socialism, he therefore believes that enhancement of **use-value** will lead to differentiated ownership between the individual and the collective, where there are “distinct limits on the amount of **property** individuals control” and no-one can take control of resources that “would permit the alienation of **means of production** from another”. He then hopes that the “hubris” of the notion of “ownership of the planet” will be replaced with **usufruct**.^[13]

Non-violence

Most eco-socialists are involved in peace and antiwar movements, and eco-socialist writers, like Kovel, generally believe that “violence is the rupturing of ecosystems” and is therefore “deeply contrary to ecosocialist values”. Kovel believes that revolutionary movements must prepare for post-revolutionary violence from counter-revolutionary sources by “prior development of the democratic sphere” within the movement, because “to the degree that people are capable of self-government, so will they turn away from violence and retribution” for “a self-governed people cannot be pushed around by any alien government”. It is therefore essential, in Kovel’s view, that the revolution “takes place in” or spreads quickly to the United States, which “is capital’s gendarme and will crush any serious threat”, and that revolutionaries reject the death penalty and retribution against former opponents or counter-revolutionaries.^[13]

0.18.9 Criticisms of eco-socialism

While in many ways the criticisms of eco-socialism combine the traditional criticisms of both socialism and Green politics, there are unique critiques of eco-socialism, which are largely from within the traditional Socialist or Green movements themselves, along with conservative criticisms.

Some socialists are critical of the word 'eco-socialism'. David Reilly, who questions whether his argument is improved by the use of an “exotic word”, argues instead that the “real socialism” is “also a green or 'eco'” one that you get to “by dint of struggle”.^[74] Other socialists, like Paul Hampton of the Alliance for Workers’ Liberty (a British third camp socialist party), see eco-socialism as “classless ecology”, wherein eco-socialists have “given up on the working class” as the privileged agent of struggle by “borrowing bits from Marx but missing the locus of Marxist politics”.^[75]

Writing in *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, Doug Boucher, Peter Caplan, David Schwartzman and Jane Zara criticise eco-socialists in general (and Joel Kovel in particular) for a deterministic “catastrophism” that overlooks “the countervailing tendencies of both popular struggles and the efforts of capitalist governments to rationalize the system” and the “accomplishments of the labor movement” that “demonstrate that despite the interests and desires of capitalists, progress toward social justice is possible”. They argue that an ecological socialism must be “built on hope, not fear”.^[76]

Conservatives have criticised the perceived opportunism of left-wing groups who have increased their focus on green issues since the fall of Communism. Fred L. Smith Jr., President of the Competitive Enterprise Institute think-tank, exemplifies the conservative critique of left Greens, attacking the “pantheism” of the Green move-

ment and conflating “eco-paganism” with eco-socialism. Like many conservative critics, Smith uses the term ‘eco-socialism’ to attack non-socialist environmentalists for advocating restrictions on the free market, although he does recognise and condemn the influence of socialist ideals on many in the Green movement who reject private property, and instead advocates market-based solutions to ecological problems. He nevertheless wrongly claims that eco-socialists endorse “the Malthusian view of the relationship between man and nature”, and states that Al Gore, a former Democratic Party Vice President of the United States and now a climate change campaigner, is an eco-socialist, despite the fact that Gore has never used this term and is not recognised as such by other followers of either Green politics or socialism.^[77]

Some environmentalists and conservationists have criticised eco-socialism from within the Green movement. In a review of Joel Kovel’s *The Enemy of Nature*, David M. Johns criticises eco-socialism for not offering “suggestions about near term conservation policy” and focusing exclusively on long-term societal transformation. Johns believes that species extinction “started much earlier” than capitalism and suggests that eco-socialism neglects the fact that an ecological society will need to transcend the destructiveness found in “all large-scale societies”.^[78] The very tendency that Kovel himself attacks among capitalists and traditional leftists who attempt to reduce nature to “linear” human models.^[13] Johns questions whether non-hierarchical social systems can provide for billions of people, and criticises eco-socialists for neglecting issues of population pressure. Furthermore, Johns describes Kovel’s argument that human hierarchy is founded on raiding to steal women as “archaic”.

0.18.10 List of eco-socialists

- Elmar Altvater
- Ian Angus
- Rudolph Bahro
- John Bellamy Foster
- Murray Bookchin
- Walt Brown
- Barry Commoner
- Ramachandra Guha
- Donna Haraway
- Joan Herrera i Torres
- Joel Kovel
- Enrique Leff
- Michael Löwy

- Caroline Lucas
- Elizabeth May
- David McReynolds
- Chico Mendes
- William Morris
- James O'Connor (academic)
- David Orton
- Raúl Romeva
- Manuel Sacristán
- Ariel Salleh
- Joan Saura
- Jill Stein
- Alan Thornett
- Derek Wall
- Peter Tatchell
- Gerrard Winstanley

0.18.11 See also

- Agrarian socialism
- Anarcho-primitivism
- Anti-capitalism
- Anti-globalization movement
- Diggers movement
- Eco-capitalism
- Eco-communalism
- Ecological democracy
- Ecological economics
- Environmental justice
- Green anarchism
- Green left
- Green libertarianism
- Green politics and parties
- Marxist philosophy of nature
- Radical environmentalism
- Social ecology
- Veganarchism

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- y de la armonía de los individuos con el entorno natural. Muchos han visto en Thoreau a uno de los precursores del ecologismo y del anarquismo primitivista representado en la actualidad por John Zerzan. Para George Woodcock, esta actitud puede estar también motivada por una cierta idea de resistencia al progreso y de rechazo al materialismo creciente que caracteriza la sociedad norteamericana de mediados de siglo XIX.”“LA INSUMISIÓN VOLUNTARIA. EL ANARQUISMO INDIVIDUALISTA ESPAÑOL DURANTE LA DICTADURA Y LA SEGUNDA REPÚBLICA (1923-1938)” by Xavier Diez Archived 26 May 2006 at the Wayback Machine.
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0.18.13 External links

- *An ecosocialist manifesto* by Joel Kovel and Michael Lowy on *Ozleft*
- The Ecosocialist International Network
- Capitalism, Nature, Socialism (CNS) (Journal).

0.19 Platformism

Platformism is a tendency (or organized school of thought) within the anarchist movement. It stresses the need for tightly organized anarchist organizations that are able to influence working class and peasant movements.

“Platformist” groups reject the model of Leninist vanguardism. They aim, instead, to “make anarchist ideas the leading ideas within the class struggle”.^[1] The four main principles by which an anarchist organisation should operate, according to *Platformists*, are ideological unity, tactical unity, collective responsibility, and federalism.

In general, platformist groups aim to win the widest possible influence for anarchist ideas and methods in the working class and peasantry—like *especifismo* groups, platformists orient towards the working class, rather than to the far-left. This usually entails a willingness to work in single-issue campaigns, trade unionism and community groups, and to fight for immediate reforms while linking this to a project of building popular consciousness and organisation. They therefore reject approaches that they believe will prevent this, such as insurrectionist anarchism, as well as “views that dismiss activity in the unions” or that dismiss anti-imperialist movements.^[2]

The name “Platformist” derives from the 1926 *Organisational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)*.^[3] This was published by the Group of Russian Anarchists Abroad, in their journal *Dielo Truda* (“Workers’ Cause” in Russian).

The group, which consisted of exiled Russian anarchist veterans of the 1917 October Revolution (notably Nestor Makhno who played a leading role in the anarchist revolution in Ukraine of 1918–1921), based the *Platform* on their experiences of the revolution, and the eventual victory of the Bolsheviks over the anarchists and other groups. The *Platform* attempted to address and explain the anarchist movement’s failures during the Russian Revolution outside of Ukraine.

The document drew praise and criticism from anarchists worldwide and sparked a major debate within the anarchist movement.^[4]

Today “Platformism” is an important current in international anarchism. Around thirty platformist and *especifista* organisations are linked together in the *Anarkismo.net* project, including groups from Africa, Latin America, North America and Europe.^[2] At least in terms of the number of affiliated organisations (if not in actual membership in some countries),^[5] the Anarkismo network is larger than other anarchist international bodies, like the synthesist^[6] International of Anarchist Federations and the anarcho-syndicalist International Workers’ Association. It is not, however, a formal “international” and has no intention of competing with these other formations.

0.19.1 Organisational ideas

The *Platform* describes four key organisational features which distinguish platformism:

- **Tactical unity** — “A common tactical line in the movement is of decisive importance for the existence of the organisation and the whole movement: it avoids the disastrous effect of several tactics opposing each other; it concentrates the forces of the movement; and gives them a common direction leading to a fixed objective”.^[7]
- **Theoretical unity** — “Theory represents the force which directs the activity of persons and organisations along a defined path towards a determined goal. Naturally it should be common to all the persons and organisations adhering to the General Union. All activity by the General Union, both overall and in its details, should be in perfect concord with the theoretical principles professed by the union”.^[8]
- **Collective Responsibility** — “The practice of acting on one’s personal responsibility should be decisively condemned and rejected in the ranks of the anarchist movement. The areas of revolutionary life, social and political, are above all profoundly collective by nature. Social revolutionary activity in these areas cannot be based on the personal responsibility of individual militants”.^[9]
- **Federalism** — “Against centralism, anarchism has always professed and defended the principle of federalism, which reconciles the independence and initiative of individuals and the organisation with service to the common cause”.^[10]

The *Platform* argues that “[w]e have vital need of an organisation which, having attracted most of the participants in the anarchist movement, would establish a common tactical and political line for anarchism and thereby serve as a guide for the whole movement”. Unity, in short, meant unity of ideas and actions, as opposed to unity on the basis of the anarchist label.

0.19.2 Publication history

The *Organisational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)* was written in 1926 by the “Group of Russian Anarchists Abroad”, a group of exiled Russian and Ukrainian anarchists in France who published the *Dielo Truda* journal. The pamphlet is an analysis of basic anarchist beliefs, a vision of an anarchist society, and recommendations as to how an anarchist organisation should be structured.

0.19.3 Antecedents of the *Platform*

The authors of the *Platform* insisted that its basic ideas were not new, but had a long anarchist pedigree. Platformism is not, therefore, a revision away from classical anarchism, or a new approach, but a “restatement” of existing positions.^[4]

They cited Peter Kropotkin arguing that “the formation of an anarchist organisation in Russia, far from being prejudicial to the common revolutionary task, on the contrary it is desirable and useful to the very greatest degree” and argued that Nikolai Bakunin's “aspirations concerning organisations, as well as his activity” in the First International, “give us every right to view him as an active partisan of just such an organisation”. Indeed, “practically all active anarchist militants fought against all dispersed activity, and desired an anarchist movement welded by unity of ends and means.”^[11]

0.19.4 Problems caused by poor translations

The *Platform* used to be known in English as the *Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists*, a result of its having been translated from the French edition popularized in the early 1970s. Alexandre Skirda, in his book *Facing the Enemy: A history of Anarchist Organization from Proudhon to May 1968* (p. 131), attributes much of the controversy about the *Platform* to the original 1926 French translation made by its opponent Voline. Later translations to French have corrected some of the mistranslations and the latest English translation, made directly from the Russian original, reflects this.

0.19.5 Other terms

Some platformist organisations today are unhappy with the designation, often preferring to use descriptions such as “anarchist communist”, “social anarchist”, “libertarian communist/socialist” or even *especifista*. Most agree that the 1926 *Platform* was sorely lacking in certain areas, and point out that it was a draft document, never intended to be adopted in its original form. The Italian Federation of Anarchist Communists (FdCA), for example, do not insist on the principle of “tactical unity”, which according to them is impossible to achieve over a large area, preferring instead “tactical homogeneity”.^[12]

0.19.6 The *Platform* today

Today there are organisations inspired by the *Platform* in many countries, including:

- the Workers Solidarity Movement in Ireland,

- Black Rose Anarchist Federation/Federación Anarquista Rosa Negra (BRRN)^[13] in the United States,
- Common Cause^[14] in Ontario, Canada,
- the Federación Comunista Libertaria (FCL) and Organización Comunista Libertaria (OCL) in Chile,
- the Federación Anarco-Comunista de Argentina (FACA) and Línea Anarco-Comunista (LAC) in Argentina,
- the Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchici (FdCA) in Italy,
- the Coordenação Anarquista Brasileira (CAB) in Brazil,
- Unión Socialista Libertaria in Peru,
- the Organisation Communiste Libertaire and Alternative Libertaire in France,
- the Alianza de los Comunistas Libertarios (ACL) in Mexico,
- the Melbourne Anarchist Communist Group (MACG) and Sydney Anarchist Communist Trajectory (SACT) in Australia,
- Motmakt^[15] in Norway,
- Libertære Socialister^[16] in Denmark,
- Collective Action in the UK,
- the Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front^[17] (ZACF) in South Africa, and
- the Revolutionary Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists by the name of N.I. Makhno (RKAS), which is an international anarcho-syndicalist, platformist confederation with sections and individual members in Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Germany, Latvia, Bulgaria and Israel.

Organisations inspired by the *Platform* were also among the founders of the now-defunct International Libertarian Solidarity network and its successor, the Anarkismo network; which is run collaboratively by roughly 30 platformist and *especifista* organisations around the world.

0.19.7 Criticisms

The *Platform* attracted strong criticism from some sectors on the anarchist movement of the time, including some of the most influential anarchists such as Voline, Errico Malatesta, Luigi Fabbri, Camillo Berneri, Max Nettlau, and Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, and Gregori Maximoff.^[18]

0.19.8 The “synthesist” alternative

As an alternative to platformism Voline and Sébastien Faure proposed *synthesist anarchist* federations,^[19] which they envisioned to form under the principles of *anarchism without adjectives*.^[20]

In place of the *Platform*’s stress on tight political and organisational unity, the “synthesist” approach argued for a far looser organization that would maximise numbers i.e. a *big tent* approach. Platformists view such organisations as weak despite their numbers, as the lack of common views means an inability to undertake common actions—defeating the purpose of a common organisation.^[4]

0.19.9 Malatesta’s shift to “agreement” with collective responsibility

While such criticisms indicated a direct rejection of the *Platform*’s proposals, others seem to have arisen from misunderstandings.

Notably, Malatesta initially believed that the *Platform* was “typically authoritarian”, and “far from helping to bring about the victory of anarchist communism, to which they aspire, could only falsify the anarchist spirit and lead to consequences that go against their intentions”.^[21]

However, after further correspondence with Makhno—and after seeing a platformist group in formation—Malatesta concluded that he was actually in agreement with the positions of the *Platform*, but had been confused by the language they had used:

But all this is perhaps only a question of words.

In my reply to Makhno I already said: “It may be that, by the term collective responsibility, you mean the agreement and solidarity that must exist among the members of an association. And if that is so, your expression would, in my opinion, amount to an improper use of language, and therefore, being only a question of words, we would be closer to understanding each other.”

And now, reading what the comrades of the 18e say, I find myself more or less in agreement with their way of conceiving the anarchist organisation (being very far from the authoritarian spirit which the “Platform” seemed to reveal) and I confirm my belief that behind the linguistic differences really lie identical positions.^[22]

0.19.10 See also

- Synthesis anarchism, Voline’s and Sébastien Faure’s response to platformism

0.19.11 References

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- [6] “Most national sections of the International Anarchist Federation (IFA) are good examples of successful federations which are heavily influenced by “synthesis” ideas (such as the French and Italian federations).” “J.3.2 What are “synthesis” federations?” in *An Anarchist FAQ*
- [7] From section on Tactical Unity in *The Platform*
- [8] From section on theoretical unity in *The Platform*
- [9] From section on Collective responsibility in *The Platform*
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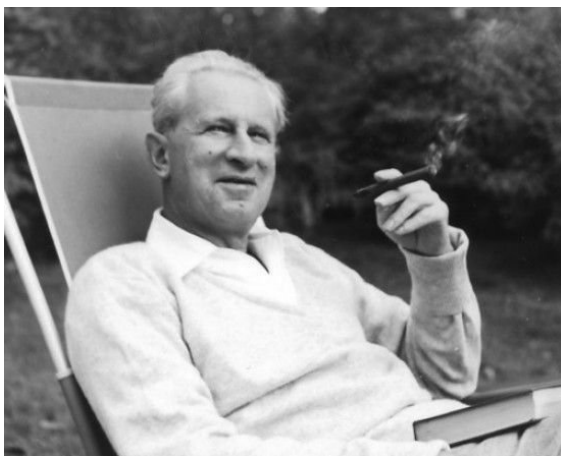
0.19.12 External links

- **Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)** The most accurate translation of the platform in English
- **Anarchism and the Platformist Tradition** An Archive of Writings on the Platformist Tradition within Anarchism, including relevant material by Bakunin.
- **Manifesto of The Libertarian Communists** Written in 1953 by Georges Fontenis for the *Federation Communiste Libertaire of France*. It is one of the key texts of this current.
- **A Guide to the Platform** based on the older translation
- **Towards a Fresh Revolution** Written by the Friends of Durruti group following the **Spanish Civil War**, this text is arguably one of the most important Platformist texts ever written. It reaffirms the early calls from the Russian comrades for tactical and theoretical unity, and better organizational practices, and sheds light on the errors in organization during the Spanish Civil War.
- **Anarkismo.net** - Multilingual anarchist news site run by over 30 platformist and especifist organisations on five continents
- **About the Platform** by Errico Malatesta and Nestor Makhno

0.20 New Left

For other uses, see **New Left (disambiguation)**.

The **New Left** was a broad political movement mainly



Herbert Marcuse, associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory, is celebrated as the “Father of the New Left”.^[1]

in the 1960s and 1970s consisting of educators, agitators

and others who sought to implement a broad range of reforms on issues such as **civil rights**, **gay rights**, **abortion**, **gender roles**, and **drugs**,^[2] in contrast to earlier leftist or **Marxist** movements that had taken a more **vanguardist** approach to **social justice** and focused mostly on **labor unionization** and questions of **social class**.^{[3][4]} Sections of the New Left rejected involvement with the **labor movement** and Marxism’s historical theory of **class struggle**,^[5] although others gravitated to variants of Marxism like **Maoism**. In the United States, the movement was associated with the **hippie** movement and anti-war college-campus protest movements including the **Free Speech Movement**.

0.20.1 Historical origins

The origins of the New Left have been traced to several factors. Prominently, the confused response of the **Communist Party of the USA** and the **Communist Party of Great Britain** to the **Hungarian Revolution of 1956** led some **Marxist** intellectuals to develop a more democratic approach to politics, opposed to what they saw as the centralised and authoritarian politics of the pre-war leftist parties. Those Communists who became disillusioned with the Communist Parties due to their authoritarian character eventually formed the “new left”, first among dissenting Communist Party intellectuals and campus groups in the United Kingdom, and later alongside campus radicalism in the United States and elsewhere.^[6] The term “nouvelle gauche” was already current in France in the 1950s, associated with *France Observateur*, and its editor **Claude Bourdet**, who attempted to form a third position, between the dominant **Stalinist** and **social democratic** tendencies of the left, and the two Cold War blocs. It was from this French “new left” that the “First New Left” of Britain borrowed the term.^[7]

The German-Jewish critical theorist **Herbert Marcuse** is referred to as the “Father of the New Left”. He rejected the theory of class struggle and the Marxist concern with labor. According to **Leszek Kołakowski**, Marcuse argued that since “all questions of material existence have been solved, moral commands and prohibitions are no longer relevant”. He regarded the realization of man’s erotic nature as the true liberation of humanity, which inspired the utopias of **Jerry Rubin** and others.^[8] Another prominent New Left thinker, **Ernst Bloch**, believed that socialism would prove the means for all human beings to become immortal and eventually create God.^[9]

The writings of sociologist **C. Wright Mills**, who popularized the term New Left in a 1960 open letter,^[10] would also give great inspiration to the movement. Mills’ biographer, Daniel Geary, writes that his writings had a “particularly significant impact on New Left social movements of the 1960s.”^[11]

0.20.2 Latin America

Many Latin American thinkers argued that the United States used Latin American countries as “peripheral economies” at the expense of Latin American society and economic development, which many saw as an extension of **neo-colonialism** and **neo-imperialism**.^[12] This shift in thinking led to a surge of dialogue related to how Latin America could assert its social and economic independence from the United States. Many scholars argued that a shift to socialism could help liberate Latin America from this conflict.

The **New Left** emerged in Latin America, a group which sought to go beyond existing **Marxist-Leninist** efforts at achieving economic equality and democracy to include social reform and address issues unique to Latin America such as racial and ethnic equality, indigenous rights and environmental issues.^[13] Notable New Left movements in Latin America include the **Cuban Revolution** of 1959, the victory of the **Sandinista** revolution in Nicaragua of 1979, the **Partido de los Trabajadores** (Worker's Party) government in Porto Alegre of 1990, among others.

0.20.3 Britain

As a result of Nikita Khrushchev's Secret Speech denouncing Joseph Stalin many abandoned the **Communist Party of Great Britain** (CPGB) and began to rethink its orthodox **Marxism**. Some joined various Trotskyist groupings or the **Labour Party**.^[14]

The Marxist historians E. P. Thompson and John Saville of the **Communist Party Historians Group** published a dissenting journal within the CPGB called *Reasoner*. Refusing to discontinue the publication at the behest of the CPGB, the two were suspended from party membership and relaunched the journal as *The New Reasoner* in the summer of 1957.

Thompson was especially important in bringing the concept of a “New Left” to the United Kingdom in the Summer of 1959 with a *New Reasoner* lead essay, in which he described

“...[A] generation which never looked upon the **Soviet Union** as a weak but heroic Workers’ State; but rather as the nation of the **Great Purges** and **Stalingrad**, of Stalin’s **Byzantine Birthday** and of Khrushchev’s **Secret Speech**; as the vast military and industrial power which repressed the **Hungarian rising** and threw the first **sputniks** into space....

“A generation nourished on *1984* and *Animal Farm*, which enters politics at the extreme point of disillusion where the middle-aged begin to get out. The young people...are enthusiastic enough. But their enthusiasm is

not for the Party, or the Movement, or the established Political Leaders. They do not mean to give their enthusiasm cheaply away to any routine machine. They expect the politicians to do their best to trick or betray them.... They prefer the amateur organisation and amateurish platforms of the **Nuclear Disarmament Campaign** to the method and manner of the left wing professional.... They judge with the critical eyes of the first generation of the Nuclear Age.”^[15]

Later that year, Saville published a piece in the same journal which identified the emergence of the British New Left as a response to the increasing political irrelevance of socialists inside and outside the Labour Party during the 1950s, which he saw as being the result of a failure by the established left to come to grips with the political changes that had come to pass internationally after World War II and with the **post-World War II economic expansion** and the socio-economic legacy of the **Attlee ministry**:

“The most important single reason for the miserable performance of the Left in this past decade is the simple fact of its intellectual collapse in the face of full employment and the welfare state at home, and of a new world situation abroad. The Left in domestic matters has produced nothing of substance to offset the most important book of the decade - Crosland’s “The Future of Socialism” - a brilliant restatement of Fabian ideas in contemporary terms. We have made no sustained critique of the economics of capitalism in the 1950’s, and our vision of a socialist society has changed hardly at all since the days of Keir Hardie. Certainly a minority has begun to recognise our deficiencies in the most recent years, and there is no doubt that the seeds which have already been sown will bring an increasing harvest as we move along the sixties. But we still have a long way to go, and there are far too many timeless militants for whom the mixture is the same as before.”^[16]

In 1960, *The New Reasoner* merged with the *Universities and Left Review* to form the *New Left Review*. These journals attempted to synthesise a theoretical position of a **Marxist revisionism**, **humanist**, **socialist Marxism**, departing from **orthodox Marxist** theory. This publishing effort made the ideas of culturally oriented theorists available to an undergraduate reading audience.

In this early period, many on the New Left were involved in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), formed in 1957. According to **Robin Blackburn**, “The decline of CND by late 1961, however, deprived the New Left of much of its momentum as a movement, and uncertainties and divisions within the Board of the journal

led to the transfer of the Review to a younger and less experienced group in 1962.”^[17]

Under the long-standing editorial leadership of Perry Anderson, the *New Left Review* popularised the Frankfurt School, Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser and other forms of Marxism.^[18] Other periodicals like *Socialist Register*, started in 1964, and *Radical Philosophy*, started in 1972, have also been associated with the New Left, and published a range of important writings in this field.

As the campus orientation of the American New Left became clear in the mid to late 1960s, the student sections of the British New Left began taking action. The London School of Economics became a key site of British student militancy.^[19] The influence of protests against the Vietnam War and of the May 1968 events in France were also felt strongly throughout the British New Left. Some within the British New Left joined the International Socialists, which later became Socialist Workers Party while others became involved with groups such as the International Marxist Group.^[20] The politics of the British New Left can be contrasted with Solidarity, which continued to focus primarily on industrial issues.^[21]

Another significant figure in the British New Left was Stuart Hall, a black cultural theorist in Britain. He was the founding editor of the *New Left Review* in 1960.

The *New Left Review*, in an obituary following Hall's death in February 2014, wrote “His exemplary investigations came close to inventing a new field of study, 'cultural studies'; in his vision, the new discipline was profoundly political in inspiration and radically interdisciplinary in character.”^[22]

Numerous Black British scholars attributed their interest in cultural studies to Hall, including Paul Gilroy, Angela McRobbie, Isaac Julien, and John Akomfrah. In the words of Indian literary theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Academics worldwide could not think 'Black Britain' before Stuart Hall. And in Britain the impact of Cultural Studies went beyond the confines of the academy.”^[23]

Among Hall's New Left works were the *May Day Manifesto*, which reflected a “growing disillusionment on the left with what the authors argued to be the surrendering of socialist principles by the Labour Party.”^[24] and *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order*, which contemporary book reviewer John Horton described as “nothing less than an analysis of how the British state is managing the current 'crisis of hegemony'”^[25]

0.20.4 United States

In the United States, the “New Left” was the name loosely associated with liberal, radical, Marxist political movements that took place during the 1960s, primarily among college students. At the core of this was the Students for a

Democratic Society (SDS).^[26] The New Left can be defined as “a loosely organized, mostly white student movement that advocated for democracy, civil rights, and various types of university reforms, and protested against the Vietnam war”.^[27]

The term “New Left” was popularised in the United States in an open letter written in 1960 by sociologist C. Wright Mills (1916–62) entitled *Letter to the New Left*.^[28] Mills argued for a new leftist ideology, moving away from the traditional (“Old Left”) focus on labor issues, into a broader focus towards issues such as opposing alienation, anomie, and authoritarianism. Mills argued for a shift from traditional leftism, toward the values of the counterculture, and emphasized an international perspective on the movement.^[29] According to David Burner, C. Wright Mills claimed that the proletariat (collectively the working-class referencing Marxism) were no longer the revolutionary force; the new agents of revolutionary change were young intellectuals around the world.^[30]

A student protest called the Free Speech Movement took place during the 1964–1965 academic year on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley under the informal leadership of students Mario Savio, Brian Turner, Bettina Aptheker, Steve Weissman, Art Goldberg, Jackie Goldberg, and others. In protests unprecedented in this scope at the time, students insisted that the university administration lift the ban of on-campus political activities and acknowledge the students' right to free speech and academic freedom. In particular, on 2 December 1964 on the steps of Sproul Hall, Mario Savio gave a famous speech: “But we're a bunch of raw materials that don't mean to be—have any process upon us. Don't mean to be made into any product! Don't mean—Don't mean to end up being bought by some clients of the University, be they the government, be they industry, be they organized labor, be they anyone! We're human beings!...There's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious—makes you so sick at heart—that you can't take part. You can't even passively take part. And you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all.”^[31]

The New Left opposed what it saw as the prevailing authority structures in society, which it termed “The Establishment”, and those who rejected this authority became known as “anti-Establishment”. The New Left did not seek to recruit industrial workers, but rather concentrated on a social activist approach to organization, convinced that they could be the source for a better kind of social revolution.

The New Left in the United States also included anarchist, countercultural, and hippie-related radical groups such as the Yippies (who were led by Abbie Hoffman), The

Diggers,^[32] Up Against the Wall Motherfuckers, and the White Panther Party. By late 1966, the Diggers opened free stores which simply gave away their stock, provided free food, distributed free drugs, gave away money, organized free music concerts, and performed works of political art.^[33] The Diggers took their name from the original English Diggers led by Gerrard Winstanley^[34] and sought to create a mini-society free of money and capitalism.^[35] On the other hand, the Yippies employed theatrical gestures, such as advancing a pig ("Pigasus the Immortal") as a candidate for President in 1968, to mock the social status quo.^[36] They have been described as a highly theatrical, anti-authoritarian, and anarchist^[37] youth movement of "symbolic politics".^[38] According to ABC News, "The group was known for street theater pranks and was once referred to as the 'Groucho Marxists'."^[39] Many of the "old school" political left either ignored or denounced them.

Many New Left thinkers in the United States were influenced by the Vietnam War and the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Some in the U.S. New Left argued that since the Soviet Union could no longer be considered the world center for proletarian revolution, new revolutionary Communist thinkers had to be substituted in its place, such as Mao Zedong, Ho Chi Minh and Fidel Castro.^[40] Todd Gitlin in *The Whole World Is Watching* in describing the movement's influences stated, "The New Left, again, refused the self-discipline of explicit programmatic statement until too late—until, that is, the Marxist-Leninist sects filled the vacuum with dogmas, with clarity on the cheap."^[41]

Isserman (2001) reports that the New Left "came to use the word 'liberal' as a political epithet".^[42] Historian Richard Ellis (1998) says that the SDS's search for their own identity "increasingly meant rejecting, even demonizing, liberalism."^[43] As Wolfe (2010) notes, "no one hated liberals more than leftists".^[44]

Other elements of the U.S. New Left were anarchist and looked to libertarian socialist traditions of American radicalism, the Industrial Workers of the World and union militancy. This group coalesced around the historical journal *Radical America*. American Autonomist Marxism was also a child of this stream, for instance in the thought of Harry Cleaver. Murray Bookchin was also part of the anarchist stream of the New Left, as were the Yippies.^[45]

The U.S. New Left drew inspiration from black radicalism, particularly the Black Power movement and the more explicitly Maoist and militant Black Panther Party. The Panthers in turn influenced other similar militant groups, like the Young Lords, the Brown Berets and the American Indian Movement. The New Left was also inspired by Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Students immersed themselves into poor communities building up support with the locals.^[46] The New Left sought to be a broad based, grass roots movement.^[47]

The Vietnam war conducted by liberal President Lyndon B. Johnson was a special target across the worldwide New Left. Johnson and his top officials became unwelcome on American campuses. The anti-war movement escalated the rhetorical heat, as violence broke out on both sides. The climax came at the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

The New Left also accommodated the rebirth of feminism.^[48] As the original leaders of the New Left were largely white men, women reacted to the lack of progressive gender politics with their own social intellectual movement.^[49] The New Left was also marked by the invention of the modern environmentalist movement, which clashed with the Old Left's disregard for the environment in favor of preserving the jobs of union workers. Environmentalism also gave rise to various other social justice movements such as the environmental justice movement, which aims to prevent the toxification of the environment of minority and disadvantaged communities.^[3]

By 1968, however, the New Left coalition began to split. The anti-war Democratic presidential nomination campaign of Kennedy and McCarthy brought the central issue of the New Left into the mainstream liberal establishment. The 1972 nomination of George McGovern further highlighted the new influence of Liberal protest movements within the Democratic establishment. Increasingly, feminist and gay rights groups became important parts of the Democratic coalition, thus satisfying many of the same constituencies that were previously unserved by the mainstream parties.^[2] This institutionalization took away all but the most radical members of the New Left. The remaining radical core of the SDS, dissatisfied with the pace of change, incorporated violent tendencies towards social transformation. After 1969, the Weathermen, a surviving faction of SDS, attempted to launch a guerrilla war in an incident known as the "Days of Rage". Finally, in 1970 three members of the Weathermen blew themselves up in a Greenwich Village brownstone trying to make a bomb out of a stick of dynamite and an alarm clock.^[50] Port Huron Statement participant Jack Newfield wrote in 1971 that "in its Weathermen, Panther and Yippee incarnations, [the New Left] seems anti-democratic, terroristic, dogmatic, stoned on rhetoric and badly disconnected from everyday reality".^[51] In contrast, the more moderate groups associated with the New Left increasingly became central players in the Democratic Party and thus in mainstream American politics.

1960s counterculture and the hippie movement

Main articles: Counterculture of the 1960s and Hippies

The hippie subculture was originally a youth movement that arose in the United States during the mid-1960s and spread to other countries around the world. The word 'hippie' came from *hipster*, and was initially used to describe beatniks who had moved into New York City's



Abbie Hoffman, leader of the countercultural protest group the Yippies

Greenwich Village and San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district. The origins of the terms *hip* and *hep* are uncertain, though by the 1940s both had become part of African American jive slang and meant "sophisticated; currently fashionable; fully up-to-date".^{[52][53][54][55]} The Beats adopted the term *hip*, and early hippies inherited the language and countercultural values of the Beat Generation and mimicked some of the then current values of the British Mod scene. Hippies created their own communities, listened to psychedelic rock, embraced the sexual revolution, and some used drugs such as cannabis, LSD, and psilocybin mushrooms to explore altered states of consciousness.

The Yippies, who were seen as an offshoot of the hippie movements parodying as a political party, came to national attention during their celebration of the 1968 spring equinox, when some 3,000 of them took over Grand Central Terminal in New York, resulting in 61 arrests. The Yippies, especially their leaders Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, became notorious for their theatrics, such as trying to levitate the Pentagon at the October 1967 war protest, and such slogans as "Rise up and abandon the creeping meatball!" Their stated intention to protest the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August, including nominating their own candidate, "Lyndon Pigasus Pig" (an actual pig), was also widely publicized in the media at this time.^[56] In Cam-

bridge, hippies congregated each Sunday for a large "be-in" at Cambridge Park with swarms of drummers and those beginning the Women's Movement. In the United States the Hippie movement started to be seen as part of the "New Left" which was associated with anti-war college campus protest movements.^[2]

Students for a Democratic Society Main article: [Students for a Democratic Society \(1960 organization\)](#)

The organization that really came to symbolize the core of the New Left was the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). By 1962, the SDS had emerged as the most important of the new campus radical groups; soon it would be regarded as virtually synonymous with the "New Left".^[57] In 1962, Tom Hayden wrote its founding document, the Port Huron Statement,^[58] which issued a call for "participatory democracy" based on non-violent civil disobedience. This was the idea that individual citizens could help make 'those social decisions determining the quality and direction' of their lives.^[46] The SDS marshalled anti-war, pro-civil rights and free speech concerns on campuses, and brought together liberals and more revolutionary leftists.



A demonstrator offers a flower to military police at an anti-Vietnam War protest in Arlington, Virginia, 21 October 1967

The SDS became the leading organization of the anti-war movement on college campuses during the Vietnam War. As the war escalated the membership of the SDS also increased greatly as more people were willing to scrutinise political decisions in moral terms.^{[59]:170} During the course of the war, the people became increasingly militant. As opposition to the war grew stronger, the SDS became a nationally prominent political organization, with opposing the war an overriding concern that overshadowed many of the original issues that had inspired SDS. In 1967, the old statement in Port Huron was abandoned for a new call for action,^{[59]:172} which would inevitably lead to the destruction of the SDS.

In 1968 and 1969, as its radicalism reached a fever pitch, the SDS began to split under the strain of internal dissension and increasing turn towards Maoism. Along with adherents known as the New Communist Movement,

some extremist illegal factions also emerged, such as the *Weather Underground* organization.

The SDS suffered the difficulty of wanting to change the world while 'freeing life in the here and now.' This caused confusion between short-term and long-term goals. The sudden growth due to the successful rallies against the Vietnam War meant there were more people wanting action to end the Vietnam war, whereas the original New Left had wanted to focus on critical reflection.^[60] In the end, it was the anti-war sentiment that dominated the SDS.^{[59]:183}

0.20.5 Continental European New Left

Main article: *Protests of 1968*

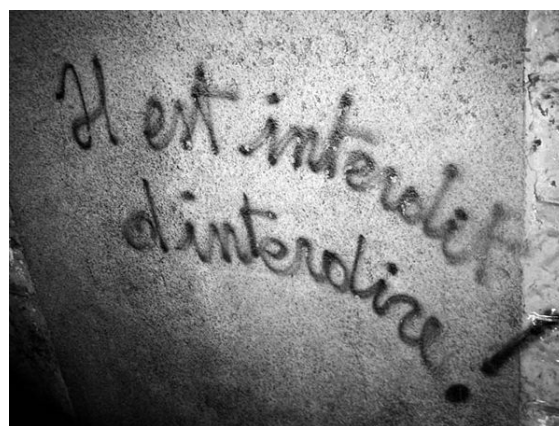
The European New Left appeared first in West Germany, which became a prototype for European student radicals.^[61] German students protesting against the Vietnam war often wore discarded US military uniforms, and they made influential contacts with dissident GIs—draftes who did not like the war either.^[62]

In Europe *Provo* was a Dutch counterculture movement in the mid-1960s that focused on provoking violent responses from authorities using non-violent bait. One manifestation of this was the French general strike that took place in Paris in May 1968, which nearly toppled the French government. In France the *Situationist International* reached the apex of its creative output and influence in 1967 and 1968, with the former marking the publication of the two most significant texts of the situationist movement, *The Society of the Spectacle* by Guy Debord and *The Revolution of Everyday Life* by Raoul Vaneigem. The expressed writing and political theory of these texts, along with other situationist publications, proved greatly influential in shaping the ideas behind the May 1968 insurrections in France; quotes, phrases, and slogans from situationist texts and publications were ubiquitous on posters and graffiti throughout France during the uprisings.^[63] Another was the German student movement of the 1960s. *Kommune 1* or *K1* was the first politically motivated commune in Germany. It was created on January 12, 1967, in West Berlin and finally dissolved in November 1969. During its entire existence, *Kommune 1* was infamous for its bizarre staged events that fluctuated between satire and provocation. These events served as inspiration for the "Sponti" movement and other left-ist groups. In the late summer of 1968, the commune moved into a deserted factory on Stephanstraße in order to reorient. This second phase of *Kommune 1* was characterized by sex, music, and drugs. All of a sudden, the commune was receiving visitors from all over the world, among them *Jimi Hendrix*, who turned up one morning in the bedroom of *Kommune 1*.^[64] The underground was a countercultural movement in the United Kingdom linked to the underground culture in the United States and as-

sociated with the hippie phenomenon. Its primary focus was around *Ladbroke Grove* and *Notting Hill* in London. It generated its own magazines and newspapers, bands, clubs and alternative lifestyle, associated with cannabis and LSD use and a strong socio-political revolutionary agenda to create an alternative society. The counterculture movement took hold in Western Europe, with London, Amsterdam, Paris, Rome and West Berlin rivaling San Francisco and New York as counterculture centers.

The *Prague Spring* was legitimised by the Czechoslovak government as a socialist reform movement. The 1968 events in the Czechoslovakia were driven forward by industrial workers, and were explicitly theorized by active Czechoslovak unionists as a revolution for workers' control.

The student activism of the New Left came to a head around the world in 1968. The May 1968 protests in France temporarily shut down the city of Paris, while the German student movement did the same in Bonn. Universities were simultaneously occupied in May in Paris, in the Columbia University protests of 1968, and in Japanese student strikes. Shortly thereafter, Swedish students occupied a building at Stockholm University. However, all of these protests were shut down by police authorities without achieving their goals, which caused the influence of the student movement to lapse in the 1970s.



May 1968 slogan. Paris. "It is forbidden to forbid."

While the *Autonomia* in Italy have been called New Left, it is more appropriate to see them as the result of traditional, industrially oriented, communism re-theorising its ideas and methods. Unlike most of the New Left, *Autonomia* had a strong blue-collar arm, active in regularly occupying factories.

The *Provos* were a Dutch countercultural movement of mostly young people with anarchist influences.

The New Left in Japan began by occupying college campuses for several years in the 1960s. After 1970, they splintered into several freedom fighter groups including the United Red Army and the Japanese Red Army. They also developed the political ideology of

Anti-Japaneseism.

The **Workers' Party** (*Partido dos Trabalhadores* – PT) is considered the main organization to emerge from the New Left in Brazil. According to Manuel Larrabure, “rather than taking the path of the old Latin American left, in the form of the guerrilla movement, or the Stalinist party”, PT decided to try something new, while being aided by CUT and other social movements. Its challenge was to “combine the institutions of liberal democracy with popular participation by communities and movements”. PT, however, has been criticized for its “strategic alliances” with the right-wing after Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva was elected president of Brazil. The party has distanced itself from social movements and youth organizations and for many it seems the PT's model of a new left is reaching its limits.^[65]

0.20.6 Inspirations and influences

- Theodor Adorno
- Francesc Pi i Margall
- Federica Montseny
- Albert Camus
- Guy Debord
- Frantz Fanon
- Allen Ginsberg
- Emma Goldman
- Paul Goodman
- André Gorz
- Che Guevara
- Aldous Huxley
- Peter Kropotkin
- R. D. Laing
- Henri Lefebvre
- Ho Chi Minh
- Vladimir Lenin
- Claude Levi-Strauss
- Rosa Luxemburg
- Herbert Marcuse
- C Wright Mills
- Bertrand Russell
- Jean-Paul Sartre

- Leon Trotsky
- Malcolm X
- Mao Zedong
- Emma Bonino
- Norberto Bobbio
- Marco Pannella
- Mahatma Gandhi
- Rabindranath Tagore
- Frida Kahlo
- Petra Kelly

0.20.7 Key figures

- Stew Albert
- Bill Ayers
- Rudolf Bahro
- Charles Bettelheim
- Stokely Carmichael
- Noam Chomsky
- Daniel Cohn-Bendit
- Raewyn Connell
- Angela Davis
- Régis Debray
- Rudi Dutschke
- Deniz Gezmiş
- Tom Hayden
- Agnes Heller
- Abbie Hoffman
- Terry Irving
- Humphrey McQueen
- Tom Nairn
- Huey Newton
- Carl Oglesby
- Ronald Radosh
- Jerry Rubin
- Mark Rudd
- Mario Savio

- Bobby Seale
- Matthew Steen
- E.P. Thompson
- Raymond Williams
- Peter Worsley
- Ralph Miliband
- Perry Anderson
- Marshall Berman
- Alan Haber

0.20.8 Other associated people

- Tariq Ali
- Manuela Carmena
- José Mujica
- Howard Zinn
- César Chávez
- Christopher Hitchens
- Noam Chomsky
- David Dellinger
- Joschka Fischer^[66]
- Michel Foucault
- Norman Fruchter
- Karl Hess
- Gabriel Kolko^[67]
- William Mandel
- Stuart Macintyre^[68]
- A. J. Muste
- Nicos Poulantzas
- Charles A. Reich
- Richard Sennett
- Charles Taylor
- Robert Kurz

0.20.9 See also

- Chinese New Left
- New Left 95
- New Right
- Third World Socialism

0.20.10 References

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0.21 Social ecology

This article is about the social philosophy. For the academic field, see [social ecology \(academic field\)](#). For a model of integrated social and ecological system, see [Social ecological model](#).

Social Ecology is a critical social theory founded by [American anarchist](#) and [libertarian socialist](#) author [Murray Bookchin](#). Conceptualized as a critique of current social, political, and anti-ecological trends, it espouses a reconstructive, ecological, communitarian, and ethical approach to society. This version advocates a reconstructive and transformative outlook on social and environmental issues, and promotes a [directly democratic](#), confederal politics. As a body of ideas, social ecology envisions a moral economy that moves beyond scarcity and hierarchy, toward a world that reharmonizes human communities with the natural world, while celebrating diversity, creativity and freedom. Bookchin suggests that the roots of current ecological and social problems can be traced to hierarchical modes of social organization. Social ecologists claim that the systemic issue of hierarchy cannot be resisted by individual actions alone such as [ethical consumerism](#) but must be addressed by more nuanced ethical thinking and collective activity grounded in radically democratic ideals. The complexity of relationships between people and [nature](#) is emphasized, along with the importance of establishing more mutualistic social structures that take account of this.^[1]

0.21.1 Overview

Social ecology’s social component comes from its position that nearly all of the world’s ecological problems stem from social problems; with these social problems in turn arising from structures and relationships of dominating hierarchy. They argue that apart from those produced by natural catastrophes, the most serious ecological dislocations of the 20th and 21st centuries have as their cause economic, ethnic, cultural, and gender conflicts, among many others. Present ecological problems, social ecologists maintain, cannot be clearly understood, much less resolved, without resolutely dealing with problems within society.^[2]

Social ecology is associated with the ideas and works of Murray Bookchin, who had written on such matters from the 1950s until his death, and, from the 1960s, had combined these issues with revolutionary [social anarchism](#). His works include *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (1971), *Toward an Ecological Society* (1980), and *The Ecology of Freedom* (1982).

Social ecology locates the roots of the [ecological crisis](#) firmly in relations of hierarchy and domination between people. In the framework of social ecology, “the very notion of the domination of nature by man stems from the very real domination of human by human.”^[3] While the domination of nature is seen as a product of domination within [society](#), this domination only reaches crisis proportions under [capitalism](#). In the words of Bookchin:

The notion that man must dominate nature emerges directly from the domination of man by man... But it was not until organic community relation ... dissolved into market relationships that the planet itself was reduced to a resource for exploitation. This centuries-long tendency finds its most exacerbating development in modern capitalism. Owing to its inherently competitive nature, bourgeois society not only pits humans against each other, it also pits the mass of humanity against the natural world. Just as men are converted into commodities, so every aspect of nature is converted into a commodity, a resource to be manufactured and merchandised wantonly. ... The plundering of the human spirit by the market place is paralleled by the plundering of the earth by capital^[4]

While identifying himself within the anarchist tradition for most of his career, beginning in 1995, Bookchin became increasingly critical of anarchism, and in 1999 took a decisive stand against anarchist ideology. He had come to recognize social ecology as a genuinely new form of [libertarian socialism](#), and positioned its politics firmly in the framework of a political ideology which he called [Communalism](#).^[5]

0.21.2 See also

- Bahá'í Faith
- Biodiversity
- Conservation ethic
- Conservation movement
- Earth science
- Ecology
- Environmental movement
- Global warming
- *Laudato si*
- Natural environment
- Panarchy
- Polyteley
- Recycling
- School of Social Ecology
- Sustainability

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0.21.5 External links

- Institute for Social Ecology
- Transnational Institute of Social Ecology
- New Compass
- Libertarian Communist Library Murray Bookchin holdings
- Social Ecology London English study/action group exploring the philosophy of social ecology.

0.22 Syndicalism

Syndicalism is a proposed type of economic system, considered a replacement for capitalism. It suggests that workers, industries, and organisations be systematized into confederations or **syndicates**. It is “a system of economic organization in which industries are owned and managed by the workers”.^[1]

Its theory and practice is the advocacy of multiple co-operative productive units composed of specialists and representatives of workers in each field to negotiate and manage the economy.

For adherents, **labour unions** and labour training (see below) are the potential means of both overcoming economic **aristocracy** and running **society** in the interest of informed and skilled majorities, through **union democracy**. Industry in a syndicalist system would be run through **co-operative** confederations and **mutual aid**. Local syndicates may communicate with other syndicates through the **Bourse du Travail** (labour exchange) which would cooperatively determine distributions of **commodities**.

“Syndicalism” is also used to refer to the political movement (**praxis**) and the tactic of bringing about this social arrangement, typically expounded by **anarcho-syndicalism** and **De Leonism**. It aims to achieve a **general strike**, a workers’ outward refusal of their current modes of production, followed by organisation into federations of **trade unions**, such as the **CNT**. Throughout its history, the **reformist** section of syndicalism has been overshadowed by its revolutionary section, typified by the **Federación Anarquista Ibérica** section of the **CNT**.^[2]

0.22.1 Syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism

Syndicalism can be accurately divided into the purely economic-focused camp, exemplified by the Italian USI (Unione Sindacale Italiana) the largest Italian syndicalist union in 1920, taking part in the **Biennio Rosso**^[3] and

the anarcho-syndicalism of the CNT (national confederation of labour), taking both political and economic action, wishing to take control of both workplace and political life, while syndicalism has traditionally focused on the economic sector alone.^[4]

Although the terms *anarcho-syndicalism* and *revolutionary syndicalism* are often used interchangeably, the anarcho-syndicalist label was not widely used until the early 1920s (some credit *Sam Mainwaring* with coining the term). “The term ‘anarcho-syndicalist’ only came into wide use in 1921-1922 when it was applied polemically as a pejorative term by communists to any syndicalists [...] who opposed increased control of syndicalism by the communist parties”.^[5]

Traditionally the revolutionary political syndicalism of figures such as *Rudolph Rocker* (widely credited as the father of anarcho-syndicalism) has overshadowed the more reformist or economically-focused syndicalism.

Related theories include anarchism, socialism, national syndicalism, Marxism, Leninism and communism.

0.22.2 History

Sindicalisme/Sindicalismo is a *French/Spanish* word meaning “*trade unionism*”. More moderate versions of syndicalism were overshadowed in the early 20th century by revolutionary anarcho-syndicalism, which advocated, in addition to the abolition of capitalism, the abolition of the *state*, which was expected to be made obsolete by syndicalist economics. Anarcho-syndicalism was most powerful in *Spain* in and around the time of the *Spanish Civil War*, but also appeared in other parts of the world, such as in the US-based *Industrial Workers of the World* and the *Unione Sindacale Italiana* - the Italian Syndicalist Union.

The earliest expressions of syndicalist structure and methods were formulated in the *International Workingmen’s Association* or *First International*, particularly in the *Jura federation*. In 1895, the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (CGT) in *France* expressed fully the organisational structure and methods of revolutionary syndicalism influencing labour movements the world over. The CGT was modelled on the development of the *Bourse de Travail* (labour exchange), a workers’ central organisation which would encourage self-education and *mutual aid*, and facilitate communication with local workers’ syndicates. Through a *general strike*, workers would take control of industry and services and *self-manage* society and facilitate production and consumption through the labour exchanges. The *Charter of Amiens*, adopted by the CGT in 1906, represents a key text in the development of revolutionary syndicalism rejecting parliamentarianism and political action in favour of revolutionary class struggle. The *Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden* (SAC) (in Swedish the *Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation*), formed in 1910, are a notable example of an anarcho-syndicalist union influenced by the CGT.

Today, the SAC is one of the largest anarcho-syndicalist unions in the world in proportion to the population, with some strongholds in the public sector.

The *International Workers Association*, formed in 1922, is an international syndicalist federation of various labour unions from different countries. At its peak, the *International Workers Association* represented millions of workers and competed directly for the hearts and minds of the working class with social democratic unions and parties. The *Spanish Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* played a major role in the *Spanish labour movement*. It was also a decisive force in the *Spanish Civil War*, organising worker militias and facilitating the collectivisation of vast sections of the industrial, logistical, and communications infrastructure, principally in *Catalonia*. Another Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union, the *Confederación General del Trabajo de España*, is now the fourth largest union in Spain and the largest anarchist union with tens of thousands of members.

The *Industrial Workers of the World* (IWW), although explicitly “not” syndicalist,^[6] were informed by developments in the broader revolutionary syndicalist milieu at the turn of the twentieth-century. At its founding congress in 1905, influential members with strong anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist sympathies like *Thomas J. Hagerty*, *William Trautmann*, and *Lucy Parsons* contributed to the union’s overall revolutionary syndicalist orientation.^[7] *Lucy Parsons*, in particular, was a veteran anarchist union organiser in Chicago from a previous generation, having participated in the struggle for the 8-hour day in Chicago and subsequent series of events which came to be known as the *Haymarket Affair* in 1886.

An emphasis on *industrial* organisation was a distinguishing feature of syndicalism when it began to be identified as a distinct current at the beginning of the 20th century. Due to a still-tangible faith in the viability of the *state* socialist system, most *socialist* groups of that period emphasised the importance of *political action* through party organisations as a means of bringing about socialism; in syndicalism, trade unions are thus seen as simply a stepping stone to *common ownership*. Although all syndicalists emphasise industrial organisation, not all reject political action altogether. For example, *De Leonists* and some other *Industrial Unionists* advocate parallel organisation both politically and industrially, while recognising that trade unions are at a comparable disadvantage due to the *lobby* of business groups on *political leaders*. Syndicalism would historically gain most of its support in Italy, France and particularly Spain, where the *anarcho-syndicalist revolution* during the *Spanish civil war* resulted in the widespread implementation of anarchist and more broadly socialist organisational principles throughout various portions of the country for two to three years, primarily *Catalonia*, *Aragon*, *Andalusia*, and parts of the *Levante*. Much of Spain’s economy was put under worker control; in anarchist strongholds like *Catalonia*, the figure was as high as 75%. Their eventual defeat and *World War*

II led to the formerly prominent theory being repressed, as the three nations where it had the most power were now under fascist control. Support for Syndicalism never fully recovered to the height it enjoyed in the early 20th century.

0.22.3 See also

- Council communism
- International Anarchist Congress of Amsterdam (1907)
- National syndicalism
- Occupation of factories
- Sorelianism
- Soviet (council)
- Syndicalist Party
- Worker co-operative
- Fascism

0.22.4 Footnotes

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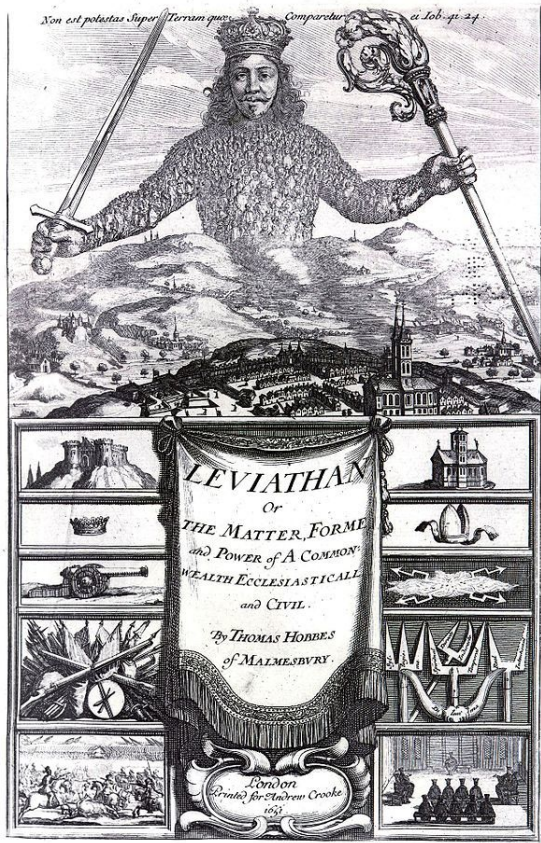
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0.22.6 External links

- The Association for Union Democracy
- AnarchoSyndicalism.net
- Rudolf Rocker, a major proponent of anarcho-syndicalism
- General Strikes, maps with locations where strikes have occurred; includes resource links
- Small history of the UGT in Catalonia Workers at the Center of Mataró and the 1888 Congress of the C / Talleres de Barcelona was born the UGT under the socialist ideals of people like Pablo Iglesias, Reoyo Toribio, Salvador Ferrer, and many others in the problems that the workers had of that century.
- Syndicalism's lessons. *Socialist Worker*, April 22, 2015.



The frontispiece of Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*

0.23 State (polity)

For other uses, see *State (disambiguation)*.

A **state** is a type of **polity** that is an organized **political community** living under a single **system of government**.^[1] States may or may not be **sovereign**. For instance, **federated states** are members of a **federal union**, and may have only partial sovereignty, but are, nonetheless, states.^[1] Some states are subject to external sovereignty or **hegemony**, in which ultimate **sovereignty** lies in another state.^[2] States that are sovereign are known as **sovereign states**.

The term “state” can also refer to the secular branches of government within a state,^[3] often as a manner of contrasting them with churches and **civilian institutions**.

Speakers of **American English** often use the terms *state* and *government* as **synonyms**,^[note 1] with both words referring to an organized political group that exercises **authority** over a particular territory.^[4]

Many human societies have been governed by states for millennia, but many have been **stateless societies**. Over time a variety of different forms developed, employing a variety of justifications of **legitimacy** for their existence (such as the **divine right of kings**, the theory of **social contract**, etc.). In the 21st century, the modern **nation-state** is the predominant form of state to which **people** are sub-

jected.

0.23.1 Definition issues

There is no academic **consensus** on the most appropriate definition of the state.^[5] The term “state” refers to a set of different, but interrelated and often overlapping, theories about a certain range of political **phenomena**.^[6] The act of defining the term can be seen as part of an ideological conflict, because different definitions lead to different theories of state function, and as a result validate different political strategies.^[7] According to Jeffrey and **Painter**, “if we define the ‘essence’ of the state in one place or era, we are liable to find that in another time or space something which is also understood to be a state has different ‘essential’ characteristics”.^[8]

The most commonly used definition is **Max Weber's**,^{[9][10][11][12][13]} which describes the state as a compulsory political organization with a **centralized government** that maintains a **monopoly of the legitimate use of force** within a certain territory.^{[14][15]} General categories of state institutions include administrative **bureaucracies**, **legal systems**, and **military or religious organizations**.^[16]

Another commonly accepted definition of the state is the one given at the **Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States** in 1933. It defined state as a space that possess the following : A permanent population, a defined territory and a government that is capable of maintaining effective control over the corresponding territory and of conducting International relations with other states.^[17]

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a state is “**a.** an organized political community under one **government**; a **commonwealth**; a **nation**. **b.** such a community forming part of a **federal republic**, esp the **United States of America**”.^[1]

Confounding the definition problem is that “state” and “government” are often used as synonyms in common conversation and even some academic discourse. According to this definition schema, the states are nonphysical persons of **international law**, governments are organizations of people.^[18] The relationship between a government and its state is one of representation and authorized agency.^[19]

Types of states

States may be classified as **sovereign** if they are not dependent on, or subject to any other power or state. Other states are subject to external **sovereignty** or **hegemony** where ultimate sovereignty lies in another state.^{[1][20]} Many states are **federated states** which participate in a federal union. A federated state is a territorial and constitutional community forming part of a **federation**.^[21] (Compare **confederacies** or **confederations** such as Switzerland.) Such states differ from **sovereign**

states in that they have transferred a portion of their sovereign powers to a federal government.^[1]

One can commonly and sometimes readily (but not necessarily usefully) classify states according to their apparent make-up or focus. The concept of the nation-state, theoretically or ideally co-terminous with a “nation”, became very popular by the 20th century in Europe, but occurred rarely elsewhere or at other times. In contrast, some states have sought to make a virtue of their multi-ethnic or multi-national character (Hapsburg Austria-Hungary, for example, or the Soviet Union), and have emphasised unifying characteristics such as autocracy, monarchical legitimacy, or ideology. Imperial states have sometimes promoted notions of racial superiority.^[22] Other states may bring ideas of commonality and inclusiveness to the fore: note the *res publica* of ancient Rome and the *Rzeczpospolita* of Poland-Lithuania which finds echoes in the modern-day republic. The concept of temple states centred on religious shrines occurs in some discussions of the ancient world.^[23] Relatively small city-states, once a relatively common and often successful form of polity in the days before folk worried about failed states,^[24] have become rarer and comparatively less prominent in modern times,^[25] although a number of them survive as federated states, like the present-day German city-states, or as otherwise autonomous entities with limited sovereignty, like Hong Kong, Gibraltar and Ceuta. To some extent, urban secession, the creation of a new city-state (sovereign or federated), continues to be discussed in the early 21st century in cities such as London.

The state and government

See also: Government

A state can be distinguished from a government. The government is the particular group of people, the administrative bureaucracy that controls the state apparatus at a given time.^{[26][27][28]} That is, governments are the means through which state power is employed. States are served by a continuous succession of different governments.^[28] States are immaterial and nonphysical social objects, whereas governments are groups of people with certain coercive powers.^[29]

Each successive government is composed of a specialized and privileged body of individuals, who monopolize political decision-making, and are separated by status and organization from the population as a whole. Their function is to enforce existing laws, legislate new ones, and arbitrate conflicts. In some societies, this group is a self-perpetuating or hereditary class. In other societies, such as democracies, the political roles remain, but there is frequent turnover of the people actually filling the positions.^[30]

States and nation-states

See also: Nation-state

States can also be distinguished from the concept of a “nation”, where “nation” refers to a cultural-political community of people.

The state and civil society

In the classical thought, the state was identified with both political society and civil society as a form of political community, while the modern thought distinguished the nation state as a political society from civil society as a form of economic society.^[31] Thus in the modern thought the state is contrasted with civil society.^{[32][33][34]}

The man versus the state

Antonio Gramsci believed that civil society is the primary locus of political activity because it is where all forms of “identity formation, ideological struggle, the activities of intellectuals, and the construction of hegemony take place.” and that civil society was the nexus connecting the economic and political sphere. Arising out of the collective actions of civil society is what Gramsci calls “political society”, which Gramsci differentiates from the notion of the state as a polity. He stated that politics was not a “one-way process of political management” but, rather, that the activities of civil organizations conditioned the activities of political parties and state institutions, and were conditioned by them in turn.^{[35][36]} Louis Althusser argued that civil organizations such as church, schools, and the family are part of an “ideological state apparatus” which complements the “repressive state apparatus” (such as police and military) in reproducing social relations.^{[37][38][39]}

Jürgen Habermas spoke of a public sphere that was distinct from both the economic and political sphere.^[40]

Given the role that many social groups have in the development of public policy, and the extensive connections between state bureaucracies and other institutions, it has become increasingly difficult to identify the boundaries of the state. Privatization, nationalization, and the creation of new regulatory bodies also change the boundaries of the state in relation to society. Often the nature of quasi-autonomous organizations is unclear, generating debate among political scientists on whether they are part of the state or civil society. Some political scientists thus prefer to speak of policy networks and decentralized governance in modern societies rather than of state bureaucracies and direct state control over policy.^[41]

0.23.2 Theories of state function

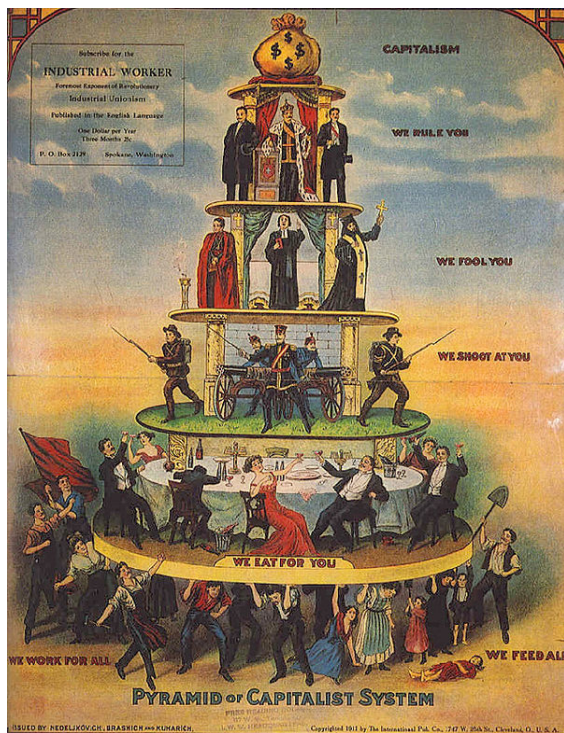
See also: [Corporatism](#) and [Elite theory](#)

Most political theories of the state can roughly be classified into two categories. The first are known as “liberal” or “conservative” theories, which treat [capitalism](#) as a given, and then concentrate on the function of states in capitalist society. These theories tend to see the state as a neutral entity separated from society and the economy. Marxist theories on the other hand, see politics as intimately tied in with economic relations, and emphasize the relation between economic power and [political power](#). They see the state as a partisan instrument that primarily serves the interests of the upper class.^[28]

Anarchist

Main article: [Anarchism](#)

[Anarchism](#) is a political philosophy which considers the



IWW poster "Pyramid of Capitalist System" (c. 1911), depicting an anti-capitalist perspective on statist/capitalist social structures

state immoral, unnecessary, and harmful and instead promotes a stateless society, or [anarchy](#).

Anarchists believe that the state is inherently an instrument of domination and repression, no matter who is in control of it. Anarchists note that the state possesses the monopoly on the legal use of violence. Unlike Marxists, anarchists believe that revolutionary seizure of state power should not be a political goal. They believe instead that the state apparatus should be completely dismantled,

and an alternative set of social relations created, which are not based on state power at all.^{[42][43]}

Various [Christian anarchists](#), such as [Jacques Ellul](#), have identified the State and [political power](#) as the [Beast](#) in the Book of Revelation.^{[44][45]}

Marxist perspective

Main article: [Marx's theory of the state](#)

[Marx](#) and [Engels](#) were clear in that the communist goal was a [classless society](#) in which the state would have "withered away".^[46] Their views are scattered throughout the [Marx/Engels Collected Works](#) and address past or the then extant state forms from an analytical or tactical viewpoint, not future social forms, speculation about which is generally anathema to groups considering themselves Marxist but who, not having conquered the existing state power(s) are not in the situation of supplying the institutional form of an actual society. To the extent that it makes sense, there is no single “Marxist theory of state”, but rather many different “Marxist” theories that have been developed by adherents of Marxism.^{[47][48][49]}

Marx's early writings portrayed the state as “parasitic”, built upon the superstructure of the economy, and working against the public interest. He also wrote that the state mirrors class relations in society in general, acts as a regulator and repressor of class struggle, and acts as a tool of political power and domination for the ruling class.^[50] The *Communist Manifesto* claimed that the state is nothing more than “a committee for managing the common affairs of the *bourgeoisie*.”^[47]

For Marxist theorists, the role of the non-socialist state is determined by its function in the global capitalist order. [Ralph Miliband](#) argued that the ruling class uses the state as its instrument to dominate society by virtue of the interpersonal ties between state officials and economic elites. For Miliband, the state is dominated by an elite that comes from the same background as the capitalist class. State officials therefore share the same interests as owners of capital and are linked to them through a wide array of social, economic, and political ties.^[51]

[Gramsci](#)'s theories of state emphasized that the state is only one of the institutions in society that helps maintain the [hegemony](#) of the ruling class, and that state power is bolstered by the [ideological domination](#) of the institutions of civil society, such as churches, schools, and mass media.^[52]

Pluralism

See also: [Polyarchy](#)

Pluralists view society as a collection of individuals and groups, who are competing for political power. They then view the state as a neutral body that simply enacts the will of whichever groups dominate the electoral process.^[53] Within the pluralist tradition, **Robert Dahl** developed the theory of the state as a neutral arena for contending interests or its agencies as simply another set of **interest groups**. With power competitively arranged in society, state policy is a product of recurrent bargaining. Although pluralism recognizes the existence of inequality, it asserts that all groups have an opportunity to pressure the state. The pluralist approach suggests that the modern democratic state's actions are the result of pressures applied by a variety of organized interests. Dahl called this kind of state a **polyarchy**.^[54]

Pluralism has been challenged on the ground that it is not supported by empirical evidence. Citing surveys showing that the large majority of people in high leadership positions are members of the wealthy upper class, critics of pluralism claim that the state serves the interests of the upper class rather than equitably serving the interests of all social groups.^{[55][56]}

Contemporary critical perspectives

Jürgen Habermas believed that the base-superstructure framework, used by many Marxist theorists to describe the relation between the state and the economy, was overly simplistic. He felt that the modern state plays a large role in structuring the economy, by regulating economic activity and being a large-scale economic consumer/producer, and through its redistributive **welfare state** activities. Because of the way these activities structure the economic framework, Habermas felt that the state cannot be looked at as passively responding to economic class interests.^{[57][58][59]}

Michel Foucault believed that modern political theory was too state-centric, saying "Maybe, after all, the state is no more than a composite reality and a mythologized abstraction, whose importance is a lot more limited than many of us think." He thought that political theory was focusing too much on abstract institutions, and not enough on the actual practices of government. In Foucault's opinion, the state had no essence. He believed that instead of trying to understand the activities of governments by analyzing the properties of the state (a reified abstraction), political theorists should be examining changes in the practice of government to understand changes in the nature of the state.^{[60][61][62]}

Heavily influenced by Gramsci, **Nicos Poulantzas**, a Greek **neo-Marxist** theorist argued that capitalist states do not always act on behalf of the ruling class, and when they do, it is not necessarily the case because state officials consciously strive to do so, but because the 'structural' position of the state is configured in such a way to ensure that the long-term interests of capital are always

dominant. Poulantzas' main contribution to the Marxist literature on the state was the concept of 'relative autonomy' of the state. While Poulantzas' work on 'state autonomy' has served to sharpen and specify a great deal of Marxist literature on the state, his own framework came under criticism for its '**structural functionalism**'.

State autonomy (institutionalism)

Main article: **New institutionalism**

State autonomy theorists believe that the state is an entity that is impervious to external social and economic influence, and has interests of its own.^[63]

"New institutionalist" writings on the state, such as the works of **Theda Skocpol**, suggest that state actors are to an important degree autonomous. In other words, state personnel have interests of their own, which they can and do pursue independently of (at times in conflict with) actors in society. Since the state controls the means of coercion, and given the dependence of many groups in civil society on the state for achieving any goals they may espouse, state personnel can to some extent impose their own preferences on civil society.^[64]

0.23.3 Theories of state legitimacy

Main article: **Legitimacy (political)**

See also: **Social contract** and **State of nature**

States generally rely on a claim to some form of **political legitimacy** in order to maintain domination over their subjects.^{[65][66][67]}

Divine right

Main article: **Divine right of kings**

The rise of the modern day state system was closely related to changes in political thought, especially concerning the changing understanding of legitimate state power and control. Early modern defenders of absolutism, such as **Thomas Hobbes** and **Jean Bodin** undermined the doctrine of the **divine right of kings** by arguing that the power of kings should be justified by reference to the people. Hobbes in particular went further to argue that political power should be justified with reference to the individual, not just to the people understood collectively. Both Hobbes and Bodin thought they were defending the power of kings, not advocating for democracy, but their arguments about the nature of sovereignty were fiercely resisted by more traditional defenders of the power of kings, such as **Sir Robert Filmer** in England, who thought that such defenses ultimately opened the way to more democratic claims.

Rational-legal authority

Main article: [Rational-legal authority](#)

Max Weber identified three main sources of political legitimacy in his works. The first, legitimacy based on traditional grounds is derived from a belief that things should be as they have been in the past, and that those who defend these traditions have a legitimate claim to power. The second, legitimacy based on charismatic leadership is devotion to a leader or group that is viewed as exceptionally heroic or virtuous. The third is [rational-legal authority](#), whereby legitimacy is derived from the belief that a certain group has been placed in power in a legal manner, and that their actions are justifiable according to a specific code of written laws. Weber believed that the modern state is characterized primarily by appeals to rational-legal authority.^{[68][69][70]}

0.23.4 Etymology

The word *state* and its cognates in some other European languages (*stato* in Italian, *estado* in Spanish, *état* in French, *Staat* in German) ultimately derive from the Latin word *status*, meaning “condition” or “status”.^[71]

With the revival of the [Roman law](#) in 14th-century Europe, this Latin term came to refer to the legal standing of persons (such as the various “[estates of the realm](#)” - noble, common, and clerical), and in particular the special status of the king. The word also had associations with Roman ideas (dating back to [Cicero](#)) about the “*status rei publicae*”, the “condition of public matters”. In time, the word lost its reference to particular social groups and became associated with the legal order of the entire society and the apparatus of its enforcement.^[72] [Romans had a strong background in customs making the laws that were installed being ideal to keeping order and upholding it overall for justice].^[73]

In English, “state” came about as a contraction of the word “estate”, which is similar to the [old French](#) *estat* and the modern [French](#) *état*, both of which signify that a person has status and therefore estate. The highest estates, generally those with the most wealth and social rank, were those that held power.^[65]

The early 16th-century works of [Machiavelli](#) (especially *The Prince*) played a central role in popularizing the use of the word “state” in something similar to its modern sense.^[74]

0.23.5 History

The earliest forms of the state emerged whenever it became possible to centralize power in a durable way. [Agriculture](#) and [writing](#) are almost everywhere associated with this process: agriculture because it allowed for the

emergence of a [social class](#) of people who did not have to spend most of their time providing for their own subsistence, and writing (or an equivalent of writing, like [Inca quipus](#)) because it made possible the centralization of vital information.^[75]

The first known states were created in [Ancient Egypt](#), [Mesopotamia](#), [India](#), [China](#), [Mesoamerica](#), the [Andes](#), and others, but it is only in relatively [modern times](#) that states have almost completely displaced alternative “[stateless](#)” forms of political organization of societies all over the [planet](#).^[76] Roving bands of [hunter-gatherers](#) and even fairly sizable and complex [tribal societies](#) based on [herding](#) or [agriculture](#) have existed without any full-time specialized state organization, and these “stateless” forms of political organization have in fact prevailed for all of the [prehistory](#) and much of the [history of the human species and civilization](#).^[76]

Initially states emerged over territories built by conquest in which one culture, one set of ideals and [one set of laws](#) have been imposed by force or threat over diverse [nations](#) by a [civilian](#) and [military bureaucracy](#).^[76] Currently, that is not always the case and there are [multinational states](#), [federated states](#) and [autonomous areas](#) within states.

Since the late 19th century, virtually the entirety of the world’s inhabitable land has been parcelled up into areas with more or less definite borders claimed by various states. Earlier, quite large land areas had been either unclaimed or uninhabited, or inhabited by [nomadic peoples](#) who were [not organised as states](#). However, even within present-day states there are vast areas of wilderness, like the [Amazon rainforest](#), which are uninhabited or inhabited solely or mostly by [indigenous people](#) (and some of them remain [uncontacted](#)). Also, there are states which do not hold de facto control over all of their claimed territory or where this control is challenged. Currently the international community comprises around 200 [sovereign states](#), the vast majority of which are represented in the [United Nations](#).

Pre-historic stateless societies

Main article: [Stateless societies](#)

For most of human history, people have lived in [stateless societies](#), characterized by a lack of concentrated authority, and the absence of large [inequalities](#) in economic and [political power](#).

The anthropologist [Tim Ingold](#) writes:

It is not enough to observe, in a now rather dated anthropological idiom, that [hunter gatherers](#) live in ‘stateless societies’, as though their social lives were somehow lacking or unfinished, waiting to be completed by the evolutionary development of a state apparatus.

Rather, the principal of their socialty, as Pierre Clastres has put it, is fundamentally *against* the state.^[77]

The Neolithic period

Main article: [Neolithic](#)

During the [Neolithic](#) period, human societies underwent major cultural and economic changes, including the development of [agriculture](#), the formation of sedentary societies and fixed settlements, increasing population densities, and the use of pottery and more complex tools.^{[78][79]}

Sedentary agriculture led to the development of [property rights](#), domestication of plants and animals, and larger family sizes. It also provided the basis for the centralized state form^[80] by producing a large surplus of food, which created a more complex [division of labor](#) by enabling people to specialize in tasks other than food production.^[81] Early states were characterized by highly stratified societies, with a privileged and wealthy ruling class that was subordinate to a [monarch](#). The ruling classes began to differentiate themselves through forms of architecture and other cultural practices that were different from those of the subordinate laboring classes.^[82]

In the past, it was suggested that the centralized state was developed to administer large public works systems (such as irrigation systems) and to regulate complex economies. However, modern archaeological and anthropological evidence does not support this thesis, pointing to the existence of several non-stratified and politically decentralized complex societies.^[83]

The state in ancient Eurasia

See also: [Mesopotamia](#), [Ancient Egypt](#), [Indus Valley Civilization](#), and [Government of the Han Dynasty](#)

[Mesopotamia](#) is generally considered to be the location of the earliest [civilization](#) or [complex society](#), meaning that it contained [cities](#), full-time [division of labor](#), social concentration of wealth into [capital](#), [unequal distribution of wealth](#), ruling classes, community ties based on residency rather than [kinship](#), long distance [trade](#), [monumental architecture](#), standardized forms of art and culture, writing, and [mathematics](#) and [science](#).^[84] It was the world's first literate civilization, and formed the first sets of written laws.^{[85][86]}

The state in classical antiquity

See also: [Athenian democracy](#) and [Roman Republic](#)

Although state-forms existed before the rise of the Ancient Greek empire, the Greeks were the first people



Painting of Roman Senators encircling Julius Caesar

known to have explicitly formulated a political philosophy of the state, and to have rationally analyzed political institutions. Prior to this, states were described and justified in terms of religious myths.^[87]

Several important political innovations of [classical antiquity](#) came from the [Greek city-states](#) and the [Roman Republic](#). The Greek city-states before the 4th century granted [citizenship](#) rights to their free population, and in [Athens](#) these rights were combined with a [directly democratic](#) form of government that was to have a long afterlife in political thought and history.

The feudal state

See also: [Feudalism](#) and [Middle Ages](#)

During Medieval times in Europe, the state was organized on the principle of [feudalism](#), and the relationship between [lord](#) and [vassal](#) became central to social organization. Feudalism led to the development of greater social hierarchies.^[88]

The formalization of the struggles over taxation between the monarch and other elements of society (especially the nobility and the cities) gave rise to what is now called the [Standestaat](#), or the state of Estates, characterized by parliaments in which key social groups negotiated with the king about legal and economic matters. These [estates of the realm](#) sometimes evolved in the direction of fully-fledged parliaments, but sometimes lost out in their struggles with the monarch, leading to greater centralization of lawmaking and military power in his hands. Beginning in the 15th century, this centralizing process gives rise to the [absolutist state](#).^[89]

The modern state

See also: [Bureaucracy](#), [Constitution](#), [Corporation](#), [Globalization](#), and [Neoliberalism](#)

Cultural and national homogenization figured prominently in the rise of the modern state system. Since the

absolutist period, states have largely been organized on a national basis. The concept of a national state, however, is not synonymous with nation state. Even in the most ethnically homogeneous societies there is not always a complete correspondence between state and nation, hence the active role often taken by the state to promote nationalism through emphasis on shared symbols and national identity.^[90]

0.23.6 See also

- Civilian control of the military
- International relations
- Rule of law
- Statism
- Warlordism

0.23.7 References

Notes

- [1] The two are especially synonymous when phrased as “the state” and “the government.” See “government” under List of words having different meanings in American and British English: A–L.
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- [2] For example, the Vichy France (1940-1944) officially referred to itself as *l'État français* (the French state).
- [3] anne (18 August 2014). “Anatomy of the State” (PDF). mises.org.
- [4] “state” (definition 5) and “government” (definitions 4, 5, and 6), *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 2015
- [5] Cudworth et al., 2007: p. 1
- [6] Barrow, 1993: pp. 9-10
- [7] Barrow, 1993: pp. 10-11
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- [21] *The Australian National Dictionary: Fourth Edition*, pg 1395. (2004) Canberra. ISBN 0-19-551771-7.
- [22] Compare *mission civilisatrice*, Japanese colonial empire.
- [23] For example: Pastor, Jack (2013) [1997]. “3: The Early Hellenistic Period”. *Land and Economy in Ancient Palestine*. London: Routledge. p. 32. ISBN 9781134722648. Retrieved 2017-02-14. The idea of Jerusalem as a temple state is an analogy to the temple states of Asia Minor and the Seleucid Empire, but it is an inappropriate analogy. [...] Rostovtzeff referred to Judea as a sort of temple state, notwithstanding his own definition that stipulates ownership of territory and state organization. [...] Hengel also claims that Judea was a temple state, ignoring his own evidence that the Ptolemies hardly would have tolerated such a situation.
- [24] Athens, Carthage, Rome, Novgorod, Pskov, Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfurt, Lübeck, Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Venice, Danzig, Fiume, Dubrovnik.
- [25] Vatican City, Monaco, Singapore.
- [26] Bealey, Frank, ed. (1999). “government”. *The Blackwell dictionary of political science: a user's guide to its terms*. Wiley-Blackwell. p. 147. ISBN 978-0-631-20695-8.
- [27] Sartwell, 2008: p. 25
- [28] Flint & Taylor, 2007: p. 137

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0.23.9 External links

0.24 Inclusive Democracy

Inclusive Democracy (ID) is a project that aims for direct democracy; economic democracy in a stateless, moneyless and marketless economy; self-management (democracy in the social realm); and ecological democracy.

The theoretical project of Inclusive Democracy—as distinguished from the political project on which the ID movement is based—emerged from the work of political philosopher, former academic and activist Takis Fotopoulos, in the book *Towards An Inclusive Democracy*, and was further developed by him and other writers in the journal *Democracy & Nature* and its successor *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*, an electronic journal published by the International Network for Inclusive Democracy.^[1] In other words, the theoretical project of ID is a project emerging in Political Philosophy and the History of ideas about social change (see e.g. Marxism, Social Ecology project, the autonomy project, the Inclusive Democracy project, etc.). On the other hand, the political project of ID (as any political project for social emancipation) is a project emerging in the History of social struggle (e.g. along socialist movement, autonomist movement, classical (direct) democracy movement, etc.).

According to Arran Gare, *Towards an Inclusive Democracy* "offers a powerful new interpretation of the history and destructive dynamics of the market and provides an inspiring new vision of the future in place of both neo-liberalism and existing forms of socialism".^[2] David Freeman argues that Fotopoulos' approach in that book "is not openly anarchism, yet anarchism seems the formal category within which he works, given his commitment to direct democracy, municipalism and abolition of state, money and market economy".^[3]

0.24.1 Conception of Inclusive Democracy

Fotopoulos describes Inclusive Democracy as "a new conception of democracy, which, using as a starting point the classical definition of it, expresses democracy in terms of direct political democracy, economic democracy (beyond the confines of the market economy and state planning), as well as democracy in the social realm and ecological democracy. In short, inclusive democracy is a form of social organisation which re-integrates society with economy, polity and nature. The concept of inclusive democracy is derived from a synthesis of two major historical traditions, the classical democratic and the socialist, although it also encompasses radical green, feminist, and liberation movements in the South".^[4]

The starting point of the ID project is that the world, at the beginning of the new millennium, faces a multi-dimensional crisis (economic, ecological, social, cultural and political), which is shown to be caused by the concentration of power in the hands of various elites. This is interpreted to be the outcome of the establishment, in the last few centuries, of the system of market economy (in the Polanyian sense),^[5] Representative democracy, and the related forms of hierarchical structure. Therefore, an inclusive democracy is seen not simply as a utopia, but perhaps as the only way out of the crisis, based on the equal distribution of power at all levels.

In this conception of democracy, the public realm includes not just the political realm, as is usual the practice in the republican or democratic project (Hannah Arendt, Cornelius Castoriadis, Murray Bookchin et al.),^{[6][7]} but also the economic, 'social' and ecological realms. The political realm is the sphere of political decision-making, the area in which political power is exercised. The economic realm is the sphere of economic decision-making, the area in which economic power is exercised with respect to the broad economic choices that any scarcity society has to make. The social realm is the sphere of decision-making in the workplace, the education place and any other economic or cultural institution which is a constituent element of a democratic society. The public realm could be extended to include the "ecological realm", which may be defined as the sphere of the relations between society and nature. Therefore, the public realm, in contrast to the private realm, includes any area of human activity in which decisions can be made collec-

tively and democratically.

According to these four realms, we may distinguish between four main constituent elements of an inclusive democracy: the political, the economic, 'democracy in the social realm' and the ecological. The first three elements form the institutional framework, which aims at the equal distribution of political, economic and social power respectively. In this sense, these elements define a system, which aims at the effective elimination of the domination of human being over human being. Similarly, ecological democracy is defined as the institutional framework, which aims to eliminate any human attempt to dominate the natural world, in other words, the system, which aims to reintegrate humans and nature.

0.24.2 Institutional framework

Political or direct democracy

The necessary condition for the establishment of a political democracy involves the creation of appropriate institutions, which secure an equal distribution of political power among all citizens. All political decisions (including those relating to the formation and execution of laws) are taken by the citizen body collectively and without representation. The citizen body of a particular geographical area consists of all residents beyond a certain age of maturity and irrespective of their gender, race, ethnic or cultural identity. The age of maturity is to be defined by the citizen body itself.

The sufficient condition for the reproduction of a political democracy refers to the citizens' level of democratic consciousness and, as David Gabbard & Karen Appleton point out, "the responsibility of cultivating the democratic consciousness requisite to this conception of citizenship falls to *paideia*"^[8] which involves not simply education but character development and a well-rounded knowledge and skills, i.e. the education of the individual as citizen, which alone can give substantive content to the public space. This is particularly so because democracy can only be grounded on the conscious choice of citizens for individual and collective autonomy. Thus it cannot be the outcome of any social, economic or natural "laws" or tendencies dialectically leading to it, let alone any divine or mystical dogmas and preconceptions. In this sense, neither representative democracy nor soviet democracy meet the conditions for political democracy, and are simply forms of political oligarchy, where political power is concentrated in the hands of various elites, i.e. professional politicians, and party bureaucrats respectively.

The basic unit of decision making in an inclusive democracy is the demotic assembly, i.e. the assembly of demos, the citizen body in a given geographical area which may encompass a town and the surrounding villages, or even neighbourhoods of large cities. This is very close to the concept of the 'urban village' proposed today by support-

ers of de-growth economics.^[9] However, apart from local decisions, many important decisions are to be made at the regional or confederal level. This is why, as *Serge Latouche* observes, the aim of Inclusive Democracy "presupposes a confederation of demoï" made up of small, homogenous units of around 30,000 people.^[10] Therefore, an inclusive democracy today can only take the form of a confederal democracy that is based on a network of administrative councils whose members or delegates are elected from popular face-to-face democratic assemblies in the various demoï. Thus, their role is purely administrative and practical, not one of policy-making like that of representatives in representative democracy.

The citizen body is advised by experts but it is the citizen body which functions as the ultimate decision-taker. Authority can be delegated to a segment of the citizen body to carry out specific duties, for example to serve as members of popular courts, or of regional and confederal councils. Such delegation is made, in principle, by lot, on a rotation basis, and is always recallable by the citizen body. Delegates to regional and confederal bodies should have specific mandates.

Finally, political or direct democracy implies a very different conception of citizenship than the usual liberal and socialist conceptions. In this conception, political activity is not a means to an end, but an end in itself so that one does not engage in political action simply to promote one's welfare but to realize the principles intrinsic to political life, such as freedom, equality and solidarity. This, in contrast to the liberal and social-democratic conceptions which adopt an 'instrumentalist' view of citizenship, i.e. a view which implies that citizenship entitles citizens with certain rights that they can exercise as means to the end of individual welfare.

Economic democracy and the role of an artificial market

The ID project introduced a very different conception from the usual one of *economic democracy*. According to the ID project, economic democracy is the authority of demos (community) in the economic sphere—which requires equal distribution of economic power. Therefore, all 'macro' economic decisions, namely, decisions concerning the running of the economy as a whole (overall level of production, consumption and investment, amounts of work and leisure implied, technologies to be used, etc.) are made by the citizen body collectively and without representation. However, "micro" economic decisions at the workplace or the household levels are made by the individual production or consumption unit through a proposed system of *vouchers*.

As with the case of direct democracy, economic democracy today is only feasible at the level of the confederated demoï. It involves the ownership and control of the means of production by the *demos*. This is radically dif-

ferent from the two main forms of concentration of economic power : capitalist and 'socialist' **growth** economy. It is also different from the various types of collectivist capitalism, such as **workers' control** and milder versions suggested by post-Keynesian social democrats. The demos, therefore, becomes the authentic unit of economic life.

For economic democracy to be feasible, three preconditions must be satisfied: Demotic **self-reliance**, demotic ownership of the means of production, and confederal allocation of resources.

- Demotic self-reliance is meant in terms of radical **decentralisation** and collective **self-sufficiency**, in the sense of relying on the demos' resources rather than in the sense of **autarky**.
- Demotic ownership of productive resources is a kind of ownership which leads to the politicisation of the economy, the real synthesis of economy and polity. This is so because economic decision making is carried out by the entire community, through the demotic assemblies, where people make the fundamental macro-economic decisions which affect the whole community, as citizens, rather than as vocationally oriented groups (e.g. workers, as e.g. in **Parecon**).^[11] At the same time, workers, apart from participating in the demotic decisions about the overall planning targets, would also participate (in the above broad sense of vocationally oriented groups) in their respective workplace assemblies, in a process of modifying/implementing the Democratic Plan and in running their own workplace.
- Confederal allocation of resources is required because, although self-reliance allows many decisions to be made at the community level, much remains to be decided at the regional/national/supra-national level. However, it is delegates (rather than representatives) with specific mandates from the demotic assemblies who are involved in a confederal demotic planning process which, in combination with the proposed system of vouchers, effects the allocation of resources in a confederal inclusive democracy.

A model of economic democracy, as an integral part of an inclusive democracy, is described in *Towards An Inclusive Democracy* (ch 6), the first book-length description of inclusive democracy. The main characteristic of the proposed model, which also differentiates it from socialist planning models like Parecon, is that it explicitly presupposes a stateless, money-less and market-less economy that precludes private accumulation of wealth and the institutionalisation of privileges for some sections of society, without relying on a mythical post-scarcity state of abundance, or sacrificing freedom of choice. The proposed system aims at satisfying the double aim of:

- (a) meeting the basic needs of all citizens—which requires that basic macro-economic decisions have to be made democratically, and
- (b) securing freedom of choice—which requires the individual to make important decisions affecting his/her own life (what work to do, what to consume etc.).

Therefore, the system consists of two basic elements:

- (1) democratic planning, which involves a feedback process between workplace assemblies, demotic assemblies and the confederal assembly, and
- (2) an **artificial market** using personal vouchers, which ensures **freedom of choice** but avoids the adverse effects of real markets. Although some have called this system "a form of money based on the **labour theory of value**",^[12] it is not a money model since vouchers cannot be used as a general medium of exchange and store of wealth.

Another distinguishing feature of ID is its distinction between basic and non-basic needs. Remuneration is according to need for basic needs, and according to effort for non-basic needs. ID is based on the principle that meeting basic needs is a fundamental human right which is guaranteed to all who are in a physical condition to offer a minimal amount of work. By contrast, Fotopoulos argues, Parecon follows the **socialdemocratic** rather than the **anarcho-communist** tradition and instead of proposing satisfaction according to need (as the ID project does) declares, first, that particular consumption needs such as health care or public parks will be free to all and, second, that as regards special needs, people will be able to make particular requests for need based consumption to be addressed case by case by others in the economy.^[13] In fact, Michael Albert explicitly states that what he calls 'norm four', i.e. 'remuneration according to each person's need' should be applied only in exceptional cases of basic needs and not to all needs defined as such by the citizens' assemblies, as the Inclusive Democracy project declares. Thus, as Albert stresses: "beyond economic justice, we have our compassion, to be applied via norm four where appropriate such as in cases of illness, catastrophe, incapacity and so on".^[14]

Artificial market Proposed within Inclusive Democracy as a solution to the problem of maintaining freedom of choice for the consumer within a marketless and moneyless economy, an artificial market operates in much the same way as traditional markets, but uses **labour vouchers** or personal credit in place of traditional money. Because of the use of a labour voucher system in consumption of goods and services, an economy using an artificial market would have no actual flow of money and thus the only kind

of market that could exist would be a market for commercial goods and services, eliminating capital markets and labour markets.

According to Takis Fotopoulos, an artificial market “secures real freedom of choice, without incurring the adverse effects associated with real markets”.^[15]

The idea of an artificial market was first proposed by the anarchist theorists **Pierre-Joseph Proudhon** and **Mikhail Bakunin** with their respective systems of **Mutualism** and **collectivist anarchism**, who suggested replacing traditional currency with a system of “labour-cheques” while still retaining basic market relations for goods and services.

The artificial market however is rarely advocated as the only element for the allocation of goods and services by its proponents, as most also support a form of directly democratic planning for non-commercial goods and vital resources, and in some cases regulation of the artificial market through planning also. In the ID’s system of allocation of resources, “the artificial market complements the envisaged direct democratic planning mechanism in the allocation of all goods and services on the basis of the crucial distinction introduced in this model between basic and nonbasic goods and services”.^[16]

According to Fotopoulos, “the allocation of economic resources is made first, on the basis of the citizens’ collective decisions, as expressed through the community and confederal plans, and second, on the basis of the citizens’ individual choices, as expressed through a voucher system”.^[17]

The proposed system of the artificial market aims at:

- (A) meeting the basic needs of all citizens, and
- (B) securing freedom of choice in a marketless, moneyless and stateless ‘scarcity–society’ which has not yet achieved universal autarky (self-sufficiency).^[15]

The former requires that basic macro–economic decisions have to be taken democratically, whereas the latter requires the individual to take important decisions affecting his/her own life (what work to do, what to consume, etc.). Both the macro–economic decisions and the individual citizens’ decisions are envisaged as being implemented through a combination of democratic planning and an artificial market. But, while in the ‘macro’ decisions the emphasis will be on planning, the opposite will be true as regards the individual decisions, where the emphasis will be on the artificial market.^[18]

Most artificial market proponents reject the traditional socialist adoption of the **labour theory of value** as they believe it cannot be used as the basis for allocating scarce resources. The reason given is that even if the labour theory of value can give a (partial) indication of availability of resources, it certainly cannot be used as a means to

express consumers’ preferences. Thus they feel that the labour theory of value cannot serve as the basis for an allocative system that aims at both meeting needs and, at the same time, securing consumer sovereignty and freedom of choice. Instead, the model proposed here is, in fact, a system of rationing, which is based on the revealed consumers’ preferences on the one hand, and resource availability on the other.^[19]

Advocates of **Participism** and **Parecon** in particular reject markets in all forms in favour of democratic participatory planning. While Parecon also uses **personal credit** in place of money, prices are set according to the direct requests of consumers in democratic “consumer councils” whose demands are relayed to economic **facilitation boards** who determine and set final prices based on a combination of **marginal utility** and **opportunity cost**. On the other hand, as Fotopoulos argues, “no kind of economic organisation based on planning alone, however democratic and decentralized it is, can secure real self-management and freedom of choice.”^[20]

Democracy in the social realm

An inclusive democracy is inconceivable unless it extends to the broader social realm to embrace the workplace, the household, the educational institution and indeed any economic or cultural institution, which constitutes an element of this realm. The equal distribution of power in these institutions and **self-management** are secured through the creation of assemblies of the people involved in each place of work or education (workers’ assemblies, student and teachers’ assemblies respectively) who make all important decisions about the functioning of these places, within the framework of the decisions taken by citizens’ democratic assemblies as regards the general aims of production, education and culture respectively. The assemblies are federated at the regional and confederal levels so that the confederal assemblies of workers, teachers, students and so on could be involved in a process of constant interaction with the citizens’ confederal assemblies to define society’s “general interest”.

A crucial issue with respect to democracy in the social realm is democratisation of the **household**. One possible solution is the removal of the divide between the household and the public realm. Thus, some feminist writers, particularly eco-feminists, glorify the *oikos* and its values as a substitute for the *polis* and its politics. This can be understood as an attempt to dissolve the public into the private. At the other extreme, some **Marxist feminists** attempt to remove the public/private divide by dissolving all private space into a singular public, a socialised or fraternal state sphere. Another possible solution is, taking for granted that the household belongs to the private realm, to ‘democratise’ it in the sense that household relationships should take on the characteristics of democratic relationships, and that the household should take a form which is consistent with the freedom of all its members.

But for the ID project, the issue is not the dissolution of the private/public realm divide. The real issue is how, maintaining and enhancing the **autonomy** of the two realms, such institutional arrangements are adopted that introduce democracy at the household and the social realm in general (workplace, educational establishment etcetera) and at the same time enhance the institutional arrangements of political and economic democracy. In this sense, an effective democracy is only conceivable if free time is equally distributed among all citizens, which requires ending the present hierarchical relations in the household, the workplace and elsewhere. Furthermore, democracy in the social realm, particularly in the household, requires institutional arrangements which recognise the character of the household as a need-satisfier and integrate the care and services that the household provides into the general scheme of needs satisfaction.^[21]

Ecological democracy

Steven Best writes,

in bold contrast to the limitations of the animal advocacy movement (AAM) and all other reformist causes, Takis Fotopoulos advances a broad view of human dynamics and social institutions, their impact on the earth, and the resulting consequences for society itself. Combining **anti-capitalist**, radical democracy, and ecological concerns in the concept of “ecological democracy,” Fotopoulos defines this notion as “the institutional framework which aims at the elimination of any human attempt to dominate the natural world, in other words, as the system which aims to reintegrate humans and Nature. This implies transcending the present ‘instrumentalist’ view of Nature, in which Nature is seen as an instrument for **growth**, within a process of endless concentration of power.”^[22]

Some critics of inclusive democracy ask what guarantees an inclusive democracy may offer in ensuring a better relationship of society to nature than the alternative systems of the market economy, or socialist statism. For example, David Pepper, an eco-socialist, pointed out “the ‘required’ ecological consensus among ecotopia’s inhabitants might not be ensured merely by establishing an **Athenian democracy** where all are educated and rational”.^[23] However, ID supporters counter-argue that this criticism represents a clear misconception of what democracy is about because,

if we see it as a process of social self-institution where there is no divinely or ‘objectively’ defined code of human conduct, such guarantees are by definition ruled out. Therefore, the replacement of the market economy

by a new institutional framework of inclusive democracy constitutes only the necessary condition for a harmonious relation between the natural and social worlds. The sufficient condition refers to the citizens’ level of ecological consciousness. Still, the radical change in the dominant social paradigm that would follow the institution of an inclusive democracy, combined with the decisive role that *paedeia* will play in an environmentally-friendly institutional framework, could reasonably be expected to lead to a radical change in the human attitude towards Nature.^[21]

Supporters also claim that ID’s institutional framework offers the best hope for a better human relationship to nature than could ever be achieved in a market economy, or one based on socialist statism. The factors supporting this view refer to all three elements of an inclusive democracy: political, economic and social.

Political democracy presupposes a radical decentralisation (physical or administrative) within a confederal society, which, by itself, should enhance its environmentally friendly character. Furthermore, political democracy would create a public space, a fact which would significantly reduce the appeal of **materialism** by providing a new meaning of life to fill the existential void that the present consumer society creates. Economic democracy replaces the dynamics of the capitalist market economy leading to growth per se with a new social dynamic aiming at the satisfaction of **demos’** needs. If the satisfaction of demotic needs does not depend, as at present, on the continuous expansion of production to cover the ‘needs’ that the market system itself creates and if society is reintegrated with the economy, then there is no reason why the present instrumentalist view of nature will continue conditioning human behaviour. Particularly so, since unlike socialist models which are ‘centralist’, the aim of production in an Inclusive Democracy is not economic growth, but the satisfaction of the basic needs of the community and those non-basic needs for which members of the community express a desire and are willing to work extra for. This implies a new definition of **economic efficiency**, based not on narrow techno-economic criteria of input minimisation/output maximisation as in socialist models like Parecon, but on criteria securing full coverage of the democratically defined basic needs of all citizens as well as of the non-basic needs they decide to meet, even if this involves a certain amount of **inefficiency** according to the orthodox economics criteria.

According to ID supporters, democracy in the social realm should be a decisive step in the creation of the sufficient condition for a harmonious nature-society relationship, as the phasing out of **patriarchal** relations in the household and hierarchical relations in general should create a new ethos of non-domination which would engulf both nature and society.

0.24.3 See also

- Anarchist economics
- Anarcho-syndicalism
- Collaborative e-democracy
- Libertarian municipalism
- Social justice

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0.24.6 External links

- [Inclusive Democracy website](#)

0.25 Communization

Communization (or **communisation** in British English) mainly refers to a contemporary communist theory in which there is a “mixing-up of insurrectionist anarchism, the communist ultra-left, post-autonomists, anti-political currents, groups like the Invisible Committee, as well as more explicitly ‘communizing’ currents, such as *Théorie Communiste*. Obviously at the heart of the word is communism and, as the shift to communization suggests, communism as a particular activity and process...”^[1] It is important to note the big differences in perception and usage. Some groups start out from an activist voluntarism (*Tiqun*, *Invisible Committee*), while others derive communization as an historical and social result emerging out of capital’s development over the last decades (*Endnotes*, *Théorie Communiste*). *Endnotes* totally distinguishes itself from the mixing of all sorts of meanings of the word *communization* and explicitly refers to the different reception in the Anglophone world as opposed to the original French milieu from which it emerged as a critique.^[2]

0.25.1 Theory

In communist political theory, communization is the process of abolishing ownership of the means of production, which, in societies dominated by the capitalist mode of production, are owned by individual capitalists, states, or other collective bodies. In some versions of communist theory, communization is understood as the transfer of ownership from private capitalist hands to the collective hands of producers, whether in the form of co-

operative enterprises or communes, or through the mediation of a state or federation of workers' councils on a local, national, or global scale. In other programs, such as those of some left communists (e.g. Gilles Dauvé, Jacques Camatte), autonomists (e.g., Mario Tronti), and libertarian communists (e.g. Peter Kropotkin), communization means the abolition of property itself along with any state-like institutions claiming to represent a given subset of humanity. In these accounts humanity as a whole, directly or indirectly, would take over the task of the production of goods for use (and not for exchange). People would then have free access to those goods rather than exchanging labor for money, and distribution would take place according to the maxim "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

0.25.2 History

Origins and precedents

The term communization was not used by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, but it was employed in the above sense by early Marxists.^[3] Communization in this sense is equivalent to the establishment of the "higher phase" of communist society described by Marx in *Critique of the Gotha Program*. In *State and Revolution*, Vladimir Lenin referred to the lower phase, organized around the principle "To each according to his contribution", as "socialism", with the higher phase as "complete communism", or "full communism", as Joseph Stalin would later put it. Thus both Lenin and Stalin gave grounds for thinking of communization not as a transition from capitalism to communism, but as a transition from socialism to communism, a transition that would take place after the working class had seized power, and which may last a long time (in the 1930s Stalin conceived of "full communism" as still a long way off^[4]). Thus the interval between the two transitions came to be seen as a necessary "period of transition" between the workers' revolution and communism.

It appears that within so-called "communist" regimes the demand for "communization" was associated with an impatience with the "period of transition" and a desire to break with the remaining capitalist forms (e.g., money, wage labor) still in place in those regimes.^[5] Those pushing for a move toward "communizing" in this sense were typically denounced as "ultra-left", with their suggestions dismissed as impractical and utopian, but they were able to point to the historical examples of the Paris Commune and the Spanish Revolution, where more radical measures of popular collectivization had been taken than in the Russian and Chinese revolutions, as well as to the German Revolution of 1918–19 and the Italian councils movement of 1919–1920 in which the historic "left communist" tendencies had been formed.

Late 20th century

The association of the term communization with a self-identified "ultra-left" was cemented in France in the 1970s, where it came to describe not a transition to a higher phase of communism but a vision of communist revolution itself. Thus the 1975 Pamphlet *A World Without Money* states: "insurrection and communisation are intimately linked. There would not be first a period of insurrection and then later, thanks to this insurrection, the transformation of social reality. The insurrectional process derives its force from communisation itself." This vision was opposed to the statism and vanguardism of the Leninist conception of revolution, but it also identified the perceived failure of the Russian and Chinese revolutions (carried out on the Leninist politico-military model) with the insufficiency of measures taken to abolish capitalist social relations (e.g. lack of direct collectivization, persistence of monetary relations). It also reversed the supposed "pragmatism" of the Leninist focus on the state, arguing that the final goal of the "withering away of the state" could hardly be advanced by the seizure of state power and the establishment of a "revolutionary" bureaucracy, but that the most practical means to achieve this goal would rather be the abolition of the capitalist relations (money, capital, wages) on which state power depends. Thus La Banquise writes:

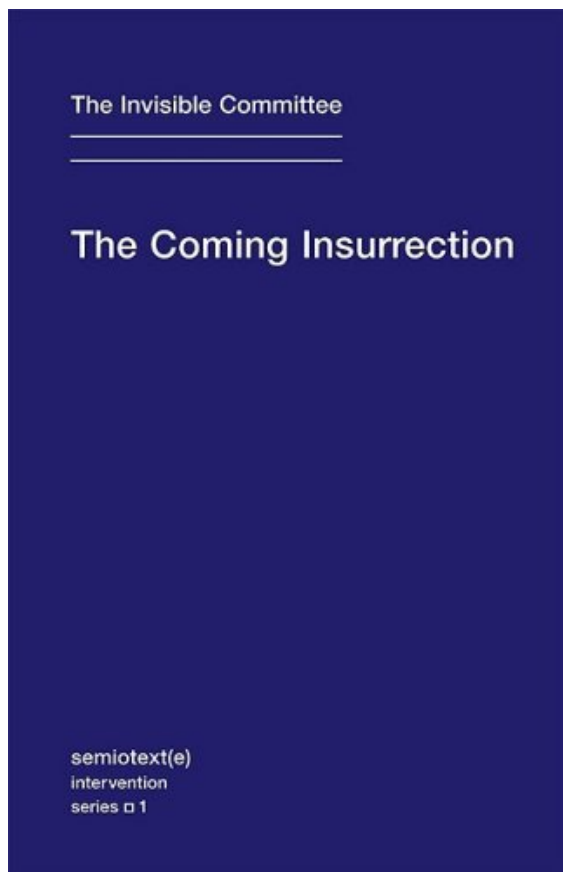
"one can foresee that a movement of communisation that destroys the State, undermines the social base of the enemy, and spreads under the effect of the irresistible appeal arousing the birth of new social relations between men, will bond together the revolutionary camp far better than any power which, while waiting to conquer the world before communising it, would behave no differently than... a State."^[6]

Within this 1970s French tendency "communization" thus came to represent the absence of a period of transition and a conception of revolution as the application of communist measures throughout the economy and society.^[7] The term is still used in this sense in France today and has spread into English usage as a result of the translation of texts by Gilles Dauvé and *Théorie Communiste*, two key figures in this tendency.

In collaboration with other left communists such as François Martin and Karl Nesic, Dauvé has attempted to fuse, critique, and develop different left communist currents, most notably the Italian movement associated with Amadeo Bordiga (and its heretical journal *Invariance*), German-Dutch council communism, and the French perspectives associated with *Socialisme ou Barbarie* and the Situationist International.^[8] He has focused on theoretical discussions of economic issues concerning the controversial failure of Second International Marxism (including both Social Democracy and Leninist "Communism"), the global revolutionary upsurge of the 1960s and

its subsequent dissolution, and on developments in global capitalist accumulation and class struggle.

Early 21st century



The Coming Insurrection

But in the late 1990s a close but not identical sense of “communization” was developed by the French post-situationist group *Tiqqun*. In keeping with their ultra-left predecessors, *Tiqqun*’s predilection for the term seems to be its emphasis on communism as an immediate process rather than a far-off goal, but for *Tiqqun* it is no longer synonymous with “the revolution” considered as an historical event, but rather becomes identifiable with all sorts of activities – from squatting and setting up communes to simply “sharing” – that would typically be understood as “pre-revolutionary”.^[9] From an ultra-left perspective such a politics of “dropping-out” or, as *Tiqqun* put it, “desertion” — setting up spaces and practices that are held to be partially autonomous from capitalism — is typically dismissed as either naïve or reactionary.^[10] Due to the popularity of the *Tiqqun*-related works *Call* and *The Coming Insurrection* in US anarchist circles it tended to be this latter sense of “communization” that was employed in US anarchist and “insurrectionist” communiques, notably within the Californian student movement of 2009–2010.^[11] “More recently its ideas have been elaborated and extended in discussions with like-minded groups in-

cluding the English language *Endnotes* and the Swedish journal *Riff Raff*. Together these collectives have recently collaborated to produce *Sic – an international journal of communisation* (issue number one was published in 2011).^[12]

0.25.3 See also

- Socialization (economics)

0.25.4 References

- [1] Benjamin Noys (ed). *Communization and its Discontents: Contestation, Critique, and Contemporary Struggles*. Minor Compositions, Autonomedia. 2011. 1st ed.
- [2] “It has thus become necessary to make the distinction: the ‘communization theory’ now spoken of in the English-speaking world is largely an imaginary entity, an artefact of the Anglophone reception of various unrelated works...For us communization does not signify some general positive process of ‘sharing’ or ‘making common’. It signifies the specific revolutionary undoing of the relations of property constitutive of the capitalist class relation. ” e.g. *Endnotes* “What are we to do?”
- [3] e.g. William Morris “The Policy of Abstention” (1887) and E. Belfort Bax “Et Impera” (1888)
- [4] See e.g. Stalin’s “Economic Problems of Socialism of the U.S.S.R.” (1939)
- [5] e.g. some Chinese Ultra-Left tendencies during the so-called “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.”
- [6] “The Story of Our Origins” *La Banquise* No. 2 (1983)
- [7] For an historical account see: *Endnotes* “Bring Out Your Dead”, *Endnotes* no. 1 (2008). Although they do not use the term a very similar conception can be found in the early works of Antonio Negri, e.g. the chapter ‘Communism and Transition’ in his *Marx Beyond Marx* (1978), as well as in the 1980s works of the insurrectionist anarchist Alfredo M. Bonanno.
- [8] “The text surveys the Italian and German lefts, Socialisme Ou Barbarie and the Situationist International and describes the theoretical development of the French ultra-left.” *Re-collecting our past - La Banquise*
- [9] “As we apprehend it, the process of instituting communism can only take the form of a collection of acts of *communisation*, of making common such-and-such space, such-and-such machine, such-and-such knowledge. That is to say, the elaboration of the mode of sharing that attaches to them. Insurrection itself is just an accelerator, a decisive moment in this process.” Anonymous, *Call* Archived July 21, 2011, at the Wayback Machine.
- [10] For a critique of *Tiqqun* from an ultra-left perspective, as well as a description of the opposition between the two sense of “communization” see “Reflexions Around *Call* Archived September 12, 2011, at the Wayback Machine.” *Letters Journal* #3. See also Dauvé and Nesić, “Un Appel et une Invite”.

- [11] See e.g. “After the Fall: Communiqués from Occupied California” Archived January 26, 2011, at the Wayback Machine.
- [12] “”Communisation theory and the question of fascism” by Cherry Angioma”. Libcom.org. Retrieved 2013-10-12.

0.25.5 Further reading

- “Bring Out Your Dead” by Endnotes.
- *Call* by Anonymous.
- “Communism and Transition” by Antonio Negri in *Marx Beyond Marx* (1978).
- “After the Fall: Communiqués from Occupied California”
- *To Our Friends* by The Invisible Committee

0.26 Geolibertarianism

Geolibertarianism is a political and economic ideology particularly committed to tax reform that integrates libertarianism with Georgism (alternatively *geo-ism* or *geonomics*). It is most often associated with the libertarian left or the radical center.^{[1][2]}

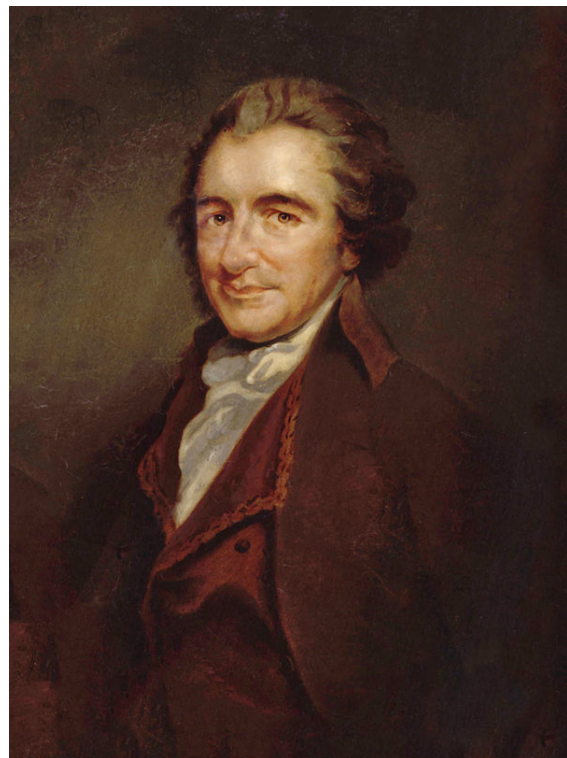
Geolibertarians hold that geographical space and raw natural resources—any assets that qualify as land by economic definition—are rivalrous goods to be considered common property or more accurately unowned, which all individuals share an equal human right to access, not capital wealth to be privatized fully and absolutely. Therefore, landholders must pay compensation according to the rental value decided by the free market, absent any improvements, to the community for the civil right of usufruct (that is, legally recognized exclusive possession with restrictions on property abuse) or otherwise fee simple title with no such restrictions. Ideally, the taxing of a site would be administered only after it has been determined that the privately captured economic rent from the land exceeds the title-holder’s equal share of total land value in the jurisdiction. On this proposal, rent is collected not for the mere occupancy or use of land, as neither the community nor the state rightfully owns the commons, but rather as an objectively assessed indemnity due for the legal right to exclude others from that land. Some geolibertarians also support Pigovian taxes on pollution and severance taxes to regulate natural resource depletion, taxes with ancillary positive environmental effects on activities which negatively impact land values.

They endorse the standard right-libertarian view that each individual is naturally entitled to the fruits of his or her labor as exclusive private property, as opposed to produced goods being owned collectively by society or by the government acting to represent society, and that a person’s “labor, wages, and the products of labor” should

not be taxed. Also, along with non-Georgists in the libertarian movement, they advocate “full civil liberties, with no crimes unless there are victims who have been invaded.”^[1] (see also non-aggression principle)

Geolibertarians are generally influenced by the Georgist “Single Tax” movement of the late-19th and early-20th centuries, but the ideas behind it pre-date Henry George, and can be found in different forms in the writings of John Locke, the English “True Levellers” or Diggers such as Gerrard Winstanley, the French Physiocrats (particularly Quesnay and Turgot), Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Jean-Baptiste Say, Frédéric Bastiat, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Lysander Spooner, Benjamin Tucker, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Thomas Spence. Prominent geolibertarians since George have included Albert Jay Nock, Frank Chodorov, and United States Libertarian Party co-founder David Nolan.

0.26.1 Property rights



Thomas Paine inspired the Citizen’s Dividend and stated, “Every proprietor owes to the community a ground rent for the land which he holds.”^[3]

In continuity with the classical liberal tradition, geolibertarians contend that land is an independent factor of production, that it is the common inheritance of all humankind, and that the justice of private property is derived from an individual’s right to the fruits of his or her labor. Since land, by economic definition, is not the product of human labor, its ownership cannot be justified by appealing to natural human rights. Thus, geolibertarians

recognize the individual *civil* right to secure exclusive *possession* of land (**land tenure**) only on the condition that, if the land has accrued economic rent, its full rental value be paid to the community deprived of equal access. This **non-distortionary** system of taxation, it is argued, has the effects of returning the value that belongs to all members of society and encouraging landholders to use only as much land as they need, leaving unneeded land for others to occupy, use and develop.^[4]

Perhaps the best summary of the geolibertarian philosophy is Thomas Paine's assertion in his 1797 pamphlet *Agrarian Justice* that "Men did not make the earth. It is the value of the improvements only, and not the earth itself, that is individual property. Every proprietor owes to the community a ground rent for the land which he holds." On the other hand, John Locke wrote that private land ownership should be praised, as long as its product was not left to spoil and there was "enough, and as good left in common for others"; when this **Lockean proviso** is violated, the land earns rental value. Some would argue that "as good" is unlikely to be achieved in a city setting because location is paramount, and therefore, in any urban social environment, Locke's proviso requires the collection and equal distribution of ground rent.

This strict definition of private property, as the fruits of a person's labor, leads geolibertarians to advocate a free marketplace and the protection of workers' rights to their full earnings.

0.26.2 Policy proposals

Geolibertarians generally support redistributing land rent from private landholders to all community members by way of a **land value tax**, as proposed by Henry George and others before him. As libertarians, geolibertarians desire to see the revenue from **land value capture** cover only necessary administrative costs and fund only those public services which are essential for a governing body to secure and enforce rights to life, liberty and estate—civic protections which increase the aggregate land rent within the jurisdiction, and thereby serve to **finance themselves**—the surplus being equally distributed as an unconditional **dividend** to each citizen. Thus, the value of the land is returned to the residents who **produce** it, but who by practical necessity and legal privilege have been deprived of equal access, while the poor and disadvantaged benefit from a **reliable social safety net** unencumbered by bureaucracy or intrusive **means-testing**.

Some geolibertarians claim the reasoning behind taxing land values likewise justifies a complementary **pollution tax** for degrading the shared value of the natural commons. The common and inelastic character of the **radio wave spectrum** (which also falls under "land" as an economic category) is understood to justify the taxation of its exclusive use, as well.^[5]


American economist and political philosopher Fred E.

Foldvary coined the term *geo-libertarianism* in a same-titled article appearing in the magazine *Land and Liberty*.^[6] In the case of geoanarchism, the most radically **decentralized** and scrupulously **voluntarist** form of geolibertarianism, Foldvary theorizes, ground rents would be collected by private agencies and persons would have the opportunity to secede from associated geocommunities—thereby opting out of their protective and legal services—if desired.^[7]

0.26.3 See also

- Bleeding-heart libertarianism
- Citizen's dividend
- Classical economics
- Classical liberalism
- Commons
- Free-market environmentalism
- Freiwirtschaft
- Green libertarianism
- Jeffersonian democracy
- Land value tax
- Left-libertarianism
- Natural and legal rights
- Night-watchman state
- Physiocracy
- Radical centrism
- Single tax
- Tax reform / shift

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- [5] "Basis of Taxation". Pl.atyp.us. 2005-08-12. Retrieved 2013-03-26.
- [6] May/June 1981, pp. 53–55.
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0.26.5 External links

- A Landlord is a Government – The Libertarian Basis for Land Rights
- *Geo-Rent: A Plea to public economists* by Fred E. Foldvary
- Between State and Anarchy: A Model of Governance by Fred E. Foldvary
- Really Natural Rights
- Geoism in American Quaker John Woolman’s “Plea for the Poor”
- Murray Rothbard and Henry George – a critical review of Georgism/Geolibertarianism from an Austrian School perspective.

0.27 Sociocracy

Sociocracy is a democratic system of governance based on consent decision making, circle organization, and double-linked representation. Sociocratic governance is in sharp contrast with both majoritarian rule and consensus rule. Proponents believe sociocracy addresses most of the shortcomings and known pitfalls of, majoritarian, consensus, hierarchical rule, and anarchic forms of governance.

Sociocracy is highly scalable and suitable for most types of organization. It has evolved into a robust governance and management system which distributes **leadership** and **power** more equally throughout an organization.^[1] It is currently used by public, private, non-profit, and community organizations and associations. Sociocratic governance and management is taught in college and university courses in business, political science, history, and sociology.

0.27.1 Origins

The word sociocracy is derived from the **Latin** and **Greek** words *socius* (companion) and *kratein* (to govern). It is English for the word *sociocratie*, coined in 1851 by French philosopher **Auguste Comte**,^[2] later used by the American sociologist **Lester Frank Ward** in an 1881 paper for the *Penn Monthly*, and later still by Dutch educator and peace activist **Kees Boeke**, who applied the concept to education. In a wider sense, sociocracy means the rule by the “socios,” people who have a social relationship with each other, as opposed to **democracy**: rule by the “demos,” the general mass of people.

Ward later expanded his concept in his books *Dynamic Sociology* (1883) and *The Psychic Factors of Civilization* (1892). Ward was very influential in his time and had a worldwide reputation as a groundbreaking sociologist.

He believed that a highly educated public was essential if a country was to be governed effectively, and he foresaw a time when the emotional and partisan nature of contemporary politics would yield to a much more effective, dispassionate and scientifically-based discussion of issues and problems. Democracy would thus eventually evolve into a more advanced form of government, sociocracy.^[3]

0.27.2 Sociocracy during the twentieth century

The Dutch pacifist, educator, and peace worker **Kees Boeke** and his wife, English peace activist **Betty Cadbury**, updated and greatly expanded Ward’s ideas in the mid-20th century by implementing the first sociocratic organizational structure in a school in **Bilthoven**, Netherlands. The school still exists: the **Children’s Community Workshop** (Werkplaats Kindergemeenschap). Boeke saw sociocracy (in **Dutch**: *Sociocratie*) as a form of governance or **management** that presumes equality of individuals and is based on consensus. This equality is not expressed with the ‘one man, one vote’ law of democracy but rather by a group of individuals reasoning together until a decision is reached that is satisfactory to each one of them.

To make sociocratic ideals operational, Boeke used consensus decision-making based on the practices of the **Quakers**, which he described as one of the first sociocratic organizations. The other being his school of approximately 400 students and teachers in which decisions were made by everyone working together in weekly “talkovers” to find a mutually acceptable solution. The individuals in each group would then agree to abide by the decision. “Only when common agreement is reached can any action be taken, quite a different atmosphere is created from that arising from majority rule.” Boeke defined three “fundamental rules”: (1) That the interests of all members must be considered and the individual must respect the interests of the whole. (2) No action could be taken without a solution that everyone could accept, and (3) all members must accept these decisions when unanimously made. If a group could not make a decision, the decision would be made by a “higher level” of representatives chosen by each group. The size of a decision-making group should be limited to 40 with smaller committees of 5-6 making “detailed decisions.” For larger groups a structure of representatives is chosen by these groups to make decisions.^[4]

Like other traditional consensus-based methods, this model placed a high importance on the role of trust. For the process to be effective, members of each group must trust each other, and it is claimed that this trust will be built over time as long as this method of decision-making is used. When applied to civic governance, people “would be forced to take an interest in those who live close by.” Only when people had learned to apply this method in their neighborhoods could the next higher level of socio-

cratic governance be established. Eventually representatives would be elected from the highest local levels to establish a “World Meeting to govern and order the world.”^[4]

“Everything depends on a new spirit breaking through among men. May it be that, after the many centuries of fear, suspicion and hate, more and more a spirit of reconciliation and mutual trust will spread abroad. The constant practice of the art of sociocracy and of the education necessary for it seem to be the best way in which to further this spirit, upon which the real solution of all world problems depends.”^[4]

0.27.3 In contemporary practice

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Gerard Endenburg, an electrical engineer and former student of Boeke’s, further developed and applied Boeke’s principles in the electrical engineering company he first managed for his parents and then owned. Endenburg wanted to replicate the atmosphere of cooperation and harmony he had experienced in Boeke’s school in a business environment. He also recognized that in industrial production with a diverse and changing workforce, he couldn’t wait for workers to trust each other before they could make decisions. To solve this problem, Endenburg worked by analogy to integrate his understanding of physics, cybernetics, and systems thinking to further develop the social, political, and educational theories of Comte, Ward, and Boeke. Since he understood how mechanical and electrical systems worked, he applied these principles to human systems.

After years of experimentation and application, Endenburg developed a formal organizational method named the “Sociocratische Kringorganisatie Methode” (Sociocratic Circle Organizing Method). Endenburg’s method was based on the circular feedback process then called the “circular causal feedback process,” now referred to commonly as the circular process and feedback loops. The Sociocratic Circle Organization Method uses a hierarchy of circles corresponding to units or departments of an organization, but it is a circular hierarchy—the links between each circle combine to form feedback loops up and down the organization. Because representatives overlap the circle with a linked circle and each circle makes policy decisions by consent this forms a strong and integrated structure of communications and control. Feedback moves up and down the organization and can’t be ignored.

All policy decisions, those that pertain to the allocation of resources and constrain operational decisions, require the consent of all members of a circle. Day-to-day operational decisions are made by the operations leader within the policies established in circle meetings. Policy decisions affecting more than one circle’s domain are made by a higher circle formed by representatives from each

circle. This structure of linked circles that make decisions by consent maintains the efficiency of a hierarchy while preserving the equivalence of the circles and their members.

Endenburg began testing and modifying his application of Boeke’s principles in the mid-sixties. By the mid-seventies, Endenburg began consulting with other businesses to apply his methods and eventually began working with all kinds organizations.

In the nineteen eighties, Endenburg and his colleague Annewiek Reijmer founded the Sociocratisch Centrum (Sociocratic Center) in Rotterdam, and began helping other organizations in the Netherlands to adopt the approach.^[5] Following the certification of non-Dutch consultants in the nineties, Endenburg’s version of Sociocracy was disseminated throughout Europe, North America, and parts of South America. Since 2000, sociocratic centers have been founded in several countries, consultants are available worldwide, and study groups have developed in many cities. Many practitioners and organizations have adopted sociocratic practice without using the name “sociocracy” (e.g. POCA^[6]); others have founded new branches that incorporate some of Endenburg’s principles of sociocracy (e.g. Holacracy).

Essential principles

Endenburg’s policy decision-making method was originally published as based on four essential principles in order to emphasize that the process of selecting people for roles and responsibilities was also subject to the consent process. As explained below, it is now taught as Endenburg originally developed the method as three principles:^[7]

Consent governs policy decision making (principle 1)

Decisions are made when there are no remaining “paramount objections”, that is, when there is informed consent from all participants. Objections must be reasoned and argued and based on the ability of the objector to work productively toward the goals of the organization. All policy decisions are made by consent, although the group may consent to use another decision-making method. Within these policies, day-to-day operational decisions are normally made in the traditional manner. Generally, objections are highly valued to hear every stakeholder’s concern. This process is sometimes called “objection harvesting”.^[8] It is emphasized that focusing on objections first leads to more efficient decision making.^[9]

Organizing in circles (principle 2) The sociocratic organization is composed of a hierarchy of semi-autonomous circles. This hierarchy, however, does not constitute a power structure as autocratic hierarchies do.

Each circle has the responsibility to execute, measure, and control its own processes in achieving its goals. It governs a specific domain of responsibility within the policies of the larger organization. Circles are also responsible for their own **development** and for each member's development. Often called "**integral education**," the circle and its members are expected to determine what they need to know to remain competitive in their field and to reach the goals of their circle.

Double-linking (principle 3) Individuals acting as links function as full members in the decision-making of both their own circles and the next higher circle. A circle's operational leader is by definition a member of the next higher circle and **represents the larger organization** in the decision-making of the circle they lead. Each circle also elects a representative to represent the circles' interests in the next higher circle. These links form a feedback loop between circles.

At the highest level of the organization, there is a "top circle", analogous to a **board of directors**, except that it works within the policies of the circle structure rather than ruling over it. The members of the top circle include external experts that connect the organization to its environment. Typically these members have expertise in law, government, finance, community, and the organization's mission. In a corporation, it might also include a representative selected by the shareholders. The top circle also includes the **CEO** and at least one representative of the general management circle. Each of these circle members participates fully in decision-making in the top circle.

Elections by consent (principle 4) This fourth principle extends principle 1. Individuals are elected to roles and responsibilities in open discussion using the same consent criteria used for other policy decisions. Members of the circle nominate themselves or other members of the circle and present reasons for their choice. After discussion, people can (and often do) change their nominations, and the discussion leader will suggest the election of the person for whom there are the strongest arguments. Circle members may object and there is further discussion. For a role that many people might fill, this discussion may continue for a several rounds. When fewer people are qualified for the task, this process will quickly converge. The circle may also decide to choose someone who is not a current member of the circle.

The "three principles" In the first formulations of the Sociocratic Circle-Organizing Method, Endenburg had three principles and regarded the fourth, elections by consent, not as a separate principle but as a method for making decisions by consent when there are several choices. He considered it part of the first principle, consent governs policy decisions, but many people misunderstood

that elections of people to roles and responsibilities are allocations of resources and thus policy decisions. To emphasize the importance of making these decisions by consent in the circle meetings, Endenburg separated it into a fourth principle.

Consent vs. consensus Sociocracy makes a distinction between "consent" and "consensus" in order to emphasize that circle decisions are not expected to produce "a consensus". It doesn't mean agreement or solidarity. In sociocracy consent is defined as "no objections," and objections are based on one's ability to work toward the aims of the organization. Members discussing an idea in consent based governance commonly ask themselves if it is "good enough for now, safe enough to try".^[8] If not, then there is an objection, which leads to a search for an acceptable adaptation of the original proposal to gain consent.

In contrast the consensus process as practiced by many groups is a full group process that uses a definition of consensus close to that of the Boekes. While consensus trainers and facilitators use the same definition that sociocracy uses, it is often misunderstood. Traditionally consensus has often been confused with both unanimous agreement and the exercise of personal values, while most often being practiced as a full-group decision-making method and not adapted to distributed decision-making. In sociocracy, consent is defined and practiced as a decision-making method within a sophisticated governance method that can support a complex organizational structure.^[10]

Sociocratisch Centrum co-founder Reijmer has summarized the difference as follows:^[11] "By consensus, I must convince you that I am in the right; by consent, you ask whether you can live with the decision."

Interdependence and transparency

The principles are interdependent and the application of all of them is required for an organization to function sociocratically. Each one supports the successful application of the others. The principles also require transparency in the organization. Since decision-making is distributed throughout the organization, all members of the organization must have access to information. The only exception to this is proprietary knowledge and any information that would jeopardize the security of the organization or its clients. All financial transactions and policy decisions are **transparent** to members of the organization and to the organization's clients.

In addition to the principles, sociocratic organizations apply the circular feedback process of directing-doing-measuring to the design of work processes, and in business organizations, compensation is based on a market rate salary plus long-term and short-term payments based on the success of the circle. The operational practices

of sociocratic organizations are compatible with the best practices of contemporary management theory.

0.27.4 Advantages

Consent as defined and practiced in sociocratic organizations is claimed to be a more efficient and effective decision-making method than autocratic decision-making because it protects the ability of each member and unit of an organization to work toward the aim effectively. In the end this decision-making method builds trust and understanding, even though its objective is reducing friction and effective action. The consent process educates the participants about the needs of the other members in doing their work effectively.

The well-defined, information-based, and highly disciplined decision-making process helps organizations stay focused and move swiftly through examining an issue and making decisions. The feedback structure between circles and the involvement of all members of the organization in the policy making process ensures a united organization.

0.27.5 See also

- Consensus democracy
- Collaborative e-democracy
- Collective intelligence
- Consensus decision-making
- Cooperative
- Direct democracy
- Double linking
- Heterarchy
- Holacracy
- Inclusive democracy
- Libertarian socialism
- Mature minor doctrine
- Open-source governance
- Polycentric law
- Scientocracy
- Self-governance
- Strategy Markup Language
- Subsidiarity
- Systems thinking

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0.27.8 External links

- WSJ: Can a Company Be Run as a Democracy?

0.28 Levellers

This article is about the political movement. For the English rock band, see [Levellers \(band\)](#). For other uses, see [Levellers \(disambiguation\)](#).



Plaque commemorating three Levellers shot by Oliver Cromwell in Burford.

The **Levellers** were a political movement during the English Civil War (1642–1651) that emphasised popular sovereignty, extended suffrage, equality before the law, and religious tolerance, all of which were expressed in the manifesto "Agreement of the People". In contrast

to the **Diggers**, the Levellers opposed common ownership, except in cases of mutual agreement of the property owners.^[1] The Levellers came to prominence at the end of the **First English Civil War** (1642–1646) and were most influential before the start of the **Second Civil War** (1648–1649). Leveller views and support were found in the populace of the **City of London** and in some regiments in the **New Model Army**.

The Levellers were not a political party in the modern sense of the term; they did not all conform to a specific manifesto. They were organised at the national level, with offices in a number of **London inns** and **taverns** such as The Rosemary Branch in Islington, which got its name from the sprigs of rosemary that Levellers wore in their hats as a sign of identification. From July 1648 to September 1649, they published a newspaper, *The Moderate*,^[2] and were pioneers in the use of petitions and pamphleteering to political ends.^{[3][4]} They identified themselves by sea-green ribbons worn on their clothing. After **Pride's Purge** and the execution of **Charles I**, power lay in the hands of the **Grandeess** in the Army (and to a lesser extent with the **Rump Parliament**). The Levellers, along with all other opposition groups, were marginalised by those in power and their influence waned. By 1650, they were no longer a serious threat to the established order.

0.28.1 Origin of name

The term "leveller" had been used in 17th-century England as a term of abuse for rural rebels. In the **Midland Revolt** of 1607, the name was used to refer to those who levelled hedges in **enclosure riots**.^{[5][6]}

As a political movement, the term first referred to a faction of **New Model Army Agitators** and their London supporters who were allegedly plotting to assassinate **Charles I** of England. But the term was gradually attached to John Lilburne, Richard Overton, and William Walwyn and their "faction". Books published in 1647–1648 often reflect this terminological uncertainty. The public "identification" was largely due to the aspersions by **Marchamont Needham**, the author of the newspaper *Mercurius Pragmaticus*. Lilburne, John Wildman and Richard Baxter later thought that **Oliver Cromwell** and **Henry Ireton** had applied the term to Lilburne's group during the **Putney Debates** of late 1647.^[7] Lilburne considered the term pejorative and called his supporters "Levellers so-called" and preferred "Agitators". The term suggested that the "Levellers" aimed to bring all down to the lowest common level. The leaders vehemently denied the charge of "levelling", but adopted the name because it was how they were known to the majority of people. After their arrest and imprisonment in 1649, four of the "Leveller" leaders – Walwyn, Overton, Lilburne and **Thomas Prince** – signed a manifesto in which they called themselves Levellers.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* dates the first written use of the term for a political movement to 1644,^[8] but the source cited there, **Marchamont Needham's** pamphlet *The Case for the Commonwealth of England Stated*, dates from 1650.^[9] The term was used in a letter of 1 November 1647. The 19th-century historian **S. R. Gardiner** suggested that it existed as a **nickname** before this date.^[10] **Blair Worden**, the most recent historian to publish on the subject, concluded that the 1 November letter was the first recorded use of the term.^[11] The letter referred to extremists among the Army agitators: "They have given themselves a new name, viz. Levellers, for they intend to sett all things straight, and rayse a parity and community in the kingdom".^[12] Worden shows that the term first appeared in print in a book by **Charles I** called *His Majesties Most Gracious Declaration*. This tract was a printing of a letter that had been read in the House of Lords on 11 November 1647. Although **George Thomason** did not date this tract, the last date internal to the document was Saturday 13 November 1647, suggesting a publication date of 15 November 1647.^[13]

0.28.2 Political ambitions

The Levellers' agenda developed in tandem with growing dissent within the **New Model Army** in the wake of the First Civil War. Early drafts of the **Agreement of the People** emanated from army circles and appeared before the **Putney Debates** of October and November 1647, and a final version, appended and issued in the names of prominent Levellers Lt. Col. Lilburne, Walwyn, Overton and Prince appeared in May 1649. It called for an extension of suffrage to include almost all the adult male population, electoral reform, biennial elections, religious freedom, and an end to imprisonment for debt. They were committed broadly to the abolition of **corruption** within the parliamentary and judicial process, toleration of religious differences, the translation of law into the common tongue and, arguably, something that could be considered democracy in its modern form - arguably the first time contemporary democratic ideas had been formally framed and adopted by a political movement. The Levellers have been seen as having undemocratic tendencies by some as they excluded household servants and those dependent upon charitable handouts from suffrage as Levellers feared that poor, dependent men would simply vote as their masters wished. It would also have excluded women; most adult women married and, as wives, were legally and financially dependent on their husbands.^[14]

Some Levellers like Lilburne argued that the English Common law, particularly the **Magna Carta**, was the foundation of English rights and liberties, but others, like William Walwyn, compared the **Magna Carta** to a "mess of potage". Lilburne also harked back in his writing to the notion of a **Norman yoke** that has been imposed on the English people and to some extent argued that the English were simply seeking to reclaim those rights they had

enjoyed before the Conquest.

Levellers tended to hold fast to a notion of "natural rights" that had been violated by the King's side in the Civil Wars (1642–1651). At the Putney Debates in 1647, Colonel **Thomas Rainsborough** defended natural rights as coming from the law of God expressed in the **Bible**. Richard Overton considered that liberty was an innate property of every person. **Michael Mendle** has demonstrated the development of Leveller ideas from elements of early parliamentary thought as expressed by men such as **Henry Parker**.

According to **George Sabine**, Levellers held to "the doctrine of consent by participation in the choice of representatives."^[15]

0.28.3 Timeline

In July 1645, John Lilburne was imprisoned for denouncing **Members of Parliament** who lived in comfort while the common soldiers fought and died for the Parliamentary cause. His offence was slandering **William Lenthall**, the Speaker of the House of Commons, whom he accused of corresponding with **Royalists**. He was freed in October 1645 after a petition requesting his release, signed by over 2,000 leading London citizens, was presented to the House of Commons.

In July 1646, Lilburne was imprisoned again, this time in the **Tower of London**, for denouncing his former army commander, the **Earl of Manchester**, as a **Royalist** sympathiser because he had protected an officer who had been charged with **treason**. It was the campaigns to free Lilburne from prison that spawned the movement known as the Levellers. Richard Overton was arrested in August 1646 for publishing a pamphlet attacking the **House of Lords**. During his imprisonment, he wrote an influential Leveller manifesto, "An Arrow Against All Tyrants and Tyranny".^[16]

The soldiers in the **New Model Army** elected "Agitators" from each regiment to represent them. These Agitators were recognised by the Army's commanders and had a seat on the General Council. However, by September 1647, at least five regiments of cavalry had elected new unofficial agitators and produced a pamphlet called "The Case of the Army truly stated". This was presented to the commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Fairfax, on 18 October 1647. In this, they demanded a dissolution of Parliament within a year and substantial changes to the constitution of future Parliaments that were to be regulated by an unalterable "law paramount".^[12]

The senior officers in the Army (nicknamed "Grandeers") were angered by the "Case of the Army" and ordered the unofficial Agitators to give an account of their principles before the General Council of the Army. These debates, known as the **Putney Debates**, were held in **St. Mary's Church, Putney**, in the county of Surrey between Oc-

tober 28 and November 11, 1647. The Agitators were assisted by some civilians, notably **John Wildman** and **Maximillian Petty**, who had been connected to the Army as civilian advisers since July 1647. On 28 October, the Agitator **Robert Everard** presented a document entitled "**An Agreement of the People**".^[17] This manifesto, which was inherently republican and democratic, appeared to conflict with the terms of settlement that had already been endorsed by the General Council in July entitled "**The Heads of the Proposals**".^[18] The "Heads of the Proposals" contained many demands that looked towards social justice but relied upon the King to agree to them and bring them into law through acts of Parliament. The new Agitators, who distrusted the King, demanded that England be settled from "the bottom up" rather than the "top down" by giving the vote to most adult males. The debates help to throw light on the areas on which supporters of the Parliamentary side agreed and those on which they differed. For example, Ireton asked whether the phrase in the Agreement "according to the number of the inhabitants" gave a foreigner just arrived in England and resident in a property the right to vote. He argued that a person must have a "permanent interest of this kingdom" to be entitled to vote, and that "permanent interest" means owning property, which is where he and the Levellers disagreed. To modern eyes, the debates seem to draw heavily on the Bible to lay out certain basic principles. This is to be expected in an age still racked by religious upheavals in the aftermath of the reformation and particularly in an army where soldiers were, in part, selected for their religious zeal. It is notable that **John Wildman** resisted religious language, arguing that the Bible produced no model for civil government and that reason should be the basis of any future settlement.

The **Corkbush Field rendezvous** on November 17, 1647, was the first of three meetings to take place as agreed in the Putney Debates. The Army commanders **Thomas Fairfax** and **Cromwell** were worried by the strength of support for Levellers in the Army, so they decided to impose "The Heads of the Proposals" as the army's manifesto instead of the Levellers' "Agreement of the People". When some refused to accept this (because they wanted the army to adopt the Levellers' document), they were arrested and one of the ringleaders, Private **Richard Arnold**, was executed. At the other two meetings, the troops who were summoned agreed to the manifesto without further protest.

The Levellers' largest petition, titled "To The Right Honourable The Commons Of England", was presented to **Parliament** on September 11, 1648 after amassing signatories including about a third of all Londoners.^[19]

On October 30, 1648, **Thomas Rainsborough** was killed. He was a **Member of Parliament** and a Leveller leader who had spoken at the Putney Debates. His funeral was the occasion for a large Leveller-led demonstration in London, with thousands of mourners wearing the Levellers' ribbons of sea-green and bunches of **rosemary** for

remembrance in their hats.

On January 20, 1649, a version of the "Agreement of the People" that had been drawn up in October 1647 for the **Army Council** and subsequently modified was presented to the House of Commons.^[20]

At the end of January 1649, **Charles I of England** was tried and executed for treason against the people. In February, the **Grandeess** banned petitions to Parliament by soldiers. In March, eight Leveller troopers went to the commander-in-chief of the New Model Army, **Thomas Fairfax**, and demanded the restoration of the **right to petition**. Five of them were **cashiered** out of the army.

In April, 300 infantrymen of Colonel **John Hewson's** regiment, who declared that they would not serve in **Ireland** until the Levellers' programme had been realised, were cashiered without **arrears** of pay. This was the threat that had been used to quell the **mutiny** at the **Corkbush Field rendezvous**. Later that month, in the **Bishopsgate mutiny**, soldiers of the regiment of Colonel **Edward Whalley** stationed in **Bishopsgate** London made demands similar to those of Hewson's regiment; they were ordered out of London. When they refused to go, 15 soldiers were arrested and **court martialed**. Six of their number were sentenced to death. Of these, five were later pardoned, while **Robert Lockyer** (or **Lockier**), a former Levellers agitator, was hanged on April 27, 1649. "At his burial a thousand men, in files, preceded the corpse, which was adorned with bunches of rosemary dipped in blood; on each side rode three **trumpeters**, and behind was led the trooper's horse, covered with mourning; some thousands of men and women followed with black and green ribbons on their heads and breasts, and were received at the grave by a numerous crowd of the inhabitants of London and **Westminster**."^[21]

In 1649, Lieutenant-Colonel **John Lilburne**, **William Walwyn**, **Thomas Prince**, and **Richard Overton** were imprisoned in the **Tower of London** by the **Council of State** (see above). It was while the leaders of the Levellers were being held in the Tower that they wrote an outline of the reforms the Levellers wanted, in a pamphlet entitled "**An Agreement Of The Free People Of England**" (written on May 1, 1649). It includes reforms that have since been made law in England, such as the **right to silence**, and others that have not been, such as an elected **judiciary**.^[22]

Shortly afterwards, **Cromwell** attacked the "**Banbury mutineers**", 400 troopers who supported the Levellers and who were commanded by Captain **William Thompson**.^{[23][24]} Several mutineers were killed in the skirmish. Captain Thompson escaped only to be killed a few days later in another skirmish near the **Diggers** community at **Wellingborough**. The three other leaders – **William Thompson's** brother, **Corporal Perkins**, and **John Church** – were shot on May 17, 1649. This destroyed the Levellers' support base in the New Model Army, which by then was the major power in the land. Although **Walwyn** and **Overton** were released from the Tower, and **Lil-**



Commemoration plaque for two Levellers in Gloucester Green, Oxford.

burne tried and acquitted, the Leveller cause had effectively been crushed.

0.28.4 The Moderate

The Moderate was a newspaper published by the Levellers from July 1648 to September 1649.^[25]

0.28.5 Other usage

In a 1724 rising against enclosures in Galloway, a number of men who took part in it were called “Levellers” or “Dykebreakers”.^[26] They were confronted by six troops of dragoons, after which nocturnal attacks continued for six months, making it the most serious rural disturbance in 18th-century Scotland.^[27] The word was also used in Ireland during the 18th century to describe a secret revolutionary society similar to the Whiteboys.

0.28.6 See also

- Contributions to liberal theory
- Diggers
- English Dissenters
- Good Old Cause
- Green Ribbon Club A post restoration political club. The “Green Ribbon” was the badge of The Levellers in the English Civil Wars in which many of the members had fought and was an overt reminder of their radical origins.
- Hugo Black, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States who cited John Lilburne’s trial in several opinions beginning with *In re Oliver* in 1948
- Kett’s Rebellion (1549)
- Republicanism in the United Kingdom
- Edward Sexby (1616–1658); English Puritan, soldier and Leveller; he turned against Cromwell and plotted his assassination
- Libertarianism
- United States Bill of Rights
- Gerard Winstanley
- Norman Yoke

0.28.7 Notes

- [1] It is a widespread myth that the Levellers promoted common ownership, or were even “socialists”. See, for example, Fenner Brockway *Britain’s First Socialists*, London, Quartet, 1980. But their opposition to common ownership is made clear in the final, May 1649, version of the Leveller “Agreement of the People” and in other Leveller writings.
- [2] Howell & Brewster, *Reconsidering the Levellers: The Evidence of the Moderate Past & Present* No. 46, September 1970 pp. 68–86
- [3] “Levelers”. *Columbia Encyclopedia* (6th ed.). New York: Columbia University Press. 2001–2007. Archived from the original on June 24, 2008. Retrieved 2008-07-02.
- [4] Plant, David (2005-12-14). “The Levellers”. *British Civil Wars and Commonwealth website*. Retrieved 2008-07-02.
- [5] Perez Zagorin (1982). *Rebels and Rulers, 1500–1660. Volume II Provincial rebellion. Revolutionary civil wars*, Cambridge University Press, ISBN 0-521-28712-X. p. 164
- [6] Whitney Richard David Jones (2000). *The Tree of Commonwealth, 1450–1793*, Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, ISBN 0-8386-3837-6. pp. 133,164
- [7] Mendle (2001), Chapter by Blair Worden, “The Levellers in History and Memory c. 1660–1960” p. 282
- [8] *OED*, s.v. “Leveller”: “1644 NEEDHAM *Case Commw.* 77 Our Levellers now exclaim against the Parliament”.
- [9] Nedham, Marchamont, Knache, Philip A (1969). *The Case of the Commonwealth of England, Stated*, Associated University Press, ISBN 0-8139-0277-0, ISBN 978-0-8139-0277-7. p. ix
- [10] Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, iii. 380.
- [11] Mendle (2001), Chapter by Blair Worden, “The Levellers in History and Memory c. 1660–1960” pp. 280–82
- [12] “Levellers” article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* Eleventh Edition
- [13] British Library Thomason Collection E413(15)
- [14] J.P. Sommerville, “Free-born John” *The English Rev.*, 1647–1649
- [15] George Sabine (1937) *A History of Political Theory*, p. 489, Holt, Rinehart and Winston

- [16] An arrow against all tyrants Richard Overton, 12 October 1646
- [17] The Agreement of the People as presented to the Council of the Army October 1647
- [18] The Heads of the Proposals offered by the Army
- [19] To The Right Honovrable The Commons Of England in Parliament assembled. The humble Petition of Thousands wel-affected persons inhabiting the City of London, Westminster, the Borough of Southwark Hamblets, and places adjacent
- [20] Agreement of the People and the places therewith incorporated, for a secure and present peace, upon grounds of common right, freedom and safety, as presented to Parliament in January 1649
- [21] The History of England: Chapter IV: The Commonwealth by John Lingard
- [22] Agreement of the Free People, extended version from the imprisonment of the Leveller leaders, May 1649
- [23] The testimony of the Burford Levellers
- [24] THE Levellers (Falsely so called) Vindicated, OR THE CASE Of the twelve Troops (which by Treachery in a Treaty) was lately surprised, and defeated at Burford
- [25] Howell & Brewster, *Reconsidering the Levellers: the evidence of The Moderate Past & Present* No. 46 September 1970 pp. 68–86.
- [26] A. Lang, *History of Scotland*, vol. iv.
- [27] T. M. Devine: *The Scottish Nation 1700–2007*, Chapter 7

0.28.8 References

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0.28.9 Further reading

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- Selected works of the Levellers
- Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution
- John Lilburne and the Levellers
- BBC: Civil War & The Levellers (17th century)
- 1642–52: Levellers and Diggers in the English Revolution
- A Time-line for the Levellers
- The Levellers: Overton, Walwyn and Lilburne Note 1 in this link includes an explanation of the origins of the word Levellers.
- Hoile, David; The Levellers: Libertarian Radicalism and the English Civil War
- Feltham, Oliver, *Anatomy of Failure – Philosophy and Political Action*

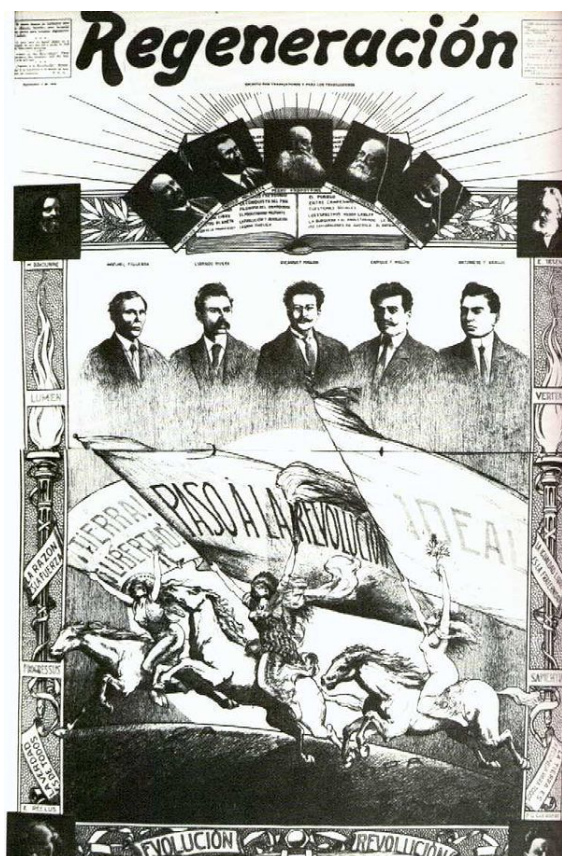
0.29 Magonism

Magonism^{[1][2]} (Spanish: *Magonismo*) is an anarchist, or more precisely anarcho-communist,^{[3][4]} school of thought precursor of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. It is mainly based on the ideas of Ricardo Flores Magón,^[5] his brothers Enrique and Jesús, and also other collaborators of the Mexican newspaper *Regeneración* (organ of the Mexican Liberal Party), as Práxedes Guerrero, Librado Rivera and Anselmo L. Figueroa.^{[6][7]}

0.29.1 Magonism and anarchism

The Mexican government and the press of the early 20th century called as *magonistas* people and groups who shared the ideas of the Flores Magón brothers, who inspired the overthrow of the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz and performed an economic and political revolution. The fight against tyranny encouraged by the Flores Magón contravened official discourse of *Porfirian Peace* by which the protesters were rated as the *Revoltosos Magonistas* (i.e. “Magonist rioters”) to isolate any social basis and preserve the image of peace and progress imposed by force.^[8]

Both of Flores Magón’s brothers, like other members of the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM), used the term *magonista*^[9] to refer to the libertarian movement that promoted; as they felt they were fighting for an ideal and not



Cover of *Regeneración*, with portraits of the organizing board of PLM and European anarchists (1910)

to elevate in power to a boss or a group, they called themselves “liberals”, as they were organized in the PLM, and later “anarchists”. The same Ricardo Flores Magón affirmed: *Liberal Party members are not magonistas, they are anarchists!*. In his literary work *Verdugos y Víctimas* (i.e. “Executioners and Victims”),^[10] one of the characters responds indignantly when he was arrested and judged: *I'm not a magonist, I am an anarchist. An anarchist has no idols.*

Magonist thinking was influenced by anarchist philosophers such as Mikhail Bakunin and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and others such as Élisée Reclus, Charles Malato, Errico Malatesta, Anselmo Lorenzo, Emma Goldman, Fernando Tarrida del Mármol and Max Stirner. They were also influenced by the works of Marx, Gorky and Ibsen. However, the most influential works were the ones of Peter Kropotkin *The Conquest of Bread* and *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, at the same time they were influenced by the Mexican liberal tradition of the 19th century and the self-government system of the indigenous people.^[11]



Magonistas in Tijuana in 1911

0.29.2 Magonism and indigenous movement

See also: [Magonista rebellion of 1911](#)

Indigenous peoples, since the Spanish conquest of Mexico, searched to preserve the practice of direct democracy, decision-making in assembly, rotation of administrative charges, the defense of communal property, mutual aid as the community exploitation and rational use of natural resources, shared anarchist principles raised by the magonists.^[12]

The direct influence of indigenous thought in magonism were the teachings of Teodoro Flores,^[13] mestizo Nahua, father of the Flores Magón brothers, and the coexistence of other members of the PLM with indigenous groups during periods of organization and insurrection of PLM, between 1905 and 1910, such as the Popoluca in Veracruz, the Yaqui and Mayo in Sonora, and the Cocopah in Baja California.

Fernando Palomares, a Mayo indigenous, was one of the most active members of the Liberal Party who took part in the Cananea strike and libertarian campaign of 1911 in Mexicali and Tijuana.^{[14][15]}

0.29.3 Legacy

Main article: [Neozapatismo](#)

After the end of the armed phase of Mexican Revolution, and after the death of Ricardo Flores Magón in 1922, began the rescue of magonist thought, mainly due to trade unionists in Mexico and the United States. In the post-revolutionary Mexico, the figures of Flores Magón brothers was recollected by governments, considering them precursors of the revolution. Both the insurrection of 1910 as social rights enshrined in the Mexican Constitution of 1917 was due largely to the *magonistas*, which since 1906 took up arms and drafted an economic and social program.^[16]

However, although the demands that led to the revolu-



Citizen Year of Ricardo Flores Magón poster (1997)

tion in theory were resolved in the Constitution and in the speeches of the revolutionary governments, there was no significant change in the lives of the most vulnerable populations. Also the *magonistas* considered not fighting to change the administrators of the state, but to abolish them. For this reason, the survived *magonistas* continued to spread anarchist propaganda. Librado Rivera was persecuted and imprisoned during the government of Plutarco Elías Calles and Enrique Flores Magón, who believed that *the Mexican social revolution is not yet over*,^[17] could enjoy security until the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas.

The Mexican Anarchist Federation, founded in 1941 and active for about 40 years, edited the newspaper *Regeneración* and spread magonist thought.

In the 1980s the magonism survived among some youth anarcho-punk groups. The *Biblioteca Social Reconstruir*, founded in 1980 by the Spanish anarchist in exile Ricardo Mestre and located in Mexico City, was a library where to find anarchist literature and works on Ricardo Flores Magón or copies of *Regeneración*.^[18]

In 1994, when the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) took up arms in Chiapas, claimed the ideas of the Flores Magón brothers. In 1997, indigenous organizations, social groups of libertarians and municipal councils of the state of Oaxaca, declared the “Citizen Year of Ricardo Flores Magón” from 21 November (1997) to 16 September 1998.^[19]

In August 2000, driven by indigenous organizations in

the State of Oaxaca and libertarian groups in Mexico City, the Magonistas Days (*Jornadas Magonistas*) were held for the 100 years of the founding of the newspaper *Regeneración*. In the popular uprising of Oaxaca of 2006, took part organizations and youth groups also influenced by anarchist *magonistas* ideals.^[20]

0.29.4 Literature

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- M. Ballesteros, J. C. Beas, B. Maldonado: *Magonismo y Movimiento Indígena en México*. 2003, Ce-Acatl AC^[21]

0.29.5 See also

- Magonista rebellion of 1911
- Popular Indigenous Council of Oaxaca “Ricardo Flores Magón”
- Mexican Anarchist Federation
- Zapatista Army of National Liberation
- Anarchism in Mexico
- Factions in the Mexican Revolution

0.29.6 References

- [1] Magón and Magonism at Blackwell Reference
- [2] Magonism and Zapatism
- [3] “The Mexican Revolution (libcom.org)
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- [6] Magonismo: An Overview
- [7] (Spanish) History of Magonism
- [8] National Archive of Mexico, Governance Branch: *Revolutosos Magonistas* (1906)
- [9] Magonistas at Oxford Reference
- [10] (Spanish) *Verdugos y Víctimas* from the Ricardo Flores Magón Archive
- [11] (Spanish) Magonism; Historical Perspectives of a Mexican Anarchist Model
- [12] (Spanish) Magonism and Indigenous Movement in Mexico
- [13] (Spanish) The Indian in the Magonist Movement

- [14] “The uprising in Baja California”. Libcom.org/Organise. August 24, 2012.
- [15] Lawrence D. Taylor (Winter 1999). “The Magonista Revolt in Baja California”. The Journal of San Diego History.
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- [17] Enrique Flores Magón: *Aclaraciones a la vida y obra de Ricardo Flores Magón*, La Protesta, Argentina, 30 March 1925
- [18] (Spanish) Article about the *Biblioteca Social Reconstruir*
- [19] (Spanish) Article about the Citizen Year of Ricardo Flores Magón
- [20] (Spanish) Anarchy and libertarian currents in the Oaxaca insurrectionary movement
- [21] *Magonismo y Movimiento Indígena en México* (AK Press)

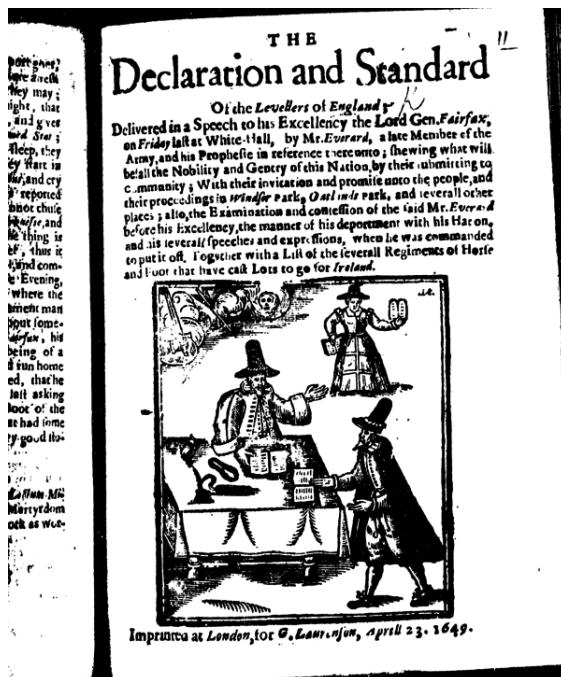
0.29.7 External links

- An overview about the magonism
- (Spanish) Ricardo Flores Magón Archive

0.30 Diggers

For other uses, see Diggers (disambiguation).

The **Diggers** were a group of Protestant radicals,



Woodcut from a Diggers document by William Everard

sometimes seen as forerunners of modern anarchism,^[1] and also associated with agrarian socialism^{[2][3]} and

Georgism. Gerrard Winstanley's followers were known as *True Levellers* in 1649 and later became known as *Diggers*, because of their attempts to farm on common land.

Their original name came from their belief in economic equality based upon a specific passage in the *Book of Acts*.^{[4][5]} The Diggers tried (by “leveling” land) to reform the existing social order with an agrarian lifestyle based on their ideas for the creation of small egalitarian rural communities. They were one of a number of nonconformist dissenting groups that emerged around this time.

0.30.1 Historical background

The year 1649 was a time of great social unrest in England. The Parliamentarians had won the First English Civil War but failed to negotiate a constitutional settlement with the defeated King Charles I. When members of Parliament and the *Grandeens* in the *New Model Army* were faced with Charles' perceived duplicity, they tried and executed him.

Government through the King's Privy Council was replaced with a new body called the Council of State, which due to fundamental disagreements within a weakened Parliament was dominated by the Army. Many people became active in politics, suggesting alternative forms of government to replace the old order.

Royalists wished to place King Charles II on the throne; men like Oliver Cromwell wished to govern with a plutocratic Parliament voted in by an electorate based on property, similar to that which was enfranchised before the civil war; agitators called *Levellers*, influenced by the writings of John Lilburne, wanted parliamentary government based on an electorate of every male head of a household; *Fifth Monarchy Men* advocated a theocracy; and the Diggers, led by Gerrard Winstanley, advocated a more radical solution.

0.30.2 Theory

In 1649 Gerrard Winstanley and 14 others published a pamphlet^[6] in which they called themselves the “True Levellers” to distinguish their ideas from those of the *Levellers*. Once they put their idea into practice and started to cultivate common land, both opponents and supporters began to call them “Diggers”. The Diggers' beliefs were informed by Winstanley's writings which envisioned an ecological interrelationship between humans and nature, acknowledging the inherent connections between people and their surroundings. Winstanley declared that “true freedom lies where a man receives his nourishment and preservation, and that is in the use of the earth”.^[7]

An undercurrent of political thought which has run through English society for many generations and resur-

faced from time to time (for example, in the *Peasants' Revolt* in 1381) was present in some of the political factions of the 17th century, including those who formed the Diggers. It involved the common belief that England had become subjugated by the "Norman Yoke". This legend offered an explanation that at one time a *golden Era* had existed in England before the *Norman Conquest* in 1066. From the Conquest on, the Diggers argued, the "common people of England" had been robbed of their birthrights and exploited by a foreign ruling-class.

0.30.3 Practice

St George's Hill, Weybridge, Surrey

The Council of State received a letter in April 1649 reporting that several individuals had begun to plant vegetables in common land on *St George's Hill, Weybridge* near *Cobham, Surrey* at a time when food prices reached an all-time high. Sanders reported that they had invited "all to come in and help them, and promise them meat, drink, and clothes." They intended to pull down all *enclosures* and cause the local populace to come and work with them. They claimed that their number would be several thousand within ten days. "It is feared they have some design in hand." In the same month, the Diggers issued their most famous pamphlet and manifesto, called "The True Levellers Standard Advanced".^[6]

At the behest of the local landowners, the commander of the *New Model Army*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, duly arrived with his troops and interviewed *Winstanley* and another prominent member of the Diggers, *William Everard*. Everard suspected that the Diggers were in serious trouble and soon left the group. Fairfax, meanwhile, having concluded that Diggers were doing no harm, advised the local landowners to use the courts.

Winstanley remained and continued to write about the treatment they received. The harassment from the *Lord of the Manor*, *Francis Drake* (not the famous *Francis Drake*, who had died more than 50 years before), was both deliberate and systematic: he organised gangs in an attack on the Diggers, including numerous beatings and an *arson* attack on one of the communal houses. Following a court case, in which the Diggers were forbidden to speak in their own defence, they were found guilty of being *Ranters*, a radical sect associated with liberal sexuality (though in fact *Winstanley* had reprimanded *Ranter Laurence Clarkson* for his sexual practices).^{[8][9]} Having lost the court case, if they had not left the land, then the army could have been used to enforce the law and evict them; so they abandoned Saint George's Hill in August 1649, much to the relief of the local *freeholders*.

Little Heath near Cobham

Some of the evicted Diggers moved a short distance to *Little Heath in Surrey*. 11 acres (4.5 ha) were cultivated, six houses built, winter crops harvested, and several pamphlets published. After initially expressing some sympathy for them, the local lord of the manor of *Cobham*, Parson *John Platt*, became their chief enemy. He used his power to stop local people helping them and he organised attacks on the Diggers and their property. By April 1650, Platt and other local landowners succeeded in driving the Diggers from Little Heath.

Wellingborough, Northamptonshire

There was another community of Diggers close to *Wellingborough in Northamptonshire*. In 1650, the community published a declaration which started:

A Declaration of the Grounds and Reasons why we the Poor Inhabitants of the Town of Wellingborrow, in the County of Northampton, have begun and give consent to dig up, manure and sow Corn upon the Common, and waste ground, called Bareshanke belonging to the Inhabitants of Wellinborrow, by those that have Subscribed and hundreds more that give Consent....^[10]

This colony was probably founded as a result of contact with the Surrey Diggers. In late March 1650, four emissaries from the Surrey colony were arrested in Buckinghamshire bearing a letter signed by the Surrey Diggers including *Gerrard Winstanley* and *Robert Coster* inciting people to start Digger colonies and to provide money for the Surrey Diggers. According to the newspaper *A Perfect Diurnall* the emissaries had travelled a circuit through the counties of *Surrey, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Huntingdonshire* and *Northamptonshire* before being apprehended.^[11]

On 15 April 1650 the Council of State ordered Mr *Pentlow*, a *justice of the peace* for Northamptonshire to proceed against 'the Levellers in those parts' and to have them tried at the next Quarter Session.^[12] The *Iver Diggers* recorded that nine of the *Wellingborough Diggers* were arrested and imprisoned in Northampton jail and although no charges could be proved against them the justice refused to release them.

Captain *William Thompson*, the leader of the failed "*Banbury mutiny*," was killed in a skirmish close to the community by soldiers loyal to *Oliver Cromwell* in May 1649.

Iver, Buckinghamshire

Another colony of Diggers connected to the Surrey and Wellingborough colony was set up in **Iver, Buckinghamshire** about 14 miles (23 km) from the Surrey Diggers colony at St George's Hill (see Keith Thomas, 'Another Digger Broadside' Past and Present No.42, (1969) pp. 57–68). The Iver Diggers' "*Declaration of the grounds and Reasons, why we the poor Inhabitants of the Parrish of Iver in Buckinghamshire ...*"^[13] revealed that there were further Digger colonies in Barnet in Hertfordshire, Enfield in Middlesex, Dunstable in Bedfordshire, Bosworth in Gloucestershire and a further colony in Nottinghamshire. It also revealed that after the failure of the Surrey colony, the Diggers had left their children to be cared for by parish funds.

0.30.4 Influence

The San Francisco Diggers

Main article: [Diggers \(theater\)](#)

During the middle and late 1960s, the **San Francisco Diggers** (who took their name from the original English Diggers) opened stores which simply gave away their stock; provided free food, medical care, transport and temporary housing; they also organized free music concerts and works of political art. Some of their happenings included the Death of Money Parade, Intersection Game, Invisible Circus, and Death of Hippie/Birth of Free.

The Diggers were a radical community-action group of community activists and Improv actors operating from 1966 to 1968, based in the **Haight-Ashbury** neighborhood of **San Francisco**. Their politics were such that they have sometimes been categorized as "left-wing". More precisely, they were "community anarchists" who blended a desire for freedom with a consciousness of the community in which they lived. They were closely associated with and shared a number of members with a guerrilla theater group named the **San Francisco Mime Troupe**. Like the original English Diggers, they envisioned a society free from private property, and all forms of buying and selling. Actor **Peter Coyote** was a founding member of the Diggers.

Other

The American Diggers were echoed in the 1960s in the UK (see **Alternative Society** and **Sid Rawle**). Since the revival of anarchism in the British anti-roads movement, the Diggers have been celebrated as precursors of land squatting and communalism. In 2011, an annual festival began in **Wigan** to celebrate the Diggers. In 2012, the second annual festival proved a great success and the sixth took place in 2016.^[14] In **Wellingborough**, a festival has

also been held annually since 2011. Bolton Diggers were established in 2013 and have promoted "the commons" as a foil to privatisation. They have established community food gardens, cooperatives and the Common Wealth cafe, a pay-as-you-feel cafe using surplus food from supermarkets.

0.30.5 Writings

- Many archive resources are available at the [Diggers.org](#) site about both the English and San Francisco diggers.

17th century

- *Truth Lifting up its Head above Scandals* (1649, Dedication dated October 16, 1648), Gerrard Winstanley
- *The New Law Of Righteousness* (January 26, 1649), Gerrard Winstanley
- *The True Levellers Standard A D V A N C E D: or, The State of Community opened, and Presented to the Sons of Men* William Everard, John Palmer, John South, John Courton. William Taylor, Christopher Clifford, John Barker. Gerrard Winstanley, Richard Goodgroome, Thomas Starre, William Hoggrill, Robert Sawyer, Thomas Eder, Henry Bickerstaffe, John Taylor, &c. (April 20, 1649)
- *A DECLARATION FROM THE Poor oppressed People OF ENGLAND, DIRECTED To all that call themselves, or are called Lords of Manors, through this NATION...* Gerrard Winstanley, John Coulton, John Palmer, Thomas Star, Samuel Webb, John Hayman, Thomas Eder, William Hoggrill, Daniel Weeden, Richard Wheeler, Nathaniel Yates, William Clifford, John Harrison, Thomas Hayden, James Hall. James Manley, Thomas Barnard, John South, Robert Sayer, Christopher Clifford, John Beechee, William Coomes, Christopher Boncher, Richard Taylor, Urian Worthington, Nathaniel Holcombe, Giles Childe (senior), John Webb, Thomas Yarwel, William Bonnington. John Ash, Ralph Ayer, John Pra, John Wilkinson, Anthony Spire, Thomas East, Allen Brown, Edward Parret, Richard Gray, John Mordy, John Bachilor, William Childe, William Hatham, Edward Wicher, William Tench.(June 1, 1649).
- *A LETTER TO The Lord Fairfax, AND His Councill of War, WITH Divers Questions to the Lawyers, and Ministers: Proving it an undeniable Equity, That the common People ought to dig, plow, plant and dwell upon the Commons, with-out hiring them, or paying Rent to any.* On the behalf of those who have begun to dig upon **George-Hill** in Surrey. Gerrard Winstanley (June 9, 1649)

- *A Declaration of The bloudie and unchristian acting of William Star and John Taylor of Walton* (June 22, 1649), Gerrard Winstanley
- *An Appeal To the House of Commons; desiring their answer: whether the common-people shall have the quiet enjoyment of the commons and waste land; ...* (July 11, 1649), Gerrard Winstanley, John Barker, and Thomas Star
- *A Watch-Word to the City of London, and the Armie* (August 26, 1649), Gerrard Winstanley
- *To His Excellency the Lord Fairfax and the Councell of Warre the Brotherly Request of those that are called Diggers sheweth* (December 1649), John Heyman, An. Wrenn, Hen. Barton, Jon Coulton (in the behalf of others called the Diggers), Robert Cosler, John Plamer, Jacob Heard (in *The Clarke Papers* volume 2, [1894])
- *To My Lord Generall and his Councell of Warr* (December 8, 1649), Gerrard Winstanley (in *The Clarke Papers* volume 2, [1894])
- *The Diggers Song* (circa 1649,1650) (in *The Clarke Papers* volume 2, [1894]), attributed to Gerrard Winstanley by the historian C. H. Firth, the editor of *The Clarke Papers*.
- *The Declaration and Standard Of the Levellers of England, delivered in a speech to His Excellency the Lord Gen. Fairfax, on Friday last at White-Hall ...*, William Everard
- *Several Pieces gathered into one volume* (1650, Preface dated December 20, 1649), A second edition of five of Gerrard Winstanley's works printed for Giles Calvert, the printer for nearly all the Diggers writings.^[15]
- *A New-years Gift FOR THE PARLIAMENT AND ARMIE: SHEWING, What the KINGLY Power is; And that the CAUSE of those They call DIGGERS* (January 1, 1650), Gerrard Winstanley
- *Englands Spirit Unfoulded or an incouragement to take the Engagement ...* (Ca. February or March, 1650), Jerrard [sic] Winstanley.
- *A Vindication of Those Whose Endeavors is Only to Make the Earth a Common Treasury, Called Diggers* (March 4, 1650), Gerrard Winstanley
- *Fire in the Bush* (March 19, 1650), Gerrard Winstanley
- *An appeale to all Englishmen, to judge between bondage and freedome, sent from those that began to digge upon George Hill in Surrey; but now are carrying on, that publick work upon the little heath in the parish of Cobham...,* (March 26, 1650), Jerard [sic] Winstanley [and 24 others]

- *A Letter taken at Wellingborough* (March, 1650), probably written by Gerrard Winstanley.^[16]
- *An Humble Request, to the Ministers of both Universities, and to all Lawyers in every Inns-a-court* (April 9, 1650), Gerrard Winstanley
- *Letter to Lady Eleanor Davies* (December 4, 1650), Gerrard Winstanley
- *The Law Of Freedom in a Platform, or True Magistracy Restored* (1652), Gerrard Winstanley

1960s–70s

- Ringolevio Emmet Grogan
- Broadgate Gnome (mag) 67–71
- Truro Diggers (Cell magazine) 77–81
- International Times

0.30.6 Influence on literature and popular culture

- In 1966 a faction of the **San Francisco Mime Troupe** formed a Diggers group in the hippie community in the **Haight-Ashbury** district of San Francisco. A strongly anti-establishment group, they handed out free food in Golden Gate Park^[17]
- "The World Turned Upside Down" by Leon Rosselson, 1975, a song about the Diggers and their activities on St. George's Hill in 1649; this song was performed by Billy Bragg on his *Between the Wars* EP, 1985; by Dick Gaughan on *Handful of Earth*, 1981; by the Barracudas on their album *Endeavour to Persevere*, 1984; by Chumbawumba on the b-side of their single "Timebomb," 1993; by Four to the Bar on *Another Son* in 1995; by Attila the Stockbroker with Barnstormer on *The Siege of Shoreham*, 1996; by Oysterband on their albums *Shouting End of life and Alive and Shouting*, 1995 and 1996; by Karan Casey (formerly of the Irish band Solas), on her *Songlines* album, 1997; by Clandestine, a Houston-based Celtic group, on their *To Anybody At All* album, 1999; by the Fagans, an Australian folk group, on their album, *Turning Fine*, 2002; and by Seattle Celt-rock band Coventry on the album *Red Hair and Black Leather*, 2005.
- *Winstanley*, a fictionalized 1975 film portrait of the Diggers, directed by Kevin Brownlow, was based upon the novel *Comrade Jacob* by David Caute.
- Rev Hammer's *Freeborn John (The Story of John Lilburne—The Leader of the Levellers)* (Cooking Vinyl CD, London, 1997), is a recent example of confusion between the Levellers and True Levellers.

- *As Meat Loves Salt* by Maria McCann, Harcourt, 2001 (ISBN 0-15-601226-X) deals in part with the founding and destruction of a fictional Digger colony at Page Common near London.
- Philip Pullman's *His Dark Materials* trilogy is strongly influenced by Winstanley's writings, including the idea of the Republic of Heaven.
- Caryl Churchill's 1976 play *Light Shining in Buckinghamshire*, named after the Digger pamphlet and set in the English Civil War, charts the rise and fall of the Diggers and other radical ideas from the 1640s.
- Jonathon Kemp's 2010 play *The Digger's Daughter* tells the tale of the Diggers and quotes much of Winstanley's teaching directly.

0.30.7 Footnotes

- [1] See Nicolas Walter, *Anarchism and Religion* (The Anarchist Library, 1991), p.3
- [2] Campbell 2009, p. 129.
- [3] E.g. "That we may work in righteousness, and lay the Foundation of making the Earth a Common Treasury for All, both Rich and Poor, That every one that is born in the Land, may be fed by the Earth his Mother that brought him forth, according to the Reason that rules in the Creation. Not Inclosing any part into any particular hand, but all as one man, working together, and feeding together as Sons of one Father, members of one Family; not one Lordling over another, but all looking upon each other, as equals in the Creation;" in *The True Levellers Standard A D V A N C E D: or, The State of Community opened, and Presented to the Sons of Men*
- [4] Acts 4:32, Today's English Version: "The group of believers was one in mind and heart. No one said that any of his belongings was his own, but they all shared with one another everything they had."
- [5] The "The True Levellers Standard A D V A N C E D" specifically mentions Acts 4.32
- [6] *The True Levellers Standard A D V A N C E D: or, The State of Community opened, and Presented to the Sons of Men*
- [7] Grant, Neil. *Hamlyn Children's History of Britain: From the Stone Age to the Present Day*, 2nd Rev edition (Dean, 1992), p.144
- [8] Laurence 1980, p. 57.
- [9] Vann 1965, p. 133.
- [10] A Declaration by the Diggers of Wellingborough – 1650
- [11] Keith Thomas, 'Another Digger Broadside' Past and Present No.42, (1969) pp. 57–6.)
- [12] Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1650 (London, 1876) p. 106.
- [13] A Declaration of the Grounds and Reasons (Iver) from Hopton, Andrew, ed. Digger Tracts, 1649–50. London: Aporia, 1989. (transcribed by Clifford Stetner)
- [14] <http://wigandiggersfestival.org/>
- [15] Loewenstein, David (2001). *Representing revolution in Milton and his contemporaries: religion, politics, and polemics in radical Puritanism* (illustrated ed.). Cambridge University Press. p. 315. ISBN 0-521-77032-7.
- [16] Winstanley, Gerrard (2009). *The complete works of Gerrard Winstanley*. 2. Oxford University Press. p. 430. ISBN 0-19-957606-8.
- [17] Miles, Barry (2003). *Hippie*. Sterling Press. p. 106. ISBN 1-4027-1442-4.

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0.30.9 Further reading

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- Staff. The English Diggers (1649–50), Digger Archives
- Staff. English Dissenters: Diggers, ExLibris
- Staff. An index page: Diggers, Ranters and other radical Puritans at Street Corner Society

0.31 Georgism

“Georgist” redirects here. For the Romanian political group, see [National Liberal Party-Brătianu](#).

Georgism, also called **geoism**^[1] and **single tax** (archaic), is an economic philosophy holding that, while people should own the value they produce themselves, economic value derived from land (including **natural resources** and **natural opportunities**) should belong equally to all members of society.^{[2][3][4]} Developed from the writings of **Henry George**, the Georgist paradigm offers solutions to social and ecological problems, relying on principles of land rights and public finance which attempt to integrate economic efficiency with social justice.^{[5][6]}

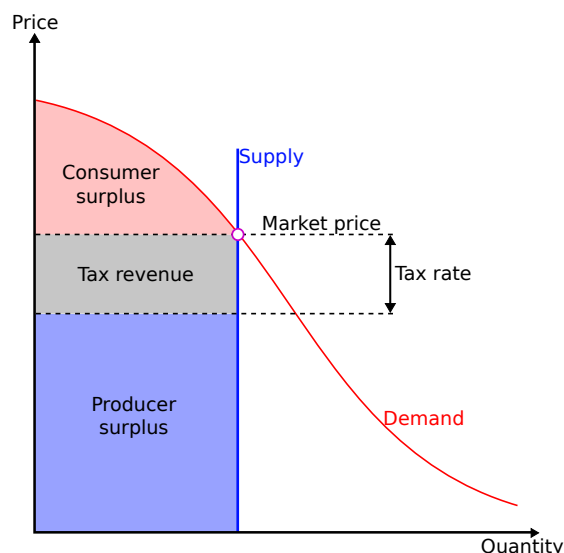
Georgism is concerned with the distribution of economic rent caused by **natural monopolies**, pollution, and the control of **commons**, including title of ownership for natural resources and other contrived **privileges** (e.g., intellectual property). Any natural resource which is inherently limited in **supply** can generate **economic rent**, but the classical and most significant example of 'land monopoly' involves the extraction of common **ground rent** from valuable urban locations. Georgists argue that taxing economic rent is **efficient**, **fair**, and **equitable**. The main Georgist policy is a tax assessed on land value. Georgists argue that revenues from a **land value tax** (LVT) can reduce or eliminate existing taxes on labor and investment that are unfair and inefficient. Some Georgists also advocate for the return of surplus public revenue back to the people by means of a **basic income** or **citizen's dividend**.

Economists since **Adam Smith** have observed that, unlike other taxes, a public levy on land value does not cause **economic inefficiency**.^[7] A land value tax is often said to have **progressive tax** effects, in that it is paid primarily by the wealthy (the landowners), and it cannot

be passed on to tenants, workers, or users of land.^{[8][9]} Land value taxes would theoretically reduce **economic inequality**, increase wages, remove incentives to misuse real estate, and reduce the vulnerability that economies have from credit and property manias.^[10] The philosophical basis of Georgism dates back to several early proponents such as **John Locke**,^[11] **Baruch Spinoza**,^[12] and **Thomas Paine**,^[13] but the concept of gaining public revenues from **natural resource** privileges was widely popularized by the economist and social reformer **Henry George** and his first book, *Progress and Poverty*, published during 1879.

Georgist ideas were popular and influential during the late 19th and early 20th century.^[14] Political parties, institutions and communities were founded based on Georgist principles during that time. Early devotees of Henry George's economic philosophy were often termed *Single Taxers*, associated with the idea of raising public revenue exclusively from land and privileges, but the term is now considered a misnomer because many Georgists endorse multiple types of government funding. In classical and Georgist economics, the term 'land' is defined as all locations, natural opportunities, resources, physical forces, and government privileges over economic domains, which is related to the concept of **commons**.^[15] The term *geoism* was invented later, and some prefer the term *geoism* to distinguish their beliefs from those of Henry George.^{[16][17]}

0.31.1 Main tenets



A *supply and demand* diagram showing the effects of land value taxation. Note that the burden of the tax is entirely on the land owner, and there is no deadweight loss.

See also: [Land value tax](#)

Henry George is best known for popularizing the argument that government should be funded by a tax on

land rent rather than taxes on labor. George believed that although scientific experiments could not be performed in political economy, theories could be tested by comparing different societies with different conditions and by thought experiments about the effects of various factors.^[18] Applying this method, he concluded that many of the problems that beset society, such as poverty, inequality, and economic booms and busts, could be attributed to the private ownership of the necessary resource, land. In his most celebrated book, *Progress and Poverty*, George argues that the appropriation of land for private use contributes to persistent poverty in spite of technological progress, and causes economies to exhibit a tendency toward boom and bust cycles. According to George, people justly own what they create, but that natural opportunities and land belong equally to all.^[3]

The tax upon land values is, therefore, the most just and equal of all taxes. It falls only upon those who receive from society a peculiar and valuable benefit, and upon them in proportion to the benefit they receive. It is the taking by the community, for the use of the community, of that value which is the creation of the community. It is the application of the common property to common uses. When all rent is taken by taxation for the needs of the community, then will the equality ordained by Nature be attained. No citizen will have an advantage over any other citizen save as is given by his industry, skill, and intelligence; and each will obtain what he fairly earns. Then, but not till then, will labor get its full reward, and capital its natural return.

— Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, Book VIII, Chapter 3

George believed there was an important distinction between common and collective property.^[19] Although equal rights to land might be achieved by nationalizing land and then leasing it to private users, George preferred taxing unimproved land value and leaving the control of land mostly in private hands. George's reasoning for leaving land in private control and slowly shifting to land value tax was that it would not penalize existing owners who had improved land and would also be less disruptive and controversial in a country where land titles have already been granted.

Georgists have observed that privately created wealth is socialized via the tax system (e.g., through income and sales tax), while socially created wealth in land values are privatized in the price of land titles and bank mortgages. The opposite would be the case if land rents replaced taxes on labor as the main source of public revenue; socially created wealth would become available for use by the community, while the fruits of labor would remain private.^[20] According to Georgists, a land value tax

can be considered a user fee instead of a tax, since it is related to the market value of socially created locational advantage, the privilege to exclude others from locations. Assets consisting of commodified privilege can be considered as wealth since they have exchange value, similar to taxi medallions.^[21] A land value tax, charging fees for exclusive use of land, as a means of raising public revenue is also a progressive tax tending to reduce economic inequality,^{[8][9]} since it applies entirely to ownership of valuable land, which is correlated with income,^[22] and there is no means by which landlords can shift the tax burden onto tenants or laborers.

Economic properties

See also: Optimal tax and Tax incidence

Standard economic theory suggests that a land value tax would be extremely efficient – unlike other taxes, it does not reduce economic productivity.^[10] Milton Friedman described Henry George's tax on unimproved value of land as the "least bad tax", since unlike other taxes, it would not impose an excess burden on economic activity (leading to zero or even negative "deadweight loss"); hence, a replacement of other more distortionary taxes with a land value tax would improve economic welfare.^[23] As land value tax can improve the use of land and redirect investment toward productive, non-rentseeking activities, it could even have a negative deadweight loss that boosts productivity.^[24] Because land value tax would apply to foreign land speculators, the Australian Treasury estimated that land value tax was unique in having a negative marginal excess burden, meaning that it would increase long-run living standards.^[25]

It was Adam Smith who first noted the efficiency and distributional properties of a land value tax in his book, *The Wealth of Nations*:^[7]

Ground-rents are a still more proper subject of taxation than the rent of houses. A tax upon ground-rents would not raise the rents of houses. It would fall altogether upon the owner of the ground-rent, who acts always as a monopolist, and exacts the greatest rent which can be got for the use of his ground. More or less can be got for it according as the competitors happen to be richer or poorer, or can afford to gratify their fancy for a particular spot of ground at a greater or smaller expense. In every country the greatest number of rich competitors is in the capital, and it is there accordingly that the highest ground-rents are always to be found. As the wealth of those competitors would in no respect be increased by a tax upon ground-rents, they would not probably be disposed to pay more for the use of the ground.

Whether the tax was to be advanced by the inhabitant, or by the owner of the ground, would be of little importance. The more the inhabitant was obliged to pay for the tax, the less he would incline to pay for the ground; so that the final payment of the tax would fall altogether upon the owner of the ground-rent.

Both ground-rents and the ordinary rent of land are a species of revenue which the owner, in many cases, enjoys without any care or attention of his own. Though a part of this revenue should be taken from him in order to defray the expenses of the state, no discouragement will thereby be given to any sort of industry. The annual produce of the land and labour of the society, the real wealth and revenue of the great body of the people, might be the same after such a tax as before. Ground-rents and the ordinary rent of land are, therefore, perhaps, the species of revenue which can best bear to have a peculiar tax imposed upon them. [...] Nothing can be more reasonable than that a fund which owes its existence to the good government of the state should be taxed peculiarly, or should contribute something more than the greater part of other funds, towards the support of that government.

Benjamin Franklin and Winston Churchill made similar distributional and efficient arguments for taxing land rents. They noted that the costs of taxes and the benefits of public spending always eventually apply to and enrich, respectively, the owners of land. Therefore, they believed it would be best to defray public costs and recapture value of public spending by applying public charges directly to owners of land titles, rather than harming public welfare with taxes assessed against beneficial activities such as trade and labor.^{[26][27]}

Henry George wrote that his plan would cause people “to contribute to the public, not in proportion to what they produce . . . but in proportion to the value of natural [common] opportunities that they hold [monopolize].” He went on to explain that “by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community,” it would, “make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user.” By George’s plan, it would be impossible for speculators to hold valuable natural opportunities like urban real estate unused or used only partly. George claimed this would have many benefits, including the reduction or elimination of tax burdens from poorer neighborhoods and agricultural districts; the elimination of a multiplicity of taxes and expensive obsolete government institutions; the elimination of corruption, fraud, and evasion with respect to the collection of taxes; the enablement of true free trade; the destruction of monopolies; the elevation of wages to the full value of labor; the transformation of labor saving inventions into blessings

for all; and the equitable distribution of comfort, leisure, and other advantages that are made possible by an advancing civilization.^[28]

Sources of economic rent and related policy interventions

See also: [Pigovian tax](#) and [Severance tax](#)

Income flow resulting from payments for restricted access to natural opportunities or for contrived privileges over geographic regions is termed **economic rent**. Georgists argue that economic rent of land, legal **privileges**, and **natural monopolies** should accrue to the community, rather than private owners. In economics, “land” is everything that exists in nature independent of human activity. George explicitly included climate, soil, waterways, mineral deposits, laws/forces of nature, public ways, forests, oceans, air, and solar energy in the category of land.^[29] While the philosophy of Georgism does not say anything definitive about specific policy interventions needed to address problems posed by various sources of economic rent, the common goal among modern Georgists is to capture and share (or reduce) rent from all sources of natural monopoly and legal privilege.^{[30][31]}

Henry George shared the goal of modern Georgists to socialize or dismantle rent from all forms of land monopoly and legal privilege. However, George emphasized mainly his preferred policy known as **land value tax**, which targeted a particular form of unearned income known as **ground rent**. George emphasized ground-rent because basic locations were more valuable than other monopolies and everybody needed locations to survive, which he contrasted with the less significant streetcar and telegraph monopolies, which George also criticized. George likened the problem to a laborer traveling home who is waylaid by a series of highway robbers along the way, each who demand a small portion of the traveler’s wages, and finally at the very end of the road waits a robber who demands all that the traveler has left. George reasoned that it made little difference to challenge the series of small robbers when the final robber remained to demand all that the common laborer had left.^[32] George predicted that over time technological advancements would increase the frequency and importance of lesser monopolies, yet he expected that ground rent would remain dominant.^[33] George even predicted that ground-rents would rise faster than wages and income to capital, a prediction that modern analysis has shown to be plausible, since the supply of land is fixed.^[34]

Common ground rent is still the primary emphasis of Georgists because of its large value and the known diseconomies of misused land. However, there are other sources of rent that are theoretically analogous to ground-rent and are debated topics of Georgists. The following are some sources of economic rent.^{[35][36][37]}

- Extractable resources (minerals and hydrocarbons)^{[38][39]}
- Severables (forests and stocks of fish)^{[31][40][41]}
- Extraterrestrial domains (geosynchronous orbits and airway corridor use)^{[36][37]}
- Legal privileges that apply to specific location (taxi medallions, billboard and development permits, or the monopoly of electromagnetic frequencies)^{[36][37]}
- Restrictions/taxes of pollution or severance (tradable emission permits and fishing quotas)^{[30][36][37]}
- Right-of-way (transportation) used by railroads, utilities, and internet service providers^{[42][43][44]}
- Issuance of legal tender (see seigniorage)^{[30][45]}
- Privileges that are less location dependent but that still exclude others from natural opportunities (patents)^{[46][47]}

Where free competition is impossible, such as telegraphs, water, gas, and transportation, George wrote, "[S]uch business becomes a proper social function, which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned." Georgists were divided by this question of natural monopolies and often favored public ownership only of the rents from common rights-of-way, rather than public ownership of utility companies themselves.^[28]

Georgism and environmental economics

The early conservationism of the Progressive Era was inspired partly by Henry George and his influence extended for decades afterward.^[48] Some ecological economists still support the Georgist policy of land value tax as a means of freeing or rewilding unused land and conserving nature by reducing urban sprawl.^{[49][50][51]}

Pollution degrades the value of what Georgists consider to be commons. Because pollution is a negative contribution, a taking from the commons or a cost imposed on others, its value is economic rent, even when the polluter is not receiving an explicit income. Therefore, to the extent that society determines pollution to be harmful, most Georgists propose to limit pollution with taxation or quotas that capture the resulting rents for public use, restoration, or a citizen's dividend.^{[30][52][53]}

Georgism is related to the school of ecological economics, since both propose market based restrictions for pollution.^{[49][54]} The schools are compatible in that they advocate using similar tools as part of a conservation strategy, but they emphasize different aspects. Conservation is the central issue of ecology, whereas economic rent is the central issue of geoism. Ecological economists

might price pollution fines more conservatively to prevent inherently unquantifiable damage to the environment, whereas Georgists might emphasize mediation between conflicting interests and human rights.^{[31][55]} Geolibertarianism, a market oriented branch of geoism, tends to take a direct stance against what it perceives as burdensome regulation and would like to see auctioned pollution quotas or taxes replace most command and control regulation.^[56]

Since ecologists are primarily concerned with conservation, they tend to emphasize less the issue of equitably distributing scarcity/pollution rents, whereas Georgists insist that unearned income not accrue to those who hold title to natural assets and pollution privilege. To the extent that geoists recognize the effect of pollution or share conservationist values, they will agree with ecological economists about the need to limit pollution, but geoists will also insist that pollution rents generated from those conservation efforts do not accrue to polluters and are instead used for public purposes or to compensate those who suffer the negative effects of pollution. Ecological economists advocate similar pollution restrictions but, emphasizing conservation first, might be willing to grant private polluters the privilege to capture pollution rents. To the extent that ecological economists share the geoist view of social justice, they would advocate auctioning pollution quotas instead of giving them away for free.^[49] This distinction can be seen in the difference between basic cap and trade and the geoist variation, cap and share, a proposal to auction temporary pollution permits, with rents going to the public, instead of giving pollution privilege away for free to existing polluters or selling perpetual permits.^{[57][58]}

Revenue uses

The revenue can allow the reduction or elimination of taxes, greater public investment/spending, or the direct distributed of funds to citizens as a pension or basic income/citizen's dividend.^{[31][59][60]}

In practice, the elimination of all other taxes implies a very great land value tax, greater than any currently existing land tax. Introducing a land value tax greater than the value of existing taxes would, at an uncertain point, inevitably cause the price of all land titles to decrease. George did not believe landowners should be compensated, and described the issue as being analogous to compensation for former slave owners. Other geoists disagree on the question of compensation; some advocate complete compensation while others endorse only enough compensation required to achieve Georgist reforms. Geoists have also long differed from George as to the degree of rent capture needed. Historically, those who advocated for public rent tax only great enough to replace other taxes were known as endorsers of single tax limited.

0.31.2 Synonyms and variants

Most early advocacy groups described themselves as Single Taxers, and George reluctantly accepted “single tax” as an accurate name for his main political goal—the repeal of all unjust or inefficient taxes, to be replaced with a **land value tax** (LVT). In the modern era, Georgist proponents are a diverse group coming from many different backgrounds: ecologists emphasize **environmentalism**; **geolibertarians** emphasize its egalitarian **free market** philosophy; **utilitarians** emphasize the potential for enhanced public goods; and **urbanists** emphasize the economic and social benefits of efficiently utilizing prime land for businesses and housing.

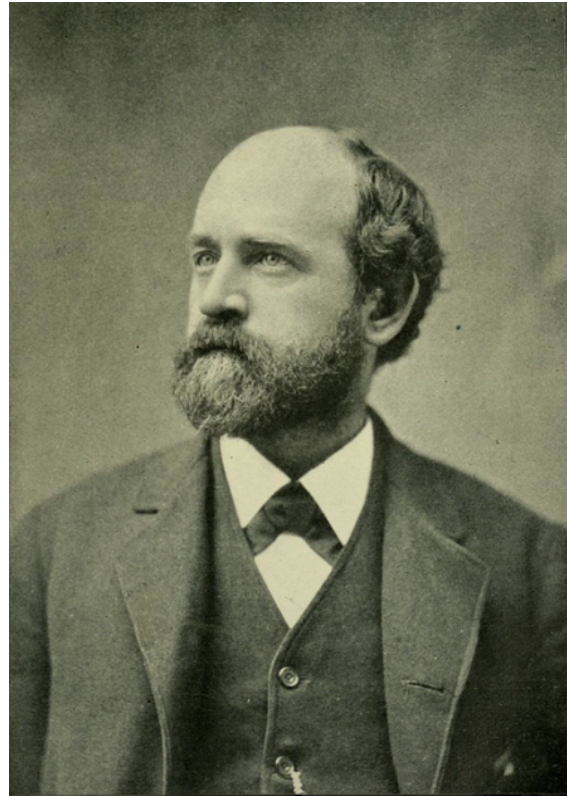
Some modern proponents are dissatisfied with the name *Georgist*. While Henry George was well known throughout his life, he has been largely forgotten by the public and the idea of a single tax of land predates him. Some now prefer the term *geoism*,^{[17][61]} with the meaning of *geo* (from Greek γῆ *gē* “earth, land”, as incidentally is in Greek the first compound of the name *George* (whence *Georgism*) < (Gr.) *Geōrgios* < *geōrgos* “farmer” or *geōrgia* “agriculture, farming” < *gē* + *ergon* “work”)^{[62][63]} deliberately ambiguous. The terms *Earth Sharing*,^[64] *geonomics*,^[65] and *geolibertarianism*^[66] (see *Libertarianism*) are also used by some Georgists. These terms represent a difference of emphasis, and sometimes real differences about how land rent should be spent (citizen’s dividend or just replacing other taxes); but all agree that land rent should be recovered from its private recipients.

Compulsory fines and fees related to land rents are the most common Georgist policies, but some geoists prefer voluntary **value capture** systems that rely on methods such as non-compulsory or self-assessed location value fees, **community land trusts**,^[67] and purchasing **land value covenants**.^{[68][69][70][71][72]}

Some geoists believe that partially compensating landowners is a politically expedient compromise necessary for achieving reform.^{[73][74]} For similar reasons, others propose capturing only future land value increases, instead of all land rent.^[75]

Though Georgism has historically been considered as a radically **progressive** or **socialist** ideology, some libertarians and **minarchists** take the position that limited social spending should be financed using Georgist concepts of rent **value capture**, but that not all land rent should be captured. Today, this relatively conservative adaptation is usually considered incompatible with true **geolibertarianism**, which requires that excess rents be gathered and then distributed back to residents. During Henry George’s time, this restrained Georgist philosophy was known as “single tax limited”, as opposed to “single tax unlimited”. Henry George disagreed with the limited interpretation but accepted its adherents (e.g., **Thomas Shearman**) as legitimate “single-taxers” [Georgists].^[76] (See **Milton Friedman** in “Critical reception”)

0.31.3 Influence



Henry George, whose writings and advocacy form the basis for Georgism.

Georgist ideas influenced the politics of the early 20th century. Political parties that were formed based on Georgist ideas include the USA’s **Commonwealth Land Party**, the **Henry George Justice Party**, the **Single Tax League**, and Denmark’s **Justice Party**.

In the **UK** during 1909, the Liberal Government included a land tax as part of several taxes in the **People’s Budget** intended to redistribute wealth (including a progressively graded income tax and an increase of inheritance tax). This caused a crisis which resulted indirectly in reform of the **House of Lords**. The budget was passed eventually—but without the land tax. During 1931, the minority Labour Government passed a land value tax as part III of the 1931 Finance act. However, this was repealed during 1934 by the **National Government** before it could be implemented.

In Denmark, the **Georgist Justice Party** has previously been represented in **Folketinget**. It formed part of a centre-left government 1957–60 and was also represented in the **European Parliament** 1978–79. The influence of Henry George has waned over time, but Georgist ideas still occasionally emerge in politics. In the 2004 **Presidential campaign**, **Ralph Nader** mentioned Henry George in his policy statements.^[77]

Communities

Several communities were also initiated with Georgist principles during the maximum of the philosophy's popularity. Two such communities that still exist are *Arden, Delaware*, which was founded during 1900 by *Frank Stephens* and *Will Price*, and *Fairhope, Alabama*, which was founded during 1894 by the auspices of the *Fairhope Single Tax Corporation*.^[78]

The German protectorate of *Jiaozhou Bay* (also known as *Kiaochow*) in *China* fully implemented Georgist policy. Its sole source of government revenue was the land value tax of six percent which it levied in its territory. The German government had previously had economic problems with its African colonies caused by land speculation. One of the main reasons for using the land value tax in *Jiaozhou Bay* was to eliminate such speculation, which was entirely achieved.^[79] The colony existed as a German protectorate from 1898 until 1914, when seized by Japanese and British troops. During 1922 the territory was returned to China.



Henry George School of Social Science in New York

Georgist ideas were also adopted to some degree in *Australia*, *Hong Kong*, *Singapore*, *South Africa*, *South Korea*, and *Taiwan*. In these countries, governments still levy some type of land value tax, albeit with exemptions.^[80] Many municipal governments of the USA depend on real *property tax* as their main source of revenue, although such taxes are not Georgist as they generally include the value of buildings and other improvements, one exception being the town of *Altoona, Pennsylvania*, which only taxes land value.

Institutes and organizations

Various organizations still exist that continue to promote the ideas of Henry George. According to the *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, the periodical *Land&Liberty*, established during 1894, is “the longest-lived Georgist project in history”.^[81] Also in the U.S., the *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy* (established dur-

ing 1974) was initiated based on the writings of Henry George. It “seeks to improve the dialogue about urban development, the built environment, and tax policy in the United States and abroad”.^[82] The *Henry George Foundation* continues to promote the ideas of Henry George in the UK.^[83] The *IU* is an international umbrella organisation that brings together organizations worldwide that seek land value tax reform.^[84]

0.31.4 Criticism

Richard T. Ely, known as the “Father of Land Economics”, agreed with the economic arguments for Georgism but believed that correcting the problem the way Henry George wanted (without compensation) was unjust to existing landowners. In explaining his position, Ely wrote that “If we have all made a mistake, should one party to the transaction alone bear the cost of the common blunder?”^[85]

Alfred Marshall thought George’s views in *Progress and Poverty* were dangerous, even predicting wars, terror, and economic destruction. Specifically, Marshall was upset about the idea of rapid change and the unfairness of not compensating existing landowners. In his lectures on *Progress and Poverty*, Marshall opposed George’s position on compensation while fully endorsing his ultimate remedy. So far as land value tax moderately replaced other taxes and did not cause the price of land to fall, Marshall supported *land value taxation* on economic and moral grounds, suggesting that a three or four percent tax on land values would fit this condition. After implementing land taxes, governments would purchase future land values at discounted prices and take ownership after 100 years. Marshall asserted that this plan, which he strongly supported, would end the need for a tax collection department of government. For newly formed countries where land was not already private, Marshall advocated implementing George’s economic proposal immediately.^{[86][87]}

Robert Solow endorsed the theory of Georgism, but is wary of the perceived injustice of *expropriation*. Solow stated that taxing away expected land rents “would have no semblance of fairness”; however, Georgism would be good to introduce where location values were not already privatized or if the transition could be phased in slowly.^[88]

John R. Commons supported Georgist economics but opposed what he perceived as an environmentally and politically reckless tendency for advocates to rely on a one-size-fits-all approach to tax reform, specifically, the ‘single tax’ framing. Commons concluded *The Distribution of Wealth*, with an estimate that “that perhaps 95% of the total values represented by these millionaire [sic] fortunes is due to those investments classed as land values and natural monopolies and to competitive industries aided by such monopolies,” and that “tax reform should seek to remove all burdens from capital and labour and impose

them on monopolies.” However, he criticized Georgists for failing to see that Henry George’s anti-monopoly ideas must be implemented with a variety of policy tools. He wrote, “Trees do not grow into the sky---they would perish in a high wind; and a single truth, like a single tax, ends in its own destruction.” Commons uses the natural soil fertility and value of forests as an example of this destruction, arguing that a tax on the in situ value of those depletable natural resources can result in overuse or over-extraction. Instead, Commons recommends an income tax based approach to forests similar to a modern Georgist *severance tax*.^{[89][90]}

Milton Friedman agreed that “the Henry George argument” is “the least bad” means of raising needed public revenue.^[91] However, Friedman viewed Georgism as partially immoral, due to a difference of opinion about the validity of vested property rights in land. Georgists agree with Friedman that land titles should remain private, however they believe that the private capture of unimproved land-rents is inherently unjust, drawing comparisons to slavery.^[92]

Karl Marx considered the Single Tax platform as a regression from the transition to communism and referred to Georgism as “Capitalism’s last ditch.”^[93] Marx argued that, “The whole thing is... simply an attempt, decked out with socialism, to save capitalist domination and indeed to establish it afresh on an even wider basis than its present one.”^[94] Marx also criticized the way land value tax theory emphasizes the value of land, arguing that, “His fundamental dogma is that everything would be all right if ground rent were paid to the state.”^[94] Fred Harrison replies to these Marxist objections in “Gronlund and other Marxists – Part III: nineteenth-century Americas critics”, *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*.^[95]

George has also been accused of exaggerating the importance of his “all-devouring rent thesis” in claiming that it is the primary cause of poverty and injustice in society.^[96] George argued that the rent of land increased faster than wages for labor because the supply of land is fixed. Modern economists, including Ottmar Edenhofer have demonstrated that George’s assertion is plausible but was more likely to be true during George’s time than now.^[34]

Contemporaries such as Frank Fetter and John Bates Clark argued that it was impractical to distinguish land from capital, and used this as a basis to attack Georgism. Mark Blaug, a specialist in the history of economic thought, credits Fetter and Clark with influencing mainstream economists to abandon the idea “that land is a unique factor of production and hence that there is any special need for a special theory of ground rent” claiming that “this is in fact the basis of all the attacks on Henry George by contemporary economists and certainly the fundamental reason why professional economists increasingly ignored him.”^[97]

An early criticism of Georgism was that it would generate too much public revenue and result in unwanted growth of government, but later critics argued that it would not generate enough income to cover government spending. Joseph Schumpeter concluded his analysis of Georgism by stating that, “It is not economically unsound, except that it involves an unwarranted optimism concerning the yield of such a tax.” Economists who study land conclude that Schumpeter’s criticism is unwarranted because the rental yield from land is likely much greater than what modern critics such as Paul Krugman suppose.^[98] Krugman agrees that land value taxation is the best means of raising public revenue but asserts that increased spending has rendered land rent insufficient to fully fund government.^[99] Georgists have responded by citing studies and analyses implying that land values of nations like the US, UK, and Australia are more than sufficient to fund all levels of government.^{[100][101][102][103][104][105][106]}

Anarcho-capitalist political philosopher and economist Murray Rothbard criticized Georgism in *Man, Economy, and State* as being philosophically incongruent with subjective value theory, and further stating that land is irrelevant in the factors of production, trade, and price systems,^[107] but this critique is seen by some, including other opponents of Georgism, as relying on false assumptions and flawed reasoning.^[108]

Austrian economist Friedrich Hayek credited early enthusiasm for Henry George with developing his interest in economics. Later, Hayek said that the theory of Georgism would be very strong if assessment challenges didn’t result in unfair outcomes, but he believed that they would.^[109]

0.31.5 Notable Georgists

Economists

- Harry Gunnison Brown^[110]
- John R. Commons^{[111][112][113]}
- Raymond Crotty^{[114][115]}
- Herman Daly^[116]
- Paul Douglas^{[117][118]}
- Ottmar Edenhofer^{[119][120][121]}
- Fred Foldvary^[122]
- Mason Gaffney^{[123][124]}
- Max Hirsch^[125]
- Harold Hotelling^{[126][127][128][129]}
- Wolf Ladejinsky^[130]
- Donald Shoup^{[131][132][133]}

- Herbert A. Simon^{[134][135]}
- Robert Solow^[136]
- Joseph Stiglitz^[137]
- Nicolaus Tideman^[138]
- William Vickrey^{[139][140][141]}
- Léon Walras^[142]
- Philip Wicksteed^[143]

Heads of government

- John Ballance^{[144][145]}
- Winston Churchill^{[146][147][148][149]}
- Alfred Deakin^[150]
- Andrew Fisher^[151]
- George Grey^[152]
- Rutherford B. Hayes^[153]
- William Morris Hughes^[154]
- Robert Stout^[155]
- Woodrow Wilson^[156]
- Sun Yat-sen^{[157][158]}

Other political figures

- John Peter Altgeld^{[159][160]}
- Newton D. Baker^{[161][162]}
- Willie Brown^[163]
- Clyde Cameron^[164]
- George F. Cotterill^{[165][166][167]}
- William Jay Gaynor^[168]
- Keir Hardie^[169]
- Frederic C. Howe^[170]
- Blas Infante^[171]
- Tom L. Johnson^[172]
- Samuel M. Jones^[173]
- Frank de Jong^[174]
- Franklin Knight Lane^[161]
- Hazen S. Pingree^{[175][176][177]}
- Philip Snowden^{[178][179]}
- Josiah C. Wedgwood
- William Bauchop Wilson^[161]
- Jackson Stitt Wilson^{[180][181]}

Activists

- Jane Addams^{[182][183]}
- Sara Bard Field^[184]
- Michael Davitt^[185]
- Samuel Gompers^{[186][187]}
- Bolton Hall^[188]
- Hubert Harrison^{[189][190]}
- John Haynes Holmes^{[191][192]}
- Stewart Headlam^{[193][194]}
- Benjamin C. Marsh^{[195][196]}
- James Ferdinand Morton^{[197][198]}
- Thomas Mott Osborne^{[199][200][201]}
- Amos Pinchot^{[202][203]}
- Terence V. Powderly^[204]
- Samuel Seabury^[205]
- Catherine Helen Spence^[206]
- Helen Taylor (feminist)^[207]
- William Simon U'Ren^[208]
- Ida B. Wells^[209]
- Frances Willard^[210]

Authors

- Ernest Howard Crosby^[183]
- Charles Eisenstein^[211]
- Hamlin Garland^{[212][213]}
- Fred Harrison^[214]
- James A. Herne^[215]
- Ebenezer Howard^{[216][217][218]}
- Elbert Hubbard^[219]
- Aldous Huxley^[220]
- James Howard Kunstler^[221]
- Jose Marti^{[222][223]}
- William D. McCrackan^[212]
- Albert Jay Nock^[224]
- Kathleen Norris^[225]
- Upton Sinclair^{[226][227]}
- Leo Tolstoy^{[228][229]}
- Charles Erskine Scott Wood^{[230][231]}

Journalists

- William F. Buckley, Jr.^[232]
- Timothy Thomas Fortune^[233]
- Theodor Herzl^[234]
- Michael Kinsley^{[235][236][237]}
- Suzanne La Follette^{[238][239]}
- Dylan Matthews^{[240][241]}
- Raymond Moley^[242]
- Charles Edward Russell^[243]
- Reihan Salam^[244]
- Horace Traubel^[245]
- Martin Wolf^[246]
- Merryn Somerset Webb^{[247][248]}
- Brand Whitlock^{[249][250][251]}
- Tim Worstall^[252]
- Matthew Yglesias^{[253][254]}

Artists

- David Bachrach^[255]
- John Wilson Bengough^[256]
- Daniel Carter Beard^[257]
- Matthew Bellamy^[258]
- Walter Burley Griffin^{[259][260]}
- John Hutchinson^{[212][261]}
- George Inness^[262]
- Emma Lazarus^{[263][264]}
- Agnes de Mille^[265]
- Henry Churchill de Mille^{[266][267]}
- William C. deMille^{[268][269]}
- Francis Neilson^{[270][271]}
- Banjo Paterson^[272]
- Louis Prang^[273]
- Will Price^[274]
- Frank Stephens^[275]
- Frank Lloyd Wright^[276]

Philosophers

- Ralph Borsodi^[277]
- Ludwig Büchner^[278]
- Nicholas Murray Butler^{[279][280]}
- Frank Chodorov^{[281][282]}
- John B. Cobb^[283]
- John Dewey^[284]
- Silvio Gesell^[285]
- Leon MacLaren^{[286][287]}
- Franz Oppenheimer^[234]
- Philippe Van Parijs^{[288][289]}
- Bertrand Russell^{[290][291][292]}
- Hillel Steiner^[293]

Other

- Roger Babson^[294]
- Louis Brandeis^{[295][296]}
- Clarence Darrow^{[297][298][299]}
- Albert Einstein^{[300][301]}
- Henry Ford^[302]
- Spencer Heath^{[303][304]}
- Mumia Abu-Jamal^[305]
- Margrit Kennedy^[306]
- John C. Lincoln^[307]
- Elizabeth Magie^{[308][309]}
- Edward McGlynn^[310]
- Buckey O'Neill^[311]
- George Foster Peabody^{[200][201]}
- Louis Freeland Post^[312]
- Walter Rauschenbusch
- Raymond A. Spruance^[313]
- Silvanus P. Thompson^[256]
- Fiske Warren^{[314][315]}
- Alfred Russel Wallace^[316]
- Joseph Fels^[317]

0.31.6 See also

- *Agrarian Justice*
- Arden, Delaware
- Cap and Share
- Causes of poverty
- Citizen's dividend
- Classical economics
- Classical liberalism
- Community land trust
- Deadweight loss
- Diggers movement
- Economic rent
- Enclosure
- Excess burden of taxation
- Externality
- Free-market environmentalism
- *Freiwirtschaft*
- Geolibertarianism
- Green economy
- Labor economics
- *Laissez-faire*
- Land (economics)
- Landed property
- Land law
- Land monopoly
- Land tenure and registration
- Land value tax
- Law of rent
- Lockean proviso
- Manorialism
- Natural and legal rights
- Optimal tax
- Physiocracy
- Pigovian tax
- Poverty reduction

- *Progress and Poverty*
- Progressive Era
- Prosper Australia (formerly "Henry George League")
- Radical centrism
- Tax reform / shift
- Tragedy of the anticommons
- Universal basic income
- Value capture
- Wealth concentration

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0.31.8 External links

- Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

0.32 Zapatista Army of National Liberation

The **Zapatista Army of National Liberation** (*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, **EZLN**), often referred to as the **Zapatistas** [sapa'tistas], is a revolutionary leftist political and militant group based in Chiapas, the southernmost state of Mexico.

Since 1994 the group has been in a declared war "against the Mexican state", and against military, paramilitary and corporate incursions into Chiapas.^[1] This war has been

primarily defensive. In recent years, it has focused on a strategy of **civil resistance**. The Zapatistas' main body is made up of mostly rural **indigenous people**, but includes some supporters in urban areas and internationally. Their main spokesperson is **Subcomandante Insurgente Galeano**, previously known as Subcomandante Marcos (a.k.a. Compañero Galeano and Delegate Zero in relation to "the Other Campaign"). Unlike other Zapatista spokespeople, Marcos is not an indigenous **Maya**.^[2]

The group takes its name from **Emiliano Zapata**, the agrarian reformer and commander of the **Liberation Army of the South** during the **Mexican Revolution**, and sees itself as his ideological heir. Nearly all EZLN villages contain murals with images of Zapata, **Ernesto "Che" Guevara**, and Subcomandante Marcos.^[3]

Although the ideology of the EZLN reflects **libertarian socialism**, paralleling both **anarchist** and **libertarian Marxist** thought in many respects, the EZLN has rejected^[4] and defied^[5] political classification, retaining its distinctiveness due in part to the importance of indigenous **Mayan** beliefs in the Zapatistas. The EZLN aligns itself with the wider **alter-globalization**, **anti-neoliberal social movement**, seeking indigenous control over their local resources, especially land. Since their 1994 uprising was countered by the Mexican army, the EZLN has abstained from military offensives and adopted a new strategy that attempts to garner Mexican and international support.

0.32.1 Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee



Subcommander Marcos surrounded by several commanders of the CCRI

The Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee is the General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (**Spanish: Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena - Comandancia General del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional**).

This collective leadership of the EZLN is made up of 23 commanders and 1 subcommander (Subcomandante Marcos, who acts basically as speaker).

Most of the CCRI commanders are only known by their **nom de guerre** if at all. Their names are: Comandante Brunel, Comandante Abraham, Comandante Alejandro, Comandante Bulmaro, Comandante Daniel, Comandante David, Comandante Eduardo, Comandanta Esther, Comandanta Fidelia, Comandante Filemón, Comandante Gustavo, Comandante Isaías, Comandante Ismael, Comandante Javier, Comandante Maxo, Comandante Mister, Comandante Moisés, Comandante Omar, **Comandanta Ramona†**, Comandante Sergio, Comandanta Susana, Comandante Tacho, Comandanta Yolanda, Comandante Zebedeo.

0.32.2 History

Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (Zapatista Army of National Liberation, or EZLN) was founded on November 17, 1983 by non-indigenous members of the FLN guerrilla (Fuerzas de Liberación Nacional founded by César Germán Yáñez Muñoz) group from Mexico's urban north and by indigenous inhabitants of the remote **Las Cañadas/Selva Lacandona** regions in eastern Chiapas, by members of former rebel movements. Over the years, the group slowly grew, building on social relations among the indigenous base and making use of an organizational infrastructure created by peasant organizations and the Catholic church (see **Liberation theology**).

1990s

The Zapatista Army went public on January 1, 1994, the day when the **North American Free Trade Agreement** (NAFTA) came into effect. On that day, they issued their First Declaration and Revolutionary Laws from the **Lacandon Jungle**. The declaration amounted to a declaration of war on the Mexican government, which they considered so out of touch with the will of the people as to make it illegitimate. The EZLN stressed that it opted for armed struggle due to the lack of results achieved through peaceful means of protest (such as sit-ins and marches).^[6]

Their initial goal was to instigate a revolution against the rise of neoliberalism^[7] throughout Mexico, but as this did not happen, they used their uprising as a platform to call the world's attention to their movement to protest the signing of NAFTA, which the EZLN believed would increase the gap between rich and poor people in Chiapas—a prediction that has been vindicated by subsequent developments.^[8] Gaining attention on a global level through their convention called the Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism that was attended by 3,000 activists worldwide, the Zapatistas were able to help initiate a united platform for other anti-neoliberal groups. This did not deter from the Zapatistas' national activism efforts, but rather expanded their already existent ideologies.^[7] The EZLN also called for greater democratization of the Mexican

government, which had been controlled by the **Partido Revolucionario Institucional** (Institutional Revolutionary Party, also known as PRI) for 65 years, and for **land reform** mandated by the 1917 **Constitution of Mexico** but largely ignored by the PRI.^[9] The EZLN did not demand independence from Mexico, but rather autonomy in the forms of land access and use of natural resources normally extracted from Chiapas, as well as protection from despotic violence and political inclusion of Chiapas' indigenous communities.^[10]

On the morning of January 1, 1994, an estimated 3,000 armed Zapatista insurgents seized towns and cities in Chiapas, including **Ocosingo**, **Las Margaritas**, **Huixtán**, **Oxchuc**, **Rancho Nuevo**, **Altamirano**, and **Chanal**. They freed the prisoners in the jail of **San Cristóbal de las Casas** and set fire to several police buildings and military barracks in the area. The guerrillas enjoyed brief success, but the next day Mexican army forces counterattacked, and fierce fighting broke out in and around the market of Ocosingo. The Zapatista forces took heavy casualties and retreated from the city into the surrounding jungle.

Armed clashes in Chiapas ended on January 12, with a **ceasefire** brokered by the Catholic diocese in San Cristóbal de las Casas under Bishop **Samuel Ruiz**, a well known **liberation theologian** who took up the cause of the indigenous of Chiapas. The Zapatistas retained some of the land for a little over a year, but in February 1995 the Mexican army overran that territory in a surprise breach of ceasefire. Following this offensive, the Zapatista villages were mostly abandoned and the rebels fled to the mountains after breaking out of the Mexican army perimeter.

Army camps set up along all major thoroughfares failed to capture the movement's commanders and the government pursued a policy of negotiation, while the Zapatistas developed a media campaign through numerous newspaper communiqués. Various "declarations from the Lacandon Jungle" focused on non-violent solutions. After the **Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle**, the Zapatistas have not engaged in further military actions.

Military offensive Once **Subcomandante Marcos** was identified as **Rafael Guillén** on February 9, 1995, in a turn of events counterproductive to the understandings the Mexican Government and the EZLN had reached, Mexican President **Ernesto Zedillo** made a series of decisions that were completely at odds with the strategic plan previously defined by his government, and with the agreements he had authorized his Secretary of Interior, Lic **Esteban Moctezuma**, to discuss with Marcos a mere three days earlier, in Guadalupe Tepeyac - Zedillo sent the Mexican army to capture or annihilate Marcos, without first consulting his Secretary of Interior, without knowing exactly who Marcos was, and only with the **PGR's** single presumption that Marcos was a dangerous guerrilla. Despite these circumstances, President Zedillo decided to

launch a military offensive in an attempt to capture or annihilate the EZLN's main spokesperson, a figure around which a cult of personality was already forming.

Arrest-warrants were made for Marcos, **Javier Elorriaga Berdegue**, **Silvia Fernández Hernández**, **Jorge Santiago**, **Fernando Yanez**, **German Vicente**, **Jorge Santiago** and other Zapatistas. At that point, in the **Lacandon Jungle**, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation was under military siege by the **Mexican Army**. **Javier Elorriaga** was captured on February 9, 1995, by forces from a military garrison at **Gabina Velázquez** in the town of **Las Margaritas**, and was later taken to the **Cerro Hueco** prison in **Tuxtla Gutiérrez**, Chiapas.^[11] On February 11, 1995, the **PGR** informed the country that the government had implemented an operation in the State of México, where they had captured 14 people presumed to be involved with the Zapatistas, of which eight had already being turned over to the judicial authorities. They had also seized an important arsenal, the **PGR** stated.^[12] The **PGR's** repressive acts reached the point of threatening the **San Cristóbal de las Casas' Catholic Bishop**, **Samuel Ruiz García**, with arrest, for allegedly aiding to conceal the Zapatistas' guerrilla uprising, even though their activities were reported years before the uprising in what is considered one of Mexico's most important magazines, **Proceso**, which the **Mexican Government** had tried to cover it up.^{[13][14] [15]} This dealt a serious blow to the recently restored **Mexico-Vatican** diplomatic relationship,^[16] taking account the May 24, 1993 political assassination of a Prince of the Catholic Church, the **Guadalajara Cardinal Juan Jesús Posadas Ocampo**, that the **PGR** has left unresolved to this day.

Marcos's resolve was put to the test when the Zapatista Army of National Liberation was under military siege by the **Mexican Army** in their camp and in the **Lacandon Jungle**. Marcos's response was immediate, sending the then Secretary of Interior, Lic. **Esteban Moctezuma**, with whom he had met three days earlier, the following message: "See you in hell". The facts seemed to confirm former Chiapas Peace Commissioner **Manuel Camacho Solís's** accusations, made public in June 16, 1994, that the reason for his resignation was sabotage, done by the then presidential candidate **Zedillo**.

Under the considerable political pressure of a highly radicalized situation, and believing a peaceful solution to be possible, Mexican Secretary of the Interior Lic. **Esteban Moctezuma** campaigned to reach a peacefully negotiated solution to the **1995 Zapatista Crisis**, betting it all on a creative strategy to reestablish a dialogue between the **Mexican Government** and the EZLN to find peace, by demonstrating to Marcos the terrible consequences of a military solution.

Making a strong position against the February 9 actions against Peace, **Moctezuma**, defender of a political solution, submitted his resignation to President Zedillo, but the Zedillo refused to accept it. Moved by **Moctezuma's**

protest, President Zedillo abandoned the military offensive in favor of the improbable task of restoring the conditions for dialog to reach a negotiation. For these foregoing reasons the Mexican army eased its operation in Chiapas, giving an opportunity that Marcos needed to escape the military perimeter in the Lacandon jungle.^[17] Faced with this situation, **Max Appedole**, **Rafael Guillén**, childhood friend and colleague, at the **Jesuits College Instituto Cultural Tampico** asked for help from **Edén Pastora** the legendary Nicaraguan “Commander Zero” to prepare a report for under-Secretary of the Interior **Luis Maldonado Venegas**; the Secretary of the Interior **Esteban Moctezuma** and the President Zedillo about Marcos natural pacifist vocation and the terrible consequences of a tragic outcome.^[18] The document concluded that the marginalized groups and the radical left that exist in **México**, have been vented with the Zapatistas movement, while Marcos maintains an open negotiating track. Eliminate Marcos, and his social containment work will not only cease, but will give opportunity to the radical groups to take control of the movement. They will respond to violence with violence. They would begin terrorist bombings, kidnappings and belligerent activities. The country would be in a very dangerous spiral, which could lead to very serious situations, because there is discontent not only in **Chiapas**, but also in many other places in **Mexico**.^[19]

2000s

With the coming to power of the new government of President **Vicente Fox** in 2001 (the first non-PRI president of Mexico in over 70 years), the Zapatistas marched on Mexico City to present their case to the **Mexican Congress**. Although Fox had stated earlier that he could end the conflict “in fifteen minutes,”^[20] the EZLN rejected watered-down agreements and created 32 “autonomous **municipalities**” in Chiapas, thus partially implementing their demands without government support but with some funding from international organizations.

On June 28, 2005, the Zapatistas presented the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle^[21] declaring their principles and vision for Mexico and the world. This declaration reiterates the support for the indigenous peoples, who make up roughly one-third of the population of Chiapas, and extends the cause to include “all the exploited and dispossessed of Mexico”. It also expresses the movement’s sympathy to the international **alter-globalization** movement and offers to provide material aid to those in **Cuba**, **Bolivia**, **Ecuador**, and elsewhere, with whom they make common cause. The declaration ends with an exhortation for all who have more respect for humanity than for money to join with the Zapatistas in the struggle for social justice both in Mexico and abroad. The declaration calls for an alternative national campaign (the “**Other Campaign**”) as an alternative to the presidential campaign. In preparation for this campaign, the Zap-



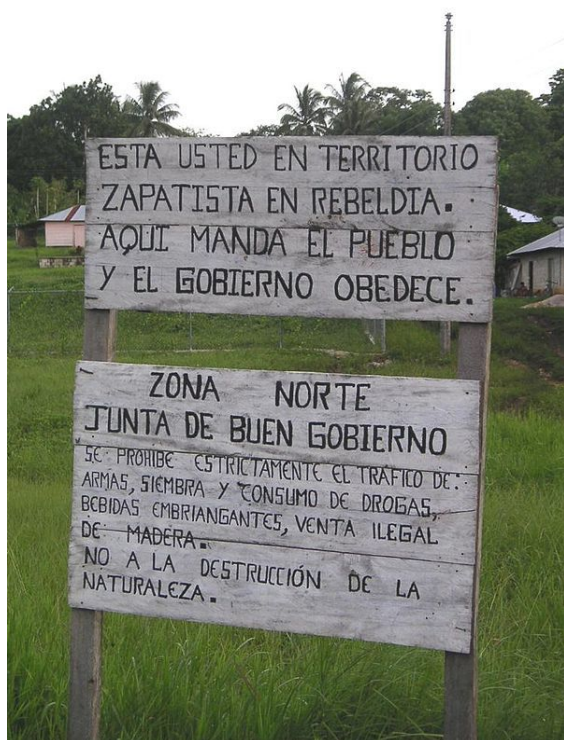
Subcomandante Marcos in 1996

atistas invited to their territory over 600 national leftist organizations, indigenous groups, and non-governmental organizations in order to listen to their claims for **human rights** in a series of biweekly meetings that culminated in a plenary meeting on September 16, the day Mexico celebrates its independence from Spain. In this meeting, **Subcomandante Marcos** requested official adherence of the organizations to the Sixth Declaration, and detailed a six-month tour of the Zapatistas through all 31 Mexican states to occur concurrently with the electoral campaign starting January 2006.

0.32.3 Ideology

The ideology of the Zapatista movement, **Neozapatismo**, synthesizes traditional Mayan practices with elements of **libertarian socialism**, **anarchism**,^{[22][23]} and **Marxism**.^[24] The historical influence of **Mexican Anarchists** and various Latin American socialists is apparent in Neozapatismo. The positions of **Subcomandante Marcos** add a Marxist^[25] element to the movement. A Zapatista slogan is in harmony with the concept of **mutual aid**: “For everyone, everything. For us, nothing” (*Para todos todo, para nosotros nada*).

The EZLN opposes **economic globalization**, arguing that it severely and negatively affects the peasant life of its indigenous support base and oppressed people worldwide. The signing of **NAFTA** also resulted in the removal of Article 27, Section VII, from the **Mexican Constitution**, which had guaranteed land reparations to indigenous groups throughout Mexico.



Federal Highway 307, Chiapas. The top sign reads, in Spanish, "You are in Zapatista rebel territory. Here the people command and the government obeys." Bottom sign: "North Zone. Council of Good Government. Trafficking in weapons, planting of drugs, drug use, alcoholic beverages, and illegal selling of wood are strictly prohibited. No to the destruction of nature."

Another key element of the Zapatistas' ideology is their aspiration to do politics in a new, **participatory** way, from the "bottom up" instead of "top down". The Zapatistas consider the contemporary **political system of Mexico** inherently flawed due to what they consider its purely representative nature and its disconnection from the people and their needs. In contrast, the EZLN aims to reinforce the idea of **participatory democracy** or radical democracy by limiting public servants' terms to only two weeks, not using visible organization leaders, and constantly referring to the people they are governing for major decisions, strategies, and conceptual visions. Marcos has reiterated, "my real commander is the people". In accordance with this principle, the Zapatistas are not a **political party**: they do not seek office throughout the state, because that would perpetuate the political system by attempting to gain power within its ranks. Instead, they wish to reconceptualize the entire system.

Women's Revolutionary Law

From the First Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle, the Zapatistas presented to the people of Mexico, the government, and the world their Revolutionary Laws on January 1, 1994. One of the laws was the **Women's Revolutionary Law**,^[26] which states:

1. Women, regardless of their race, creed, color or political affiliation, have the right to participate in the revolutionary struggle in any way that their desire and capacity determine.
2. Women have the **right to work** and receive a fair salary.
3. Women have the right to decide the number of children they have and care for.
4. Women have the right to participate in the matters of the community and hold office if they are free and democratically elected.
5. Women and their children have the right to Primary Attention in their health and nutrition.
6. Women have the **right to an education**.
7. Women have the right to choose their partner and are not **obliged to enter into marriage**.
8. Women have the right to be free of violence from both relatives and strangers.
9. Women will be able to occupy positions of leadership in the organization and hold military ranks in the revolutionary armed forces.
10. Women will have all the rights and obligations elaborated in the Revolutionary Laws and regulations.

Postcolonial gaze

The Zapatistas' response to the introduction of NAFTA in 1994 reflects the shift in perception taking place in societies that have experienced colonialism.^[27] The theory of **postcolonial gaze** studies the cultural and political impacts of colonization on formerly colonized societies and how these societies overcome centuries of discrimination and marginalization by colonialists and their descendents.^[28] In Mexico, the theory of the postcolonial gaze is being fostered predominantly in areas of large indigenous populations and marginalization, like Chiapas. Over the last 20 years, Chiapas has emerged as a formidable force against the Mexican government, fighting against structural violence and social and economic marginalization brought on by globalization.^[29] The Zapatista rebellion not only raised many questions about the consequences of globalization and free trade; it also questioned the long-standing ideas created by the Spanish colonial system. Postcolonialism is the antithesis of imperialism because it attempts to explain how the prejudices and restrictions created by colonialism are being overcome.^[28] This is especially obvious in countries that have large social and economic inequalities, where colonial ideas are deeply entrenched in the minds of the colonials' descendents.

An early example of the Zapatistas' effective use of the postcolonial gaze was their use of organizations

like the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to raise awareness for their rebellion and indigenous rights, the Mexican government's lack of respect for the country's impoverished and marginalized populations.^[30] Appealing to the ECOSOC and other traditionally Western-influenced non-governmental bodies allowed the Zapatistas to establish a sense of autonomy by using the postcolonial gaze to redefine their identities both as indigenous people and as citizens of Mexico.^[31]

0.32.4 Political expressions

Since December 1994, the Zapatistas had been gradually forming several autonomous municipalities, called *Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities* (MAREZ). In these municipalities, an assembly of local representatives forms the *Juntas de Buen Gobierno* or *Councils of Good Government* (JBGs). These are not recognized by the federal or state governments; they oversee local community programs on food, health, education, and taxation. The EZLN political formations have occurred in two phases generally called *Aguascalientes* and *Caracoles*.

Aguascalientes

After the cessation of fighting in mid-1994, the EZLN called for a Democratic National Convention. As part of the call, they began the practice of setting up cultural spaces for exchanges and meetings between the EZLN and Zapatistas, on the one hand, and political and cultural sectors of civil society in Mexico and the international community, on the other. These spaces were called *Aguascalientes*, in memory of the city of *Aguascalientes* that had harbored the Supreme Revolutionary *Convention of Aguascalientes* that brought together, among others, the most progressive forces of the Mexican revolution (such as the Magonistas, the Villa, and the Zapatistas). This new "Aguascalientes" was created in the Lacandon Jungle, near the community of Guadalupe Tepeyac Tojolabal, in the municipality of Las Margaritas, from August 6 to August 9, 1994.

At the end of 1995, the EZLN again proposed to build new *Aguascalientes*, as a symbol of resistance and rebellion. In 1996, the *Aguascalientes I* (Reality), *Aguascalientes II* (Oventic), *Aguascalientes III* (La Garucha), *Aguascalientes IV* (Morelia), and *Aguascalientes V* (Roberto Barrios) became headquarters of the political and cultural initiatives of the Zapatistas in the form of the National Indigenous Forum, National Civil Committees Meeting for National Dialogue, Special Forum for State Reform, First American against Neoliberalism and for Humanity, and First Intergalactic. These cultural centers, which had auditoriums, health clinics, toilets, baths, libraries, stairs, and bedrooms were always surrounded by army camps and federal databases.

In January 1996, the "governor" insurgent Chiapas,

Amado Avendaño Figueroa, inaugurated another *Aguascalientes* in Tijuana, Baja California. In the heart of University City, built by students who had participated in the 1999–2000 strike at UNAM, would be the Water Mirror *Aguascalientes*, where the Zapatistas sent a message to young people and students in the country under The March of the Color of the Earth. The same happened in Xochimilco, where a group of indigenous organizations founded another *Aguascalientes*.

More ephemeral and symbolic was the *Aguascalientes* in Cuernavaca, Genaro, opened by one of the delegates who visited Zapatista lands Morelos in March 1999 in connection with that year's consultation, and *Aguascalientes El Angel* in Mexico City. Both spaces worked as statements about the Lacandon Jungle and the San Andrés Accords, and voting, then disappeared.

Caracoles

Caracoles and the *Councils of Good Government* (JBG) of the Zapatistas were formed in summer 2003. A feast was held to mark the founding from 8 to 10 August 2003, in *Aguascalientes Oventic*. This was the culmination of a series of changes in the EZLN and the 27 *Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities* (MAREZ). The changes came after a long analysis of MAREZ and *Aguascalientes*, the problems they had faced, and their relationship to Mexican and international civil society. The new organizations were meant to represent a major advance in the autonomy of communities and indigenous peoples of Mexico.^[21] The EZLN declared that the *Councils of Good Government* also marked a transition where the EZLN military would no longer give orders in civil matters in the autonomous communities. The *Caracoles* is an attempt to unilaterally implement San Andres expression and culture and rights of Indigenous people in Mexico.

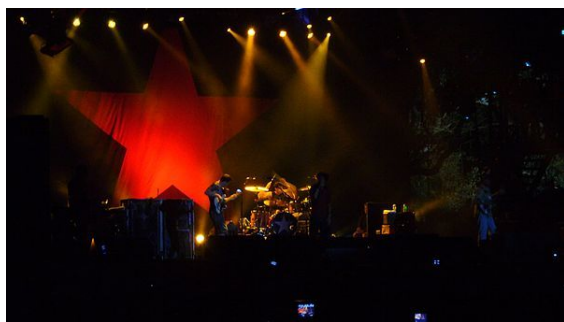
Carcoles replaced the old *Aguascalientes*, respecting to a greater or lesser extent areas comprising (about four, and up to eight, municipalities each). The *Good Government Councils* were arranged and persist in what is called the center of *Caracol*, where there are also offices of governance monitoring, reporting, in some clinical cases, in cases secondary regions, etc.

0.32.5 Communications

From the beginning, the EZLN has made communication with the rest of Mexico and the world a high priority. The EZLN has used technology, including *cellular phones* and the Internet, to generate international solidarity with sympathetic people and organizations. Rap-rock band *Rage Against the Machine* is well known for its support of the EZLN, using the red star symbol as a backdrop to their live shows and often informing concert crowds of the ongoing situation.



Wearing a headset. "Marcha del Color de la Tierra" (2001).



The Zapatista flag in the background; RATM on stage.

As a result, on trips abroad, the president of Mexico is routinely confronted by small activist groups about "the Chiapas situation". The Zapatistas are featured prominently in Rage Against the Machine's songs, in particular "People of the Sun", "Wind Below", "Zapata's Blood", and "War Within a Breath".^[32] Another band that has openly supported the EZLN's cause is Los de Abajo.

Before 2001, Marcos' writings were often published in some Mexican and a few international newspapers. Then Marcos fell silent, and his relationship with the media declined. When he resumed writing in 2002, he assumed a more aggressive tone, and his attacks on former allies angered some of the EZLN's supporters. Except for these

letters and occasional critical communiqués about the political climate, the EZLN was largely silent until August 2003, when *Radio Insurgente* was launched from an unknown location.

In mid-2004, COCOPA head Luis H. Álvarez stated that Marcos had not been seen in Chiapas for some time. The EZLN received little press coverage during this time, although it continued to develop the local governments it had created earlier. In August, Marcos sent eight brief communiqués to the Mexican press, published from August 20 through 28. The series was entitled *Reading a Video* (possibly mocking political video scandals that occurred earlier that year). It began and ended as a kind of written description of an imaginary low-budget Zapatista video, with the rest being Marcos' comments on political events of the year and the EZLN's current stance and development.

In 2005, Marcos made headlines again by comparing the then presidential candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador to Carlos Salinas de Gortari (as part of a broad criticism of the three main political parties in Mexico, the PAN, PRI, and PRD), and publicly declaring the EZLN in "Red Alert". Shortly thereafter, communiqués announced that the EZLN had undergone a restructuring that enabled them to withstand the loss of their public leadership (Marcos and the CCRI). After consulting with their support base, the Zapatistas issued the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle.

Since the Zapatistas' first uprising, the newspaper *La Jornada* has continuously covered them. Most communiqués and many of Marcos's letters are delivered to and only published by *La Jornada*, and the online edition of the newspaper has a section dedicated to *The Other Campaign*.

The independent media organization Indymedia also covers and prints Zapatista developments and communications.

0.32.6 2005–2013 activities

On June 28, 2005, the EZLN released an installment of what it called the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle. According to the communiqué, the EZLN had reflected on its history and decided that it must change in order to continue its struggle. Accordingly, the EZLN had decided to unite with the "workers, farmers, students, teachers, and employees ... the workers of the city and the countryside." They proposed to do so through a non-electoral front to talk and collectively write a new constitution to establish a new political culture.

On January 1, 2006, the EZLN began a massive tour, "The Other Campaign", encompassing all 31 Mexican states in the buildup to that year's presidential election, which the EZLN made clear they would not participate in directly.

On May 3–4, 2006, a series of demonstrations protested the forcible removal of irregular flower vendors from a lot in **Texcoco** for the construction of a **Walmart** branch. The protests turned violent when state police and the **Federal Preventive Police** bussed in some 5,000 agents to **San Salvador Atenco** and the surrounding communities. A local organization called the **People's Front in Defense of the Land (FPDT)**, which adheres to the Sixth Declaration, called in support from other regional and national adherent organizations. "**Delegate Zero**" and his "**Other Campaign**" were at the time in nearby Mexico City, having just organized **May Day** events there, and quickly arrived at the scene. The following days were marked by violence, with some 216 arrests, over 30 rape and sexual abuse accusations against the police, five deportations, and one casualty, a 14-year-old boy named Javier Cortes shot by a policeman. A 20-year-old UNAM economics student, Alexis Benhumea, died on the morning of June 7, 2006, after being in a coma caused by a blow to the head from a tear-gas grenade launched by police.^[33] Most of the resistance organizing was done by the EZLN and Sixth Declaration adherents, and Delegate Zero stated that the "Other Campaign" tour would be temporarily halted until all prisoners were released.

In late 2006 and early 2007, the Zapatistas (through **Subcomandante Marcos**), along with other **indigenous peoples of the Americas**, announced the Intercontinental Indigenous Encounter. They invited indigenous people from throughout the Americas and the rest of the world to gather on October 11–14, 2007, near **Guaymas, Sonora**. The declaration for the conference designated this date because of "*515 years since the invasion of ancient Indigenous territories and the onslaught of the war of conquest, spoils and capitalist exploitation*". Comandante David said in an interview, "*The object of this meeting is to meet one another and to come to know one another's pains and sufferings. It is to share our experiences, because each tribe is different.*"^[34]

The Third Encuentro of the Zapatistas People with the People of the World was held from December 28, 2007, through January 1, 2008.^[35]

In mid-January 2009, Marcos made a speech on behalf of the Zapatistas in which he supported the **resistance of the Palestinians** as "*the Israeli government's heavily trained and armed military continues its march of death and destruction.*" He described the actions of the Israeli government as a "*classic military war of conquest*". He said, "*The Palestinian people will also resist and survive and continue struggling and will continue to have sympathy from below for their cause.*"^[36]

On August 8, 2013, the Zapatistas invited the world to a three-day fiesta to celebrate ten years of Zapatista autonomy, in the five caracoles in Chiapas. 1,500 activists from all over the world will join the event, named the Little School of Liberty according to the Zapatistas.^{[37][38]}

0.32.7 Horizontal autonomy and indigenous leadership



Zapatista Chiapas

Zapatista communities continue to practice horizontal autonomy and mutual aid by building and maintaining their own anti-systemic health, education, and sustainable agro-ecological systems, promoting equitable gender relations via Women's Revolutionary Law, and building international solidarity through humble outreach and non-imposing political communication. In addition to their focus on building "a world where many worlds fit", the Zapatistas continue to resist periodic attacks. The Zapatista struggle re-gained international attention in May 2014 with the death of teacher and education promoter Galeano, who was murdered in an attack on a Zapatista school and health clinic led by 15 local paramilitaries.^[39] In the weeks that followed, thousands of Zapatistas and national and international sympathizers, mobilized and gathered to honor Galeano. This event also saw the famed and enigmatic unofficial spokesperson of the Zapatistas, Subcomandante Marcos, announce that he would be stepping down,^[40] which symbolized a shift in the EZLN to completely Indigenous leadership.

0.32.8 Notable members

- Subcomandante Insurgente Galeano, previously known as **Subcomandante Marcos**
- Comandanta Ramona
- Subcomandante Elisa
- Subcomandante Moisés

0.32.9 In popular culture

- Rap metal group **Rage Against the Machine's** 1996 single "People of the Sun" is about the Zapatista up-



Artistic expression inspired by Comandanta Ramona.

rising and features footage of Zapatistas in its music video.

- Indie rock group Swirlies' song "San Cristobal de las Casas" featured on their 1995 EP and 1996 album, is about the Zapatista uprising and paramilitary backlash.
- Franco-Spanish songwriter Manu Chao performs a song for the EZLN on his 2002 live album, *Radio Bemba Sound System*

0.32.10 See also

- *A Place Called Chiapas*, a documentary on the Zapatistas and Subcomandante Marcos.
- Chiapas conflict
- Himno Zapatista - anthem of the Zapatistas
- Indigenous movements in the Americas
- Indigenous peoples of Mexico
- Mexican Indignados Movement
- San Andrés Accords
- Zapatismo
- Zapatista coffee cooperatives
- Women in the EZLN

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0.33 Neozapatismo

Not to be confused with *Zapatismo*.

Neozapatismo or **Neozapatism** (sometimes mislabeled as **Zapatismo**) is the Mexican ideology behind movements such as the Zapatista Army of National Liberation. The official anthem of Neozapatismo and the Zapatista territories is the *Himno Zapatista*. The ideology is based on Anarchism, Mayan tradition, Marxism,^{[1][2][3]} the thoughts of Emiliano Zapata and the thoughts of Subcomandante Marcos. Neozapatismo is the ideology of the Zapatistas who govern a small territory in the Chiapas since the Chiapas conflict. Neozapatismo has no official founder but its thoughts are mainly attributed to Subcomandante Marcos and Emiliano Zapata. The Neozapatista ideology is believed to be derived from in total Libertarian Marxism, Libertarian socialism, Autonomism, Anarcho-syndicalism, Social anarchism, Collectivist anarchism, Anarchist communism, direct democracy, and Radical democracy.

0.33.1 Economics

Main article: Anti-capitalism



Flag of the Neozapatista movement.

Agrarianism

Main article: Agrarianism

Emiliano Zapata, the man of which Neozapatismo is named after, was a strong Agrarianist in Mexico. He personally led rebels against the Mexican government in order to redistribute plantation land to the farm workers. Zapata began to protest the seizure of land by wealthy plantation owners, but his protest did not achieve his goal, so he turned to violence. This cause of redistribution was Zapata's true life's goal, he often symbolizes the Agrarianist cause in Mexico today.^[4] The **Zapatista Army of National Liberation** have made similar Agrarianist demands such as **land reform** mandated by the 1917 **Constitution of Mexico** but largely ignored by the governing **Institutional Revolutionary Party**.^[5] When negotiating with the government the EZLN did not demand independence from Mexico, but rather **autonomy**, and (among other things) that the **natural resources** extracted from Chiapas benefit more directly the people of Chiapas.

Libertarian socialism

Main article: Libertarian socialism

Neozapatismo often relies of **left wing** economic theories. The most well known concept of Neozapatismo is its opposition to capitalist globalization. On the signing of the famed globalization promoting **NAFTA** treaty the Zapatista rebels revolted, believing the signing of the treaty to have a negative economic effect on the **Indigenous peoples of Mexico**. The signing of **NAFTA** also resulted in the removal of Article 27, Section VII, from the **Mexican Constitution**, which had guaranteed land reparations to indigenous groups throughout Mexico.^[6]

The economics of the Zapatista occupied Chiapas is based on **collectivism** using the cooperative model with **syndicalist** aspects. The means of production are cooperatively owned by the public and there are no supervisors or owners of the property. All economic activity is local and self-sufficient, but products may be sold to the international market for fundraising purposes. The most famous examples of this model are the **Zapatista coffee cooperatives** that bring in the most income for the Zapatista movement.^[7] Recently, the Zapatistas have been steadfast in resisting the violence of **neoliberalism** by practicing horizontal autonomy and mutual aid. Zapatista communities continue to build and maintain their own anti-systemic health, education, and sustainable agro-ecological systems.

Zapatista cooperatives are governed by the general assembly of the workers which is the supreme body of the cooperatives, it is convened at least once a year and elects a new administrative council every 3 years. Through their operation, the workers don't depend on the local or global market. Through the collective organization and the cooperation with the solidarity networks at their disposal, the workers receive one price for their product or ser-

vice that can cover the cost of work while also bringing workers a dignified income, which increases over the years. Workers may gain access to common structures and technical support. For as long as the cooperatives develop and improve their functions, they contribute some amount of their income to the autonomous programs of education, health, and to other social structures. Furthermore, the movements that participate in the fundraising solidarity networks of disposal return some amount of their incomes to the Zapatista communities.

Theory of capitalism

Main article: [Criticism of capitalism](#)

Subcomandante Marcos has also written an essay in which he claims that the [neoliberalism](#) and [globalization](#) constitute the “Fourth World War”.^[8] He termed the [Cold War](#) as the “Third World War”.^[8] In this essay, Marcos compares and contrasts his Third World War (the Cold War) with his termed “Fourth World War”, which he says is a new type of war that we find ourselves in now: “If the Third World War saw the confrontation of capitalism and socialism on various terrains and with varying degrees of intensity, the fourth will be played out between large financial centers, on a global scale, and at a tremendous and constant intensity.”^[8] He goes on to claim that [economic globalization](#) has created devastation through financial policies.^[8] These views are not shared by all Zapatistas but have influenced Neozapatismo and Neozapatista thinking.

0.33.2 Political organization



An image of the origins of the Neozapatismo idea.

Democracy

Main article: [Direct democracy](#)

Zapatista communities are organized in an Anarchistic manner. All decisions are made by a decentralized [Direct Democracy](#) in an autonomous manner. The original goal for this organization was for all the indigenous groups in Mexico to have autonomous government, today in the Zapatista territory the Mexican government has

no control.^[9] The councils in which the community may meet and vote on local issues in the Zapatista [Chiapas](#) are called the [Councils of Good Government](#). In a [Direct Democracy](#) any issue may be voted on, any issue may be brought up to be voted on, and all decisions are passed by a majority vote. There are no restrictions on who may govern or who may vote. Since December 1994, the Zapatistas had been gradually forming several autonomous municipalities, called [Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities](#) (MAREZ). In these municipalities, an assembly of local representatives forms the *Juntas de Buen Gobierno* or [Councils of Good Government](#) (JBGs).

The [Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities](#) are run in various communities, the general assemblies meet for a week to decide on various aspects concerning the community. The assemblies are open to everyone, without a formal bureaucracy. The decisions made by the communities are then passed to elected delegates whose job is to pass the information to a board of delegates. The delegates can be revoked and also serve on a rotation basis. In this way, it is expected that the largest number of people may express their points of view.

Unorganization

Main article: [Unorganisation](#)

Any military “commanders” within the movement have no actual power, they may not force anyone to do anything. Military leaders only serve as revolutionary vanguards, to educate those unaware of the movement and to fight for the movement. Some “commanders” are simply spokespeople for the movement, some of the more famed spokespeople like Marcos, are only characters whose public statements are controlled and decided by the leading activists’ consensus. If any soldiers of the Zapatista movement act in a brutal or unjust manner, the Zapatistas allow others to act against that soldier. No member of Zapatista forces has any real power.

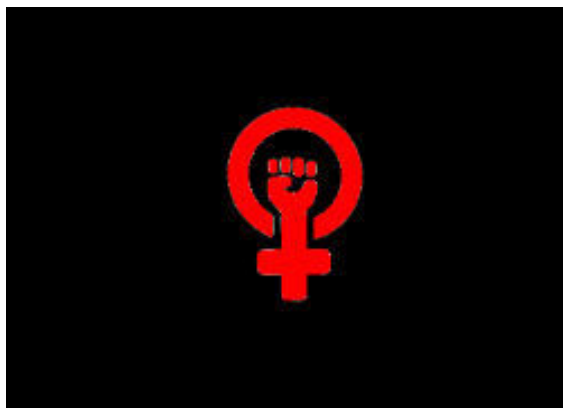
0.33.3 Social concepts

Feminism

Main article: [Anarcha-feminism](#)

Neozapatismo is a heavily [Feminist](#) philosophy. Women are viewed as equals to men and some women such as [Comandante Ramona](#) and [Subcomandante Elisa](#) were leaders in the Zapatista movement. In the 1990s, one-third of the insurgents were women and half of the Zapatista support base was women.

Even though feminism is seen as a result of Westernization, indigenous Mayan women have struggled to “draw on and navigate Western ideologies while preserving and attempting to reclaim some indigenous traditions...which



Graphic design of a feminist Neozapatista flag; artistic concept.

have been eroded with the imposition of dominant western culture and ideology.”^[10] Indigenous feminism is invested in women’s struggles, indigenous people, and look to their heritage for solutions while using some western ideas for achieving feminism.

Zapatista women are invested in the collective struggle of Neozapatismo, and of women in general. Ana Maria, one of the movement leaders, said in an interview that women “participated in the first of January (Zapatista Uprising)... the women’s struggle is the struggle of everybody. In EZLN, we do not fight for our own interests but struggle against every situation that exists in Mexico; against all the injustice, all the marginalization, all the poverty, and all the exploitation that Mexican women suffer. Our struggle in EZLN is not for women in Chiapas but for all the Mexicans.”^[11]

The effects of Western Capitalism makes flexibility in gender and labor roles more difficult than the indigenous cultures traditional labor. “Indigenous women’s entry into the money economy has been analyzed as making their domestic and subsistence work evermore dispensable to the reproduction of the labor force and thus reducing women’s power within the family. Indigenous men have been forced by the need to help provide for the family in the globalized capitalist economic system that favors paid economic labor while depending on female subordination and unpaid subsistence labor. These ideals are internalized by many workers and imported back into the communities.”^[10] This capitalistic infiltration harmed Gender role, they were becoming more and more restrictive and polarized with the growing imposition of external factors on indigenous communities. Ever since the arrival of the Europeans and their clear distinction in the views of feminine home makers and masculine laborers.

Indigenous feminism also created more collaboration and contact between indigenous and mestiza women in the informal sector. After the emergence of the Zapatistas, more collaboration started to take place, and six months after the EZLN uprising, the first Chiapas State Women’s Convention was held. Six months after that, the National Women’s Convention was held in Querétaro; it in-

cluded over three hundred women from fourteen different states.^[10] In August 1997, the first National Gathering of Indigenous Women took place in the state of Oaxaca, it was organized by indigenous women and was attended by over 400 women. One of the most prevalent issues discussed in the conventions, was the relations between mestiza women and indigenous women. Oftentimes it became the situation where the mestiza women tended to “help” and the indigenous women were the one being “helped.”

The Zapatistas’ movement was the first time a guerrilla movement held women’s liberation as part of the goal for the uprising. Major Ana Maria^[12]—who was not only the woman who lead the EZLN capture of San Cristobal de las Casas during the uprising, but also one of the women who helped create the Women’s Revolutionary Law,^[13] ‘A general law was made, but there was no women’s law. And so we protested and said that there has to be a women’s law when we make our demands. We also want the government to recognize us as women. The right to have equality, equality of men and women.’ The Women’s Revolutionary Law came about through a woman named Susana and Comandanta Ramona^[14] traveling to dozens of communities and to ask the opinions of thousands of women. The Women’s Revolutionary Law was released along with the rest of the Zapatista demands aimed at the government during their public uprising on New Years Day of 1994.

Women’s Revolutionary Law

Main article: [Women in the EZLN](#)

On the day of the uprising, the EZLN announced the Women’s Revolutionary Law with the other Revolutionary Laws. The [Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee](#) created and approved of these laws which were developed through with consultation of indigenous women. The Women’s Revolutionary Law strived to change “traditional patriarchal domination” and it addressed many of the grievances that Chiapas women had.^[15] These laws coincided with the EZLN’s attempt to “shift power away from the center to marginalized sectors.”^[16] The follow are the ten laws that comprised the Women’s Revolutionary Law.

1. Women have the right to participate in the revolutionary struggle in the place and at the level that their capacity and will dictates without any discrimination based on race, creed, color, or political affiliation.
2. Women have the right to work and to receive a just salary.
3. Women have the right to decide on the number of children they have and take care of.

4. Women have the right to participate in community affairs and hold leadership positions if they are freely and democratically elected.
5. Women have the right to primary care in terms of their health and nutrition.
6. Women have the right to education.
7. Women have the right to choose who they are with (i.e. choose their romantic/sexual partners) and should not be obligated to marry by force.
8. No woman should be beaten or physically mistreated by either family members or strangers. Rape and attempted rape should be severely punished.
9. Women can hold leadership positions in the organization and hold military rank in the revolutionary armed forces.
10. Women have all the rights and obligations set out by the revolutionary laws and regulations.^[17]

Postcolonialism

Main article: [Postcolonialism](#)

Zapatismo focuses heavily on [Postcolonialism](#) specifically [postcolonial gaze](#). First referred to by Edward Said as “orientalism”, the term “post-colonial gaze” is used to explain how colonial powers treated the people of colonized countries.^[18] Placing the colonized in a position of the “other” helped to shape and establish the colonial’s identity as being the powerful conqueror, and acted as a constant reminder of this idea of subjectivity.

The theory of [postcolonial gaze](#) studies the impacts of colonization on formerly colonized peoples and how these peoples overcome past colonial discrimination and marginalization by colonialists and their descendants.^[19] In Mexico, postcolonial gaze is being fostered predominantly in areas of large indigenous populations and prejudice, like the Chiapas. The Zapatistas not only raised many arguments about the consequences of capitalist globalization; it also questioned the long-standing ideas created by the Spanish colonialism.

0.33.4 Cultural concepts

Main article: [Anti-globalization movement](#)

The Zapatista are famous for their armed revolt against [globalization](#) in their uprising, starting the [Chiapas conflict](#). After the revolt the Zapatista controlled territory was mainly isolated from the rest of Mexico. The Zapatistas dislike the continuous pressure of modern technology on their people, preferring instead slow

advancements.^[20] Most of the locals speak in pre-Columbian languages indigenous to the area, rejecting the Spanish language’s spread across the world.^[21] The Zapatistas teach local indigenous [Mayan culture](#) and practices. Official Mexican schools are criticized as not teaching [Mayan](#) heritage or indigenous languages, while teaching of Zapatista evils and beating Zapatista children. In Zapatista schools the history of the Spanish colonization is taught with the history of the Tseltal, and the values of individualism, competition, consumerism and private property are seriously questioned and replaced with values like the community and solidarity.^[22] Students are often taught in local indigenous languages such as the [Ch’ol language](#). Although local’s culture is held in a prideful light, the Zapatistas are quick to criticize and change culture to fit more leftist ideals. Women in the Chiapas region were commonly forced into marriage, birthed many children, and were told to stay home as home makers. The Zapatistas have attempted to end this tradition and create a sense of Feminism in the local community.^[23] See above to read more about endorsed [Anarcha-feminist](#) concepts. Nozapatismo in general promotes any local culture as long as it does not impose itself onto another culture and if the culture is open to criticism.

0.33.5 Internationalist concepts

Main article: [Internationalism \(politics\)](#)

The Zapatista movement and its philosophy tend to



An image of Subcommandante Marcos with the Anarchist Communist symbol.

not focus on international issues or concepts of international politics, but there have been some statements and opinions on the matter. The Zapatista movement backs the idea of [Internationalism](#) as a means to liberate the world from capitalist oppression as they try to do themselves. The Zapatista movement allows for cooperation with other similar movements and sympathizers worldwide, fundraising is often done outside of the Zapatista Chiapas.

The Zapatistas, specifically [Subcommandante Marcos](#)

have made somewhat **Anti-Zionist** statements. Marcos has made statements in favor of the Palestinian peoples resistance and critical of the Israel's policies in Palestine. He claims that the Israeli army is an **imperialist** force attacking mainly innocent Palestinians.^[24]

Subcommandante Marcos has made statements supporting **Che Guevara** and the policies of the **Marxist Leninist** Cuban government.

0.33.6 Activist philosophy

Main article: **Impossiblism**

The Zapatista movement take various stances on how to change the political atmosphere of capitalism. The Zapatista philosophy on revolution is complicated and extensive. On the issue of voting in Capitalist Country's elections the movement rejects the idea of capitalist voting all together, calling for instead to organize for resistance. They neither ask for people to vote or not to vote, only to organize.^[9] The Zapatistas have engaged in armed struggle, specifically in the **Chiapas conflict**, their reasons for so is the lack of results achieved through peaceful means of protest.^[25] The Zapatistas consider the Mexican government so out of touch with its people it is illegitimate. Other than violence in the **Chiapas conflict** the Zapatistas have organized peaceful protest such as **The Other Campaign**, although some of their peaceful protests have turned violent after police interactions. It seems that violent protest is only just in Zapatista eyes if it was brought on by others or if their political targets are unresponsive to their peaceful protests.

0.33.7 See also

- **Anarchist communism**
- **Indigenous movements in the Americas**
- **Left-wing politics**
- **Libertarian Socialism**
- **Marxism**
- **Mayan Civilization**
- **Subcomandante Marcos**
- **Women in the EZLN**
- **Zapatista Army of National Liberation**

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Chapter 1

Anarchism

1.1 Anarchism

“Anarchist” and “Anarchists” redirect here. For the fictional character, see [Anarchist \(comics\)](#). For other uses, see [Anarchists \(disambiguation\)](#).

Anarchism is a political philosophy that advocates self-governed societies based on voluntary institutions. These are often described as [stateless societies](#),^{[1][2][3][4]} although several authors have defined them more specifically as institutions based on non-hierarchical free associations.^{[5][6][7][8]} Anarchism holds the state to be undesirable, unnecessary, and harmful.^{[9][10]}

While [anti-statism](#) is central,^[11] anarchism generally entails opposing authority or hierarchical organisation in the conduct of all human relations, including, but not limited to, the state system. Other forms of authority it opposes include patriarchal authority, economic domination through private property, and racist supremacy.^[12] Anarchism is usually considered a radical [left-wing ideology](#),^{[20][21]} and much of [anarchist economics](#) and [anarchist legal philosophy](#) reflects anti-authoritarian interpretations of communism, collectivism, syndicalism, mutualism, or participatory economics.^[22]

Anarchism does not offer a fixed body of doctrine from a single particular world view, instead fluxing and flowing as a philosophy.^[23] Many types and traditions of anarchism exist, not all of which are mutually exclusive.^[24] Anarchist schools of thought can differ fundamentally, supporting anything from extreme individualism to complete collectivism.^[10] Strains of anarchism have often been divided into the categories of [social](#) and [individualist anarchism](#) or similar dual classifications.^{[25][26]}

1.1.1 Etymology and terminology

See also: [Anarchist terminology](#)

The term *anarchism* is a compound word composed from the word *anarchy* and the suffix *-ism*,^[27] themselves derived respectively from the Greek ἀναρχία,^[28] i.e. *anarchy*,^{[29][30][31]} (from ἀναρχος, *anarchos*, meaning “one without rulers”;^[32] from the privative prefix ἀν-

(*an-*, i.e. “without”) and ἀρχός, *archos*, i.e. “leader”, “ruler”;^[33] (cf. *archon* or ἀρχή, *arkhē*, i.e. “authority”, “sovereignty”, “realm”, “magistracy”)^[34]) and the suffix -ισμός or -ισμα (*-ismos*, *-isma*, from the verbal infinitive suffix -ίζειν, *-izein*).^[35] The first known use of this word was in 1539.^[36] Various factions within the French Revolution labelled opponents as anarchists (as Robespierre did the Hébertists)^[37] although few shared many views of later anarchists. There would be many revolutionaries of the early nineteenth century who contributed to the anarchist doctrines of the next generation, such as William Godwin and Wilhelm Weitling, but they did not use the word *anarchist* or *anarchism* in describing themselves or their beliefs.^[38]

The first political philosopher to call himself an anarchist was Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, marking the formal birth of anarchism in the mid-nineteenth century. Since the 1890s, and beginning in France,^[39] the term *libertarianism* has often been used as a synonym for anarchism^[40] and was used almost exclusively in this sense until the 1950s in the United States;^[41] its use as a synonym is still common outside the United States.^[42] On the other hand, some use *libertarianism* to refer to individualistic free-market philosophy only, referring to free-market anarchism as *libertarian anarchism*.^{[43][44]}

1.1.2 History

Main article: [History of anarchism](#)

Origins

The earliest^[45] anarchist themes can be found in the 6th century BC, among the works of Taoist philosopher Laozi,^[46] and in later centuries by Zhuangzi and Bao Jingyan.^[47] Zhuangzi’s philosophy has been described by various sources as anarchist.^{[48][49][50][51]} Zhuangzi wrote, “A petty thief is put in jail. A great brigand becomes a ruler of a Nation.”^[52] Diogenes of Sinope and the Cynics, and their contemporary Zeno of Citium, the founder of Stoicism, also introduced similar topics.^{[46][53]} Jesus is sometimes considered the first anarchist in the



Woodcut from a Diggers document by William Everard

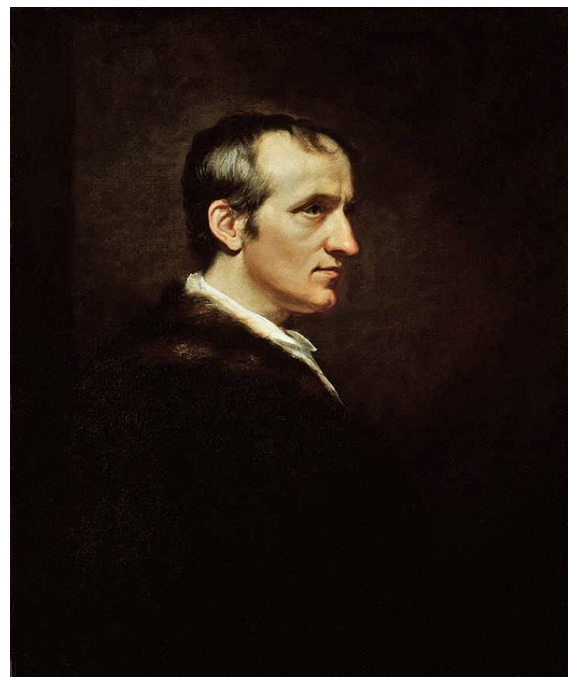
Christian anarchist tradition. Georges Lechartier wrote that “The true founder of anarchy was Jesus Christ and ... the first anarchist society was that of the apostles.”^[54] In early Islamic history, some manifestations of anarchic thought are found during the Islamic civil war over the Caliphate, where the Kharijites insisted that the imamate is a right for each individual within the Islamic society.^[55] Later, some Muslim scholars, such as Amer al-Basri^[56] and Abu Hanifa,^[57] led movements of boycotting the rulers, paving the way to the waqf (endowments) tradition, which served as an alternative to and asylum from the centralised authorities of the emirs. But such interpretations reverberate subversive religious conceptions like the aforementioned seemingly anarchistic Taoist teachings and that of other anti-authoritarian religious traditions creating a complex relationship regarding the question as to whether or not anarchism and religion are compatible. This is exemplified when the glorification of the state is viewed as a form of sinful idolatry.^{[58][59]}

The French renaissance political philosopher Étienne de La Boétie wrote in his most famous work the *Discourse on Voluntary Servitude* what some historians consider an important anarchist precedent.^{[60][61]} The radical Protestant Christian Gerrard Winstanley and his group the Diggers are cited by various authors as proposing anarchist social measures in the 17th century in England.^{[62][63][64]} The term “anarchist” first entered the English language in 1642, during the English Civil War, as a term of abuse, used by Royalists against their Roundhead opponents.^[65] By the time of the French Revolution some, such as the *Enragés*, began to use the term positively,^[66] in opposition to Jacobin centralisation of power, seeing “revolutionary government” as oxymoronic.^[65] By the turn of

the 19th century, the English word “anarchism” had lost its initial negative connotation.^[65]

Modern anarchism emerged from the secular or religious thought of the Enlightenment, particularly Jean-Jacques Rousseau's arguments for the moral centrality of freedom.^[67]

As part of the political turmoil of the 1790s in the wake of the French Revolution, William Godwin developed the first expression of modern anarchist thought.^{[68][69]} Godwin was, according to Peter Kropotkin, “the first to formulate the political and economical conceptions of anarchism, even though he did not give that name to the ideas developed in his work”,^[46] while Godwin attached his anarchist ideas to an early Edmund Burke.^[70]



William Godwin, “the first to formulate the political and economical conceptions of anarchism, even though he did not give that name to the ideas developed in his work”.^[46]

Godwin is generally regarded as the founder of the school of thought known as ‘philosophical anarchism’. He argued in *Political Justice* (1793)^{[69][71]} that government has an inherently malevolent influence on society, and that it perpetuates dependency and ignorance. He thought that the spread of the use of reason to the masses would eventually cause government to wither away as an unnecessary force. Although he did not accord the state with moral legitimacy, he was against the use of revolutionary tactics for removing the government from power. Rather, he advocated for its replacement through a process of peaceful evolution.^{[69][72]}

His aversion to the imposition of a rules-based society led him to denounce, as a manifestation of the people’s ‘mental enslavement’, the foundations of law, property rights and even the institution of marriage. He considered the

basic foundations of society as constraining the natural development of individuals to use their powers of reasoning to arrive at a mutually beneficial method of social organisation. In each case, government and its institutions are shown to constrain the development of our capacity to live wholly in accordance with the full and free exercise of private judgement.

The French Pierre-Joseph Proudhon is regarded as the first *self-proclaimed* anarchist, a label he adopted in his groundbreaking work, *What is Property?*, published in 1840. It is for this reason that some claim Proudhon as the founder of modern anarchist theory.^[73] He developed the theory of *spontaneous order* in society, where organisation emerges without a central coordinator imposing its own idea of order against the wills of individuals acting in their own interests; his famous quote on the matter is, “Liberty is the mother, not the daughter, of order.” In *What is Property?* Proudhon answers with the famous accusation “*Property is theft.*” In this work, he opposed the institution of decreed “property” (*propriété*), where owners have complete rights to “use and abuse” their property as they wish.^[74] He contrasted this with what he called “possession,” or limited ownership of resources and goods only while in more or less continuous use. Later, however, Proudhon added that “Property is Liberty,” and argued that it was a bulwark against state power.^[75] His opposition to the state, organised religion, and certain capitalist practices inspired subsequent anarchists, and made him one of the leading social thinkers of his time.

The anarcho-communist Joseph Déjacque was the first person to describe himself as “libertarian”.^[76] Unlike Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, he argued that, “it is not the product of his or her labour that the worker has a right to, but to the satisfaction of his or her needs, whatever may be their nature.”^[77] In 1844 in Germany the post-hegelian philosopher Max Stirner published the book, *The Ego and Its Own*, which would later be considered an influential early text of individualist anarchism.^[78] French anarchists active in the 1848 Revolution included Anselme Bellegarrigue, Ernest Coeurderoy, Joseph Déjacque^[76] and Pierre Joseph Proudhon.^{[79][80]}

First International and the Paris Commune

Main articles: *International Workingmen’s Association* and *Paris Commune*

In Europe, harsh reaction followed the revolutions of 1848, during which ten countries had experienced brief or long-term social upheaval as groups carried out nationalist uprisings. After most of these attempts at systematic change ended in failure, conservative elements took advantage of the divided groups of socialists, anarchists, liberals, and nationalists, to prevent further revolt.^[81] In Spain Ramón de la Sagra established the anarchist journal *El Porvenir* in La Coruña in 1845 which was inspired by Proudhon’s ideas.^[82] The Catalan politician Francesc Pi



Collectivist anarchist Mikhail Bakunin opposed the Marxist aim of dictatorship of the proletariat in favour of universal rebellion, and allied himself with the federalists in the First International before his expulsion by the Marxists.^[65]

i Margall became the principal translator of Proudhon’s works into Spanish^[83] and later briefly became president of Spain in 1873 while being the leader of the Democratic Republican Federal Party. According to George Woodcock “These translations were to have a profound and lasting effect on the development of Spanish anarchism after 1870, but before that time Proudhonian ideas, as interpreted by Pi, already provided much of the inspiration for the federalist movement which sprang up in the early 1860’s.”^[84] According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* “During the Spanish revolution of 1873, Pi y Margall attempted to establish a decentralised, or “cantonalist,” political system on Proudhonian lines.”^[82]

In 1864 the International Workingmen’s Association (sometimes called the “First International”) united diverse revolutionary currents including French followers of Proudhon,^[85] Blanquists, Philadelphes, English trade unionists, socialists and social democrats. Due to its links to active workers’ movements, the International became a significant organisation. Karl Marx became a leading figure in the International and a member of its General Council. Proudhon’s followers, the mutualists, opposed Marx’s state socialism, advocating political abstentionism and small property holdings.^{[86][87]} Woodcock also reports that the American individualist anarchists Lysander Spooner and William B. Greene had been members of the First International.^[88] In 1868, following their unsuccessful participation in the League of Peace and Freedom (LPF), Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin and

his collectivist anarchist associates joined the First International (which had decided not to get involved with the LPF).^[89] They allied themselves with the **federalist** socialist sections of the International,^[90] who advocated the revolutionary overthrow of the state and the collectivisation of property.

At first, the collectivists worked with the Marxists to push the First International in a more revolutionary socialist direction. Subsequently, the International became polarised into two camps, with Marx and Bakunin as their respective figureheads.^[91] Mikhail Bakunin characterised Marx's ideas as **centralist** and predicted that, if a Marxist party came to power, its leaders would simply take the place of the **ruling class** they had fought against.^{[92][93]} Anarchist historian George Woodcock reports that "The annual Congress of the International had not taken place in 1870 owing to the outbreak of the Paris Commune, and in 1871 the General Council called only a special conference in London. One delegate was able to attend from Spain and none from Italy, while a technical excuse – that they had split away from the *Fédération Romande* – was used to avoid inviting Bakunin's Swiss supporters. Thus only a tiny minority of anarchists was present, and the General Council's resolutions passed almost unanimously. Most of them were clearly directed against Bakunin and his followers."^[94] In 1872, the conflict climaxed with a final split between the two groups at the **Hague Congress**, where Bakunin and **James Guillaume** were expelled from the International and its headquarters were transferred to New York. In response, the federalist sections formed their own International at the **St. Imier Congress**, adopting a revolutionary anarchist programme.^[95]

The **Paris Commune** was a government that briefly ruled Paris from 18 March (more formally, from 28 March) to 28 May 1871. The Commune was the result of an uprising in Paris after France was defeated in the Franco-Prussian War. Anarchists participated actively in the establishment of the Paris Commune. They included **Louise Michel**, the Reclus brothers, and **Eugene Varlin** (the latter murdered in the repression afterwards). As for the reforms initiated by the Commune, such as the re-opening of workplaces as co-operatives, anarchists can see their ideas of associated labour beginning to be realised ... Moreover, the Commune's ideas on federation obviously reflected the influence of Proudhon on French radical ideas. Indeed, the Commune's vision of a communal France based on a federation of delegates bound by imperative mandates issued by their electors and subject to recall at any moment echoes Bakunin's and Proudhon's ideas (Proudhon, like Bakunin, had argued in favour of the "implementation of the binding mandate" in 1848 ... and for federation of communes). Thus both economically and politically the Paris Commune was heavily influenced by anarchist ideas.^[96] George Woodcock states:

a notable contribution to the activities of

the Commune and particularly to the organization of public services was made by members of various anarchist factions, including the mutualists Courbet, Longuet, and Vermorel, the libertarian collectivists Varlin, Malon, and Lefrangais, and the bakuninists Elie and **Elisée Reclus** and Louise Michel.^[94]

Organised labour

Main articles: **Anarcho-syndicalism**, **International Workers' Association**, **Anarchism in Spain**, and **Spanish Revolution**

The anti-authoritarian sections of the First International were the precursors of the anarcho-syndicalists, seeking to "replace the privilege and authority of the State" with the "free and spontaneous organization of labour."^[97] In 1886, the **Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (FOTLU)** of the United States and Canada unanimously set 1 May 1886, as the date by which the **eight-hour work day** would become standard.^[98]



A sympathetic engraving by **Walter Crane** of the executed "Anarchists of Chicago" after the **Haymarket affair**. The Haymarket affair is generally considered the most significant event for the origin of international May Day observances.

In response, unions across the United States prepared a **general strike** in support of the event.^[98] On 3 May,

in Chicago, a fight broke out when **strikebreakers** attempted to cross the picket line, and two workers died when police opened fire upon the crowd.^[99] The next day, 4 May, anarchists staged a rally at Chicago's Haymarket Square.^[100] A bomb was thrown by an unknown party near the conclusion of the rally, killing an officer.^[101] In the ensuing panic, police opened fire on the crowd and each other.^[102] Seven police officers and at least four workers were killed.^[103] Eight anarchists directly and indirectly related to the organisers of the rally were arrested and charged with the murder of the deceased officer. The men became international political celebrities among the labour movement. Four of the men were executed and a fifth committed suicide prior to his own execution. The incident became known as the Haymarket affair, and was a setback for the labour movement and the struggle for the eight-hour day. In 1890 a second attempt, this time international in scope, to organise for the eight-hour day was made. The event also had the secondary purpose of memorialising workers killed as a result of the Haymarket affair.^[104] Although it had initially been conceived as a once-off event, by the following year the celebration of **International Workers' Day** on May Day had become firmly established as an international worker's holiday.^[98]

In 1907, the **International Anarchist Congress of Amsterdam** gathered delegates from 14 different countries, among which important figures of the anarchist movement, including **Errico Malatesta**, **Pierre Monatte**, **Luigi Fabbri**, **Benoît Broutchoux**, **Emma Goldman**, **Rudolf Rocker**, and **Christiaan Cornelissen**. Various themes were treated during the Congress, in particular concerning the organisation of the anarchist movement, popular education issues, the general strike or **antimilitarism**. A central debate concerned the relation between anarchism and **syndicalism** (or **trade unionism**). Malatesta and Monatte were in particular disagreement themselves on this issue, as the latter thought that syndicalism was revolutionary and would create the conditions of a social revolution, while Malatesta did not consider syndicalism by itself sufficient.^[105] He thought that the trade-union movement was reformist and even conservative, citing as essentially bourgeois and anti-worker the phenomenon of professional union officials. Malatesta warned that the syndicalists aims were in perpetuating syndicalism itself, whereas anarchists must always have anarchy as their end and consequently refrain from committing to any particular method of achieving it.^[106]

The **Spanish Workers Federation** in 1881 was the first major anarcho-syndicalist movement; anarchist trade union federations were of special importance in Spain. The most successful was the **Confederación Nacional del Trabajo** (National Confederation of Labour: CNT), founded in 1910. Before the 1940s, the CNT was the major force in Spanish working class politics, attracting 1.58 million members at one point and playing a major role in the **Spanish Civil War**.^[107] The CNT was affiliated with the **International Workers Association**, a federation

of anarcho-syndicalist trade unions founded in 1922, with delegates representing two million workers from 15 countries in Europe and Latin America. In Latin America in particular "The anarchists quickly became active in organising craft and industrial workers throughout South and Central America, and until the early 1920s most of the trade unions in **Mexico**, **Brazil**, Peru, Chile, and Argentina were anarcho-syndicalist in general outlook; the prestige of the Spanish C.N.T. as a revolutionary organisation was undoubtedly to a great extent responsible for this situation. The largest and most militant of these organisations was the **Federación Obrera Regional Argentina** ... it grew quickly to a membership of nearly a quarter of a million, which dwarfed the rival socialdemocratic unions."^[94]

Propaganda of the deed and illegalism

Main articles: **Propaganda of the deed**, **Illegalism**, and **Expropriative anarchism**

Some anarchists, such as **Johann Most**, advocated



Italian-American anarchist Luigi Galleani. His followers, known as Galleanists, carried out a series of bombings and assassination attempts from 1914 to 1932 in what they saw as attacks on 'tyrants' and 'enemies of the people'

publicising violent acts of retaliation against counter-revolutionaries because "we preach not only action in and for itself, but also action as propaganda."^[108] Scholars such as Beverly Gage contend that this was not advocacy of mass murder, but **targeted killings** of members of the ruling class at times when such actions might garner sympathy from the population, such as during heightened

government repression and labor conflicts where workers were killed.^[109] However, Most himself once boasted that “the existing system will be quickest and most radically overthrown by the annihilation of its exponents. Therefore, massacres of the enemies of the people must be set in motion.”^[110] Most is best known for a pamphlet published in 1885: *The Science of Revolutionary Warfare*, a how-to manual on the subject of making explosives, based on knowledge he acquired while working at an explosives plant in New Jersey.^[111]

By the 1880s, people inside and outside the anarchist movement began to use the slogan, “propaganda of the deed” to refer to individual bombings, *regicides*, and *tyrannicides*. From 1905 onwards, the Russian counterparts of these anti-syndicalist anarchist-communists become partisans of economic terrorism and illegal ‘expropriations’.^[112] Illegality as a practice emerged and within it “The acts of the anarchist bombers and assassins (“propaganda by the deed”) and the anarchist burglars (“individual reappropriation”) expressed their desperation and their personal, violent rejection of an intolerable society. Moreover, they were clearly meant to be *exemplary* invitations to revolt.”^[113] France’s *Bonnot Gang* was the most famous group to embrace illegality.

However, as soon as 1887, important figures in the anarchist movement distanced themselves from such individual acts. Peter Kropotkin thus wrote that year in *Le Révolté* that “a structure based on centuries of history cannot be destroyed with a few kilos of dynamite.”^[114] A variety of anarchists advocated the abandonment of these sorts of tactics in favour of collective revolutionary action, for example through the trade union movement. The anarcho-syndicalist, *Fernand Pelloutier*, argued in 1895 for renewed anarchist involvement in the labour movement on the basis that anarchism could do very well without “the individual dynamiter.”^[115]

State repression (including the infamous 1894 French *lois scélérates*) of the anarchist and labour movements following the few successful bombings and assassinations may have contributed to the abandonment of these kinds of tactics, although reciprocally state repression, in the first place, may have played a role in these isolated acts. The dismemberment of the French socialist movement, into many groups and, following the suppression of the 1871 Paris Commune, the execution and exile of many *communards* to penal colonies, favoured individualist political expression and acts.^[116]

Numerous heads of state were assassinated between 1881 and 1914 by members of the anarchist movement, including Tsar Alexander II of Russia, President Sadi Carnot of France, Empress Elisabeth of Austria, King Umberto I of Italy, President William McKinley of the United States, King Carlos I of Portugal and King George I of Greece. McKinley’s assassin Leon Czolgosz claimed to have been influenced by anarchist and feminist Emma Goldman.^[117]

Propaganda of the deed was abandoned by the vast majority of the anarchist movement after World War I (1914–1918) and the 1917 October Revolution.

Russian Revolution and other uprisings of the 1910s

Main articles: *Anarchism in Russia*, *Russian Revolution (1917)*, *Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine*, and *Revolutions of 1917–23*

Anarchists participated alongside the *Bolsheviks* in both



Nestor Makhno with members of the anarchist Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine

February and October revolutions, and were initially enthusiastic about the Bolshevik revolution.^[118] However, following a political falling out with the Bolsheviks by the anarchists and other left-wing opposition, the conflict culminated in the 1921 *Kronstadt rebellion*, which the new government repressed. Anarchists in central Russia were either imprisoned, driven underground or joined the victorious Bolsheviks; the anarchists from Petrograd and Moscow fled to *Ukraine*.^[119] There, in the *Free Territory*, they fought in the civil war against the *Whites* (a grouping of monarchists and other opponents of the October Revolution) and then the Bolsheviks as part of the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine led by Nestor Makhno, who established an anarchist society in the region for a number of months.

Expelled American anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were among those agitating in response to Bolshevik policy and the suppression of the Kronstadt uprising, before they left Russia. Both wrote accounts of their experiences in Russia, criticising the amount of control the Bolsheviks exercised. For them, Bakunin’s predictions about the consequences of Marxist rule that the rulers of the new “socialist” Marxist state would become a new elite had proved all too true.^[120]

The victory of the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution and the resulting Russian Civil War did serious damage to anarchist movements internationally. Many workers and activists saw Bolshevik success as setting an example; Communist parties grew at the expense of anarchism and other socialist movements. In France and the United

States, for example, members of the major syndicalist movements of the CGT and IWW left the organisations and joined the Communist International.^[121]

The revolutionary wave of 1917–23 saw the active participation of anarchists in varying degrees of protagonism. In the German uprising known as the German Revolution of 1918–1919 which established the Bavarian Soviet Republic the anarchists Gustav Landauer, Silvio Gesell and Erich Mühsam had important leadership positions within the revolutionary councilist structures.^{[122][123]} In the Italian events known as the *biennio rosso*^[124] the anarcho-syndicalist trade union *Unione Sindacale Italiana* “grew to 800,000 members and the influence of the Italian Anarchist Union (20,000 members plus *Umanita Nova*, its daily paper) grew accordingly ... Anarchists were the first to suggest occupying workplaces.”^[125] In the Mexican Revolution the Mexican Liberal Party was established and during the early 1910s it led a series of military offensives leading to the conquest and occupation of certain towns and districts in Baja California with the leadership of anarcho-communist Ricardo Flores Magón.^[126]

In Paris, the Dielo Truda group of Russian anarchist exiles, which included Nestor Makhno, concluded that anarchists needed to develop new forms of organisation in response to the structures of Bolshevism. Their 1926 manifesto, called the *Organisational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)*,^[127] was supported. Platformist groups active today include the Workers Solidarity Movement in Ireland and the North Eastern Federation of Anarchist Communists of North America. Synthesis anarchism emerged as an organisational alternative to platformism that tries to join anarchists of different tendencies under the principles of anarchism without adjectives.^[128] In the 1920s this form found as its main proponents Volin and Sebastien Faure.^[128] It is the main principle behind the anarchist federations grouped around the contemporary global International of Anarchist Federations.^[128]

Conflicts with European fascist regimes

Main article: Anti-fascism

See also: Anarchism in France, Anarchism in Italy, Anarchism in Spain, and Anarchism in Germany

In the 1920s and 1930s, the rise of fascism in Europe transformed anarchism’s conflict with the state. Italy saw the first struggles between anarchists and fascists. Italian anarchists played a key role in the anti-fascist organisation *Arditi del Popolo*, which was strongest in areas with anarchist traditions, and achieved some success in their activism, such as repelling Blackshirts in the anarchist stronghold of Parma in August 1922.^[129] The veteran Italian anarchist, Luigi Fabbri, was one of the first critical theorists of fascism, describing it as “the preventive counter-revolution.”^[47] In France, where the far right

leagues came close to insurrection in the February 1934 riots, anarchists divided over a united front policy.^[130]

Anarchists in France^[131] and Italy^[132] were active in the Resistance during World War II. In Germany the anarchist Erich Mühsam was arrested on charges unknown in the early morning hours of 28 February 1933, within a few hours after the Reichstag fire in Berlin. Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda minister, labelled him as one of “those Jewish subversives.” Over the next seventeen months, he would be imprisoned in the concentration camps at Sonnenburg, Brandenburg and finally, Oranienburg. On 2 February 1934, Mühsam was transferred to the concentration camp at Oranienburg when finally on the night of 9 July 1934, Mühsam was tortured and murdered by the guards, his battered corpse found hanging in a latrine the next morning.^[133]

Spanish Revolution

Main article: Spanish Revolution

In Spain, the national anarcho-syndicalist trade union Confederación Nacional del Trabajo initially refused to join a popular front electoral alliance, and abstention by CNT supporters led to a right wing election victory. But in 1936, the CNT changed its policy and anarchist votes helped bring the popular front back to power. Months later, conservative members of the military, with the support of minority extreme-right parties, responded with an attempted coup, causing the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939).^[134] In response to the army rebellion, an anarchist-inspired movement of peasants and workers, supported by armed militias, took control of Barcelona and of large areas of rural Spain where they collectivised the land.^{[135][136]} But even before the fascist victory in 1939, the anarchists were losing ground in a bitter struggle with the Stalinists, who controlled much of the distribution of military aid to the Republican cause from the Soviet Union. According to Noam Chomsky, “the communists were mainly responsible for the destruction of the Spanish anarchists. Not just in Catalonia—the communist armies mainly destroyed the collectives elsewhere. The communists basically acted as the police force of the security system of the Republic and were very much opposed to the anarchists, partially because Stalin still hoped at that time to have some kind of pact with Western countries against Hitler. That, of course, failed and Stalin withdrew the support to the Republic. They even withdrew the Spanish gold reserves.”^[137] The events known as the Spanish Revolution was a workers’ social revolution that began during the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and resulted in the widespread implementation of anarchist and more broadly libertarian socialist organisational principles throughout various portions of the country for two to three years, primarily Catalonia, Aragon, Andalusia, and parts of the Levante. Much of Spain’s economy was put under worker

control; in anarchist strongholds like Catalonia, the figure was as high as 75%, but lower in areas with heavy **Communist Party of Spain** influence, as the Soviet-allied party actively resisted attempts at collectivisation enactment. Factories were run through worker committees, **agrarian** areas became collectivised and run as libertarian **communes**. Anarchist historian **Sam Dolgoff** estimated that about eight million people participated directly or at least indirectly in the Spanish Revolution,^[138] which he claimed “came closer to realising the ideal of the free stateless society on a vast scale than any other revolution in history.”^[139] **Spanish Communist Party**-led troops suppressed the collectives and persecuted both **dissident Marxists** and anarchists.^[140] The prominent Italian anarchist **Camillo Berneri**, who volunteered to fight against Franco was killed instead in Spain by gunmen associated with the Spanish Communist Party.^{[141][142][143]} The city of Madrid was turned over to the francoist forces by the last non-francoist mayor of the city, the anarchist **Melchor Rodríguez García**.^[144]

Post-war years

Anarchism sought to reorganise itself after the war and in this context the organisational debate between synthesis anarchism and platformism took importance once again especially in the anarchist movements of Italy and France. The **Mexican Anarchist Federation** was established in 1945 after the Anarchist Federation of the Centre united with the Anarchist Federation of the Federal District.^[145] In the early 1940s, the Antifascist International Solidarity and the Federation of Anarchist Groups of Cuba merged into the large national organisation **Asociación Libertaria de Cuba** (Cuban Libertarian Association).^[146] From 1944 to 1947, the Bulgarian Anarchist Communist Federation reemerged as part of a factory and workplace committee movement, but was repressed by the new Communist regime.^[147] In 1945 in France the **Fédération Anarchiste** and the anarcho-syndicalist trade union **Confédération nationale du travail** was established in the next year while the also synthesist **Federazione Anarchica Italiana** was founded in Italy. Korean anarchists formed the League of Free Social Constructors in September 1945^[147] and in 1946 the **Japanese Anarchist Federation** was founded.^[148] An International Anarchist Congress with delegates from across Europe was held in Paris in May 1948.^[147] After World War II, an appeal in the *Frage Arbeter Shtime* detailing the plight of **German anarchists** and called for Americans to support them. By February 1946, the sending of aid parcels to anarchists in Germany was a large-scale operation. The Federation of Libertarian Socialists was founded in Germany in 1947 and Rudolf Rocker wrote for its organ, *Die Freie Gesellschaft*, which survived until 1953.^[149] In 1956 the **Uruguayan Anarchist Federation** was founded.^[150] In 1955 the **Anarcho-Communist Federation of Argentina** renamed itself as the **Argentine Libertarian Federation**. The **Syndicalist Workers' Federation**

was a syndicalist group in active in post-war Britain,^[151] and one of **Solidarity Federation's** earliest predecessors. It was formed in 1950 by members of the dissolved **Anarchist Federation of Britain**.^[151] Unlike the AFB, which was influenced by anarcho-syndicalist ideas but ultimately not syndicalist itself, the SWF decided to pursue a more definitely syndicalist, worker-centred strategy from the outset.^[151]

Anarchism continued to influence important literary and intellectual personalities of the time, such as **Albert Camus**, **Herbert Read**, **Paul Goodman**, **Dwight Macdonald**, **Allen Ginsberg**, **George Woodcock**, **Leopold Kohr**,^{[152][153]} **Julian Beck**, **John Cage**^[154] and the French Surrealist group led by **André Breton**, which now openly embraced anarchism and collaborated in the **Fédération Anarchiste**.^[155]

Anarcho-pacifism became influential in the **Anti-nuclear movement** and anti war movements of the time^{[156][157]} as can be seen in the activism and writings of the English anarchist member of **Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament** **Alex Comfort** or the similar activism of the American catholic anarcho-pacifists **Ammon Hennacy** and **Dorothy Day**. Anarcho-pacifism became a “basis for a critique of militarism on both sides of the **Cold War**.”^[158] The resurgence of anarchist ideas during this period is well documented in Robert Graham's *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas, Volume Two: The Emergence of the New Anarchism (1939–1977)*.^[147]

Contemporary anarchism

Main article: **Contemporary anarchism**

A surge of popular interest in anarchism occurred in



The famous okupas squat near Parc Güell, overlooking Barcelona. Squatting was a prominent part of the emergence of renewed anarchist movement from the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s. On the roof: “Occupy and Resist”

western nations during the 1960s and 1970s.^[159] Anarchism was influential in the **Counterculture of the 1960s**^{[160][161][162]} and anarchists actively participated in the late sixties students and workers revolts.^[163] In 1968 in Carrara, Italy the **International of Anarchist Federa-**

tions was founded during an international anarchist conference held there in 1968 by the three existing European federations of France (the *Fédération Anarchiste*), the *Federazione Anarchica Italiana* of Italy and the *Iberian Anarchist Federation* as well as the Bulgarian federation in French exile.^{[164][165]}

In the United Kingdom in the 1970s this was associated with the *punk rock* movement, as exemplified by bands such as *Crass* and the *Sex Pistols*.^[166] The housing and employment crisis in most of Western Europe led to the formation of communes and squatter movements like that of Barcelona, Spain. In Denmark, squatters occupied a disused military base and declared the *Freetown Christiania*, an autonomous haven in central Copenhagen. Since the revival of anarchism in the mid-20th century,^[167] a number of new movements and schools of thought emerged. Although feminist tendencies have always been a part of the anarchist movement in the form of *anarcha-feminism*, they returned with vigour during the second wave of feminism in the 1960s. Anarchist anthropologist *David Graeber* and anarchist historian *Andrej Grubacic* have posited a rupture between generations of anarchism, with those “who often still have not shaken the sectarian habits” of the 19th century contrasted with the younger activists who are “much more informed, among other elements, by *indigenous*, *feminist*, ecological and cultural-critical ideas”, and who by the turn of the 21st century formed “by far the majority” of anarchists.^[168]

Around the turn of the 21st century, anarchism grew in popularity and influence as part of the anti-war, anti-capitalist, and anti-globalisation movements.^[169] Anarchists became known for their involvement in protests against the meetings of the *World Trade Organization* (WTO), *Group of Eight*, and the *World Economic Forum*. Some anarchist factions at these protests engaged in rioting, property destruction, and violent confrontations with police. These actions were precipitated by ad hoc, leaderless, anonymous cadres known as *black blocs*; other organisational tactics pioneered in this time include *security culture*, *affinity groups* and the use of decentralised technologies such as the internet.^[169] A significant event of this period was the confrontations at *WTO conference in Seattle in 1999*.^[169] According to anarchist scholar *Simon Critchley*, “contemporary anarchism can be seen as a powerful critique of the pseudo-libertarianism of contemporary *neo-liberalism* ... One might say that contemporary anarchism is about responsibility, whether sexual, ecological or socio-economic; it flows from an experience of conscience about the manifold ways in which the West ravages the rest; it is an ethical outrage at the yawning inequality, impoverishment and disenfranchisement that is so palpable locally and globally.”^[170]

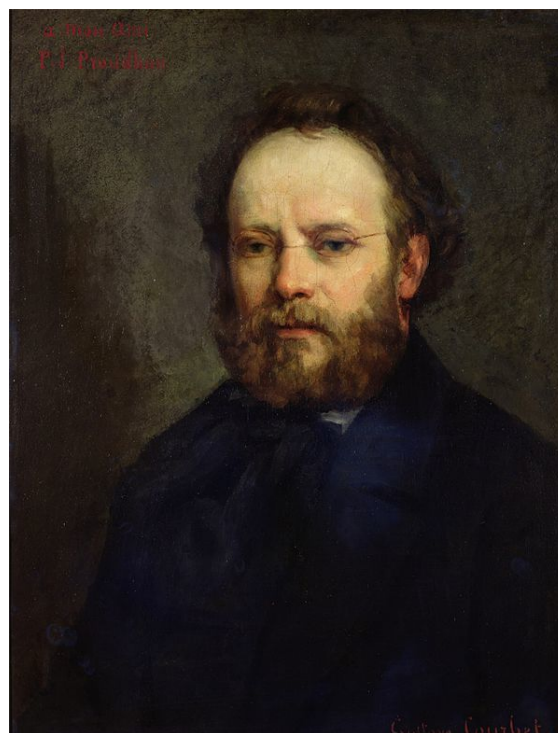
International anarchist federations in existence include the *International of Anarchist Federations*, the *International Workers' Association*, and *International Libertarian Solidarity*. The largest organised anar-

chist movement today is in Spain, in the form of the *Confederación General del Trabajo* (CGT) and the CNT. CGT membership was estimated at around 100,000 for 2003.^[171] Other active syndicalist movements include in Sweden the *Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden* and the *Swedish Anarcho-syndicalist Youth Federation*; the CNT-AIT in France; the *Unione Sindacale Italiana* in Italy; in the US *Workers Solidarity Alliance* and the UK *Solidarity Federation* and *Anarchist Federation*. The revolutionary industrial unionist *Industrial Workers of the World*, claiming 3,000 paying members, and the *International Workers Association*, an anarcho-syndicalist successor to the First International, also remain active.

1.1.3 Anarchist schools of thought

Main article: *Anarchist schools of thought*

Anarchist schools of thought had been generally grouped



Portrait of philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) by Gustave Courbet. Proudhon was the primary proponent of anarchist mutualism, and influenced many later individualist anarchist and social anarchist thinkers.

in two main historical traditions, individualist anarchism and *social anarchism*, which have some different origins, values and evolution.^{[10][25][172][173]} The individualist wing of anarchism emphasises *negative liberty*, i.e. opposition to state or *social control* over the individual, while those in the social wing emphasise *positive liberty* to achieve one’s potential and argue that humans have needs that society ought to fulfil, “recognising equality of entitlement”.^[174] In a chronological and theoretical sense,

there are classical – those created throughout the 19th century – and post-classical anarchist schools – those created since the mid-20th century and after.

Beyond the specific factions of anarchist thought is **philosophical anarchism**, which embodies the theoretical stance that the state lacks moral legitimacy without accepting the imperative of revolution to eliminate it. A component especially of individualist anarchism^{[175][176]} philosophical anarchism may accept the existence of a **minimal state** as unfortunate, and usually temporary, “necessary evil” but argue that citizens do not have a **moral obligation** to obey the state when its laws conflict with individual autonomy.^[177] One reaction against sectarianism within the anarchist milieu was “anarchism without adjectives”, a call for **toleration** first adopted by **Fernando Tarrida del Mármol** in 1889 in response to the “bitter debates” of anarchist theory at the time.^[178] In abandoning the hyphenated anarchisms (i.e. collectivist-, communist-, mutualist- and individualist-anarchism), it sought to emphasise the **anti-authoritarian** beliefs common to all anarchist schools of thought.^[179]

Classical anarchist schools of thought

Mutualism Main article: **Mutualism** (economic theory)

Mutualism began in 18th-century English and French labour movements before taking an anarchist form associated with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in France and others in the United States.^[180] Proudhon proposed spontaneous order, whereby organisation emerges without central authority, a “positive anarchy” where order arises when everybody does “what he wishes and only what he wishes”^[181] and where “business transactions alone produce the social order.”^[182] Proudhon distinguished between ideal political possibilities and practical governance. For this reason, much in contrast to some of his theoretical statements concerning ultimate spontaneous self-governance, Proudhon was heavily involved in French parliamentary politics and allied himself not with anarchist but socialist factions of workers’ movements and, in addition to advocating state-protected charters for worker-owned cooperatives, promoted certain nationalisation schemes during his life of public service.

Mutualist anarchism is concerned with **reciprocity**, free association, voluntary contract, federation, and credit and currency reform. According to the American mutualist **William Batchelder Greene**, each worker in the mutualist system would receive “just and exact pay for his work; services equivalent in cost being exchangeable for services equivalent in cost, without profit or discount.”^[183] Mutualism has been retrospectively characterised as ideologically situated between individualist and collectivist forms of anarchism.^[184] Proudhon first characterised his goal as a “third form of society, the synthesis of commu-

nism and property.”^[185]

Individualist anarchism Main article: **Individualist anarchism**

Individualist anarchism refers to several traditions of thought within the anarchist movement that emphasise the **individual** and their **will** over any kinds of external determinants such as groups, society, traditions, and ideological systems.^{[186][187]} Individualist anarchism is not a single philosophy but refers to a group of individualistic philosophies that sometimes are in conflict.

In 1793, William Godwin, who has often^[68] been cited as the first anarchist, wrote *Political Justice*, which some consider the first expression of anarchism.^{[69][71]} Godwin, a philosophical anarchist, from a rationalist and utilitarian basis opposed revolutionary action and saw a **minimal state** as a present “necessary evil” that would become increasingly irrelevant and powerless by the gradual spread of knowledge.^{[69][188]} Godwin advocated individualism, proposing that all cooperation in labour be eliminated on the premise that this would be most conducive with the general good.^{[189][190]}



19th-century philosopher Max Stirner, usually considered a prominent early individualist anarchist (sketch by Friedrich Engels).

An influential form of individualist anarchism, called “egoism,”^[191] or **egoist anarchism**, was expounded by one of the earliest and best-known proponents of individualist anarchism, the German Max Stirner.^[78] Stirner’s *The Ego and Its Own*, published in 1844, is a founding text of the philosophy.^[78] According to Stirner, the only limitation on the rights of individuals is their power to obtain

what they desire,^[192] without regard for God, state, or morality.^[193] To Stirner, rights were *spooks* in the mind, and he held that society does not exist but “the individuals are its reality”.^[194] Stirner advocated self-assertion and foresaw unions of egoists, non-systematic associations continually renewed by all parties’ support through an act of will,^[195] which Stirner proposed as a form of organisation in place of the state.^[196] Egoist anarchists argue that egoism will foster genuine and spontaneous union between individuals.^[197] “Egoism” has inspired many interpretations of Stirner’s philosophy. It was re-discovered and promoted by German philosophical anarchist and homosexual activist John Henry Mackay.

Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist,^[198] and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833, *The Peaceful Revolutionist*, was the first anarchist periodical published.^[199] For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster “It is apparent ... that Proudhonian Anarchism was to be found in the United States at least as early as 1848 and that it was not conscious of its affinity to the Individualist Anarchism of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews ... William B. Greene presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form.”^[200] Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) was an important early influence in individualist anarchist thought in the United States and Europe. Thoreau was an American author, poet, naturalist, tax resister, development critic, surveyor, historian, philosopher, and leading transcendentalist. He is best known for his books *Walden*, a reflection upon simple living in natural surroundings, and his essay, *Civil Disobedience*, an argument for individual resistance to civil government in moral opposition to an unjust state. Later Benjamin Tucker fused Stirner’s egoism with the economics of Warren and Proudhon in his eclectic influential publication *Liberty*.

From these early influences individualist anarchism in different countries attracted a small but diverse following of bohemian artists and intellectuals,^[201] free love and birth control advocates (see Anarchism and issues related to love and sex),^{[202][203]} individualist naturists nudists (see anarcho-naturism),^{[203][204][205]} freethought and anti-clerical activists^{[206][207]} as well as young anarchist outlaws in what became known as illegalism and individual reclamation^{[113][208]} (see European individualist anarchism and individualist anarchism in France). These authors and activists included Oscar Wilde, Emile Armand, Han Ryner, Henri Zisly, Renzo Novatore, Miguel Gimenez Igualada, Adolf Brand and Lev Chernyi among others.

Social anarchism Main article: Social anarchism

Social anarchism calls for a system with common ownership of means of production and democratic control of all organisations, without any government author-

ity or coercion. It is the largest school of thought in anarchism.^[209] Social anarchism rejects private property, seeing it as a source of social inequality (while retaining respect for personal property),^[210] and emphasises cooperation and mutual aid.^[211]

Collectivist anarchism Main article: Collectivist anarchism

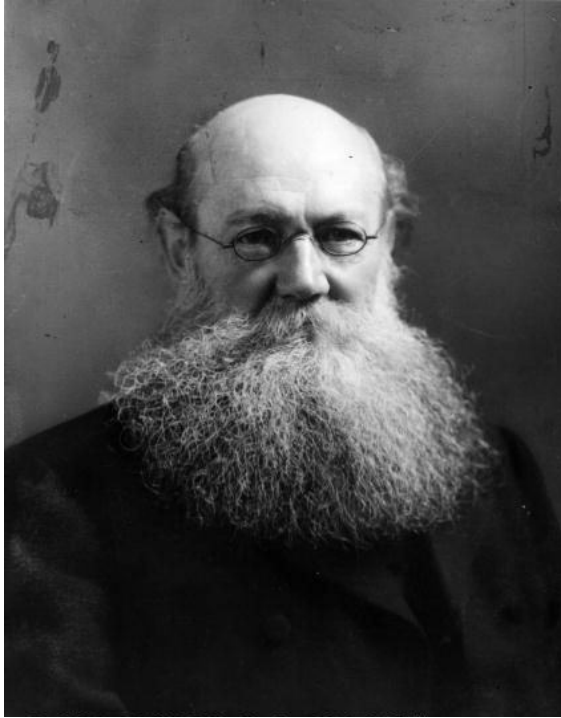
Collectivist anarchism, also referred to as “revolutionary socialism” or a form of such,^{[212][213]} is a revolutionary form of anarchism, commonly associated with Mikhail Bakunin and Johann Most.^{[214][215]} Collectivist anarchists oppose all private ownership of the means of production, instead advocating that ownership be collectivised. This was to be achieved through violent revolution, first starting with a small cohesive group through acts of violence, or *propaganda by the deed*, which would inspire the workers as a whole to revolt and forcibly collectivise the means of production.^[214]

However, collectivisation was not to be extended to the distribution of income, as workers would be paid according to time worked, rather than receiving goods being distributed “according to need” as in anarcho-communism. This position was criticised by anarchist communists as effectively “uphold[ing] the wages system”.^[216] Collectivist anarchism arose contemporaneously with Marxism but opposed the Marxist dictatorship of the proletariat, despite the stated Marxist goal of a collectivist stateless society.^[217] Anarchist, communist and collectivist ideas are not mutually exclusive; although the collectivist anarchists advocated compensation for labour, some held out the possibility of a post-revolutionary transition to a communist system of distribution according to need.^[218]

Anarcho-communism Main article: Anarcho-communism

Anarchist communism (also known as anarcho-communism, libertarian communism^{[219][220][221][222]} and occasionally as free communism) is a theory of anarchism that advocates abolition of the state, markets, money, private property (while retaining respect for personal property),^[210] and capitalism in favour of common ownership of the means of production,^{[223][224]} direct democracy and a horizontal network of voluntary associations and workers’ councils with production and consumption based on the guiding principle: “from each according to his ability, to each according to his need”.^{[225][226]}

Some forms of anarchist communism such as insurrectionary anarchism are strongly influenced by egoism and radical individualism, believing anarcho-communism is the best social system for the realisation of individual freedom.^{[227][228][229][230]} Most anarcho-



Russian theorist Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921), who was influential in the development of *anarchist communism*

communists view anarcho-communism as a way of reconciling the opposition between the individual and society.^{[231][232][233]}

Anarcho-communism developed out of radical socialist currents after the French revolution^{[234][235]} but was first formulated as such in the Italian section of the First International.^[236] The theoretical work of Peter Kropotkin took importance later as it expanded and developed pro-organisationalist and insurrectionary anti-organisationalist sections.^[237] To date, the best known examples of an anarchist communist society (i.e., established around the ideas as they exist today and achieving worldwide attention and knowledge in the historical canon), are the anarchist territories during the *Spanish Revolution*^[238] and the *Free Territory* during the *Russian Revolution*. Through the efforts and influence of the *Spanish Anarchists* during the Spanish Revolution within the Spanish Civil War, starting in 1936 anarchist communism existed in most of Aragon, parts of the Levante and Andalusia, as well as in the stronghold of *Anarchist Catalonia* before being crushed by the combined forces of the regime that won the war, Hitler, Mussolini, Spanish Communist Party repression (backed by the USSR) as well as economic and armaments blockades from the capitalist countries and the Spanish Republic itself.^[239] During the Russian Revolution, anarchists such as Nestor Makhno worked to create and defend – through the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine – anarchist communism in the Free Territory of the Ukraine from 1919 before being conquered by the Bolsheviks in 1921.

Anarcho-syndicalism Main article: *Anarcho-syndicalism*

Anarcho-syndicalism is a branch of anarchism that fo-



May day demonstration of Spanish anarcho-syndicalist trade union CNT in Bilbao, Basque Country in 2010

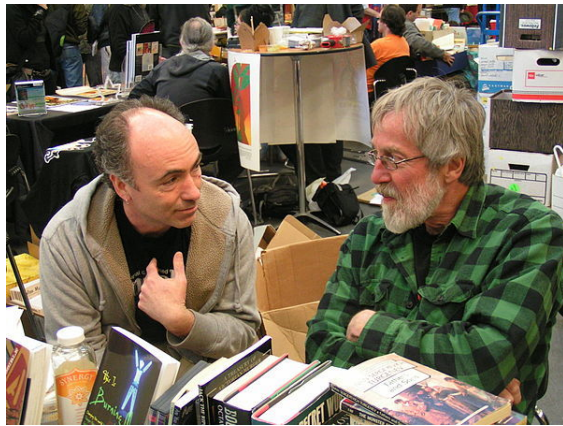
cuses on the labour movement.^[240] Anarcho-syndicalists view labour unions as a potential force for revolutionary social change, replacing capitalism and the state with a new society democratically self-managed by workers. The basic principles of anarcho-syndicalism are: *Workers' solidarity*, *Direct action* and *Workers' self-management*

Anarcho-syndicalists believe that only direct action – that is, action concentrated on directly attaining a goal, as opposed to indirect action, such as electing a representative to a government position – will allow workers to liberate themselves.^[241] Moreover, anarcho-syndicalists believe that workers' organisations (the organisations that struggle against the wage system, which, in anarcho-syndicalist theory, will eventually form the basis of a new society) should be self-managing. They should not have bosses or “business agents”; rather, the workers should be able to make all the decisions that affect them themselves. Rudolf Rocker was one of the most popular voices in the anarcho-syndicalist movement. He outlined a view of the origins of the movement, what it sought, and why it was important to the future of labour in his 1938 pamphlet *Anarcho-Syndicalism*. The International Workers Association is an international anarcho-syndicalist federation of various labour unions from different countries. The Spanish Confederación Nacional del Trabajo played and still plays a major role in the Spanish labour movement. It was also an important force in the Spanish Civil War.

Syncretic anarchism The term syncretic anarchism was first coined by *Alberto Frigo* in relation to his reading of Jacques Ellul. Rephrasing the latter, Frigo observed that, if on one hand new technologies creates new form of power, on the other, new technologies are accompanied by the rise of what *Marcel Mauss* defines as magic. By developing the techniques to perform new magic and by adhering to it, marginal individuals come to create forms of syncretism which brings together the different

dogmas and cultures a power structures uses to put humans against one another. The 19th century French postman **Ferdinand Cheval** for example, has intuitively experimented with the, at that time, new medium of cement, and created, after 33 years of adherence to certain rituals, a monument blending religions from around the world.

Post-classical schools of thought



Lawrence Jarach (left) and John Zerzan (right), two prominent contemporary anarchist authors. Zerzan is known as prominent voice within anarcho-primitivism, while Jarach is a noted advocate of post-left anarchy.

Anarchism continues to generate many philosophies and movements, at times eclectic, drawing upon various sources, and **syncretic**, combining disparate concepts to create new philosophical approaches.^[242]

Green anarchism (or eco-anarchism)^[243] is a school of thought within anarchism that emphasises environmental issues,^[244] with an important precedent in anarcho-naturism,^{[203][245][246]} and whose main contemporary currents are anarcho-primitivism and **social ecology**.

Anarcha-feminism (also called anarchist feminism and anarcho-feminism) combines anarchism with feminism. It generally views **patriarchy** as a manifestation of involuntary coercive hierarchy that should be replaced by **decentralised** free association. Anarcha-feminists believe that the struggle against patriarchy is an essential part of **class struggle**, and the anarchist struggle against the state. In essence, the philosophy sees anarchist struggle as a necessary component of feminist struggle and vice versa. **L. Susan Brown** claims that “as anarchism is a political philosophy that opposes all relationships of power, it is inherently feminist”.^[247] Anarcha-feminism began with the late 19th-century writings of early feminist anarchists such as Emma Goldman and **Voltaire de Cleire**.

Anarcho-pacifism is a tendency that rejects violence in the struggle for social change (see **non-violence**).^{[94][248]} It developed “mostly in the Netherlands, Britain, and the United States, before and during the Second World War”.^[94] Christian anarchism is a movement in political

theology that combines anarchism and Christianity.^[249] Its main proponents included **Leo Tolstoy**, Dorothy Day, Ammon Hennacy, and **Jacques Ellul**.

Platformism is a tendency within the wider anarchist movement based on the organisational theories in the tradition of Dielo Truda’s *Organisational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)*.^[127] The document was based on the experiences of **Russian anarchists** in the 1917 October Revolution, which led eventually to the victory of the **Bolsheviks** over the anarchists and other groups. The *Platform* attempted to address and explain the anarchist movement’s failures during the Russian Revolution.

Synthesis anarchism is a form of anarchism that tries to join anarchists of different tendencies under the principles of anarchism without adjectives.^[250] In the 1920s, this form found as its main proponents the **anarcho-communists** Voline and Sébastien Faure.^{[128][251]} It is the main principle behind the anarchist federations grouped around the contemporary global **International of Anarchist Federations**.^[250]

Post-left anarchy is a recent current in anarchist thought that promotes a critique of anarchism’s relationship to traditional **Left-wing politics**. Some post-leftists seek to escape the confines of **ideology** in general also presenting a critique of organisations and **morality**.^[252] Influenced by the work of Max Stirner^[252] and by the Marxist **Situationist International**,^[252] post-left anarchy is marked by a focus on social insurrection and a rejection of leftist social organisation.^[253]

Insurrectionary anarchism is a revolutionary theory, practice, and tendency within the anarchist movement which emphasises **insurrection** within anarchist practice.^{[254][255]} It is critical of formal organisations such as **labour unions** and federations that are based on a political programme and periodic congresses.^[254] Instead, insurrectionary anarchists advocate informal organisation and small **affinity group** based organisation.^{[254][255]} Insurrectionary anarchists put value in attack, permanent **class conflict**, and a refusal to negotiate or compromise with class enemies.^{[254][255]}

Post-anarchism is a theoretical move towards a synthesis of classical anarchist theory and **poststructuralist** thought, drawing from diverse ideas including **post-modernism**, **autonomist marxism**, post-left anarchy, Situationist International, and **postcolonialism**.

Left-wing market anarchism strongly affirm the classical liberal ideas of self-ownership and free markets, while maintaining that, taken to their logical conclusions, these ideas support strongly anti-corporatist, anti-hierarchical, pro-labour positions and anti-capitalism in economics and anti-imperialism in foreign policy.^{[256][257][258][259]}

Anarcho-capitalism advocates the elimination of the state in favour of **individual sovereignty** in a **free market**.^{[260][261]} Anarcho-capitalism developed from

radical anti-state libertarianism and individualist anarchism,^{[262][263][264][265][266][267][268]} drawing from Austrian School economics, study of law and economics, and public choice theory.^[269] There is a strong current within anarchism which believes that anarcho-capitalism cannot be considered a part of the anarchist movement, due to the fact that anarchism has historically been an anti-capitalist movement and for definitional reasons which see anarchism as incompatible with capitalist forms.^{[270][271][272][273][274][275]}

1.1.4 Internal issues and debates

See also: Anarchism and violence, Anarchist schools of thought, and Issues in anarchism

Anarchism is a philosophy that embodies many diverse



Which forms of violence (if any) are consistent with anarchist values is a controversial subject among anarchists.

attitudes, tendencies and schools of thought; as such, disagreement over questions of values, ideology and tactics is common. The compatibility of capitalism,^[276] nationalism, and religion with anarchism is widely disputed. Similarly, anarchism enjoys complex relationships with ideologies such as Marxism, communism, collectivism, syndicalism/trade unionism, and capitalism. Anarchists may be motivated by humanism, divine authority, enlightened self-interest, veganism or any number of alternative ethical doctrines.

Phenomena such as civilisation, technology (e.g. within anarcho-primitivism), and the democratic process may be sharply criticised within some anarchist tendencies and simultaneously lauded in others.

On a tactical level, while propaganda of the deed was a tactic used by anarchists in the 19th century (e.g. the Nihilist movement), some contemporary anarchists espouse alternative direct action methods such as nonviolence, counter-economics and anti-state cryptography to bring about an anarchist society. About the scope of an anarchist society, some anarchists advocate a global one, while others do so by local ones.^[277] The diversity in anarchism has led to widely different use of identical terms among different anarchist traditions, which has led

to many definitional concerns in anarchist theory.

1.1.5 Topics of interest

Intersecting and overlapping between various schools of thought, certain topics of interest and internal disputes have proven perennial within anarchist theory.

Free love

Main articles: Free love, Anarchism and issues related to love and sex, Anarcha-feminism, and Queer anarchism

An important current within anarchism is free love.^[278] Free love advocates sometimes traced their roots back to Josiah Warren and to experimental communities, viewed sexual freedom as a clear, direct expression of an individual's sovereignty. Free love particularly stressed women's rights since most sexual laws discriminated against women: for example, marriage laws and anti-birth control measures.^[202] The most important American free love journal was *Lucifer the Lightbearer* (1883–1907) edited by Moses Harman and Lois Waisbrooker,^[279] but also there existed Ezra Heywood and Angela Heywood's *The Word* (1872–1890, 1892–1893).^[202] *Free Society* (1895–1897 as *The Firebrand*; 1897–1904 as *Free Society*) was a major anarchist newspaper in the United States at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.^[280] The publication advocated free love and women's rights, and critiqued "Comstockery" – censorship of sexual information. Also M. E. Lazarus was an important American individualist anarchist who promoted free love.^[202]

In New York City's Greenwich Village, bohemian feminists and socialists advocated self-realisation and pleasure for women (and also men) in the here and now. They encouraged playing with sexual roles and sexuality,^[281] and the openly bisexual radical Edna St. Vincent Millay and the lesbian anarchist Margaret Anderson were prominent among them. Discussion groups organised by the Villagers were frequented by Emma Goldman, among others. Magnus Hirschfeld noted in 1923 that Goldman "has campaigned boldly and steadfastly for individual rights, and especially for those deprived of their rights. Thus it came about that she was the first and only woman, indeed the first and only American, to take up the defence of homosexual love before the general public."^[282] In fact, before Goldman, heterosexual anarchist Robert Reitzel (1849–1898) spoke positively of homosexuality from the beginning of the 1890s in his Detroit-based German language journal *Der arme Teufel* (English: The Poor Devil). In Argentina anarcha-feminist Virginia Bolten published the newspaper called *La Voz de la Mujer* (English: The Woman's Voice), which was published nine times in Rosario between 8 January 1896 and 1 January 1897, and was revived, briefly, in 1901.^[283]

In Europe the main propagandist of free love within indi-



French individualist anarchist *Emile Armand* (1872–1962), who propounded the virtues of free love in the Parisian anarchist milieu of the early 20th century

vidualist anarchism was Emile Armand.^[284] He proposed the concept of *la camaraderie amoureuse* to speak of free love as the possibility of voluntary sexual encounter between consenting adults. He was also a consistent proponent of polyamory.^[284] In Germany the stirnerists Adolf Brand and John Henry Mackay were pioneering campaigners for the acceptance of male bisexuality and homosexuality. *Mujeres Libres* was an anarchist women's organisation in Spain that aimed to empower working

class women. It was founded in 1936 by *Lucía Sánchez Saornil*, Mercedes Comaposada and *Amparo Poch y Gascón* and had approximately 30,000 members. The organisation was based on the idea of a “double struggle” for women's liberation and social revolution and argued that the two objectives were equally important and should be pursued in parallel. In order to gain mutual support, they created networks of women anarchists.^[285] *Lucía Sánchez Saornil* was a main founder of the Spanish anarcha-feminist federation *Mujeres Libres* who was open about her lesbianism.^[286] She was published in a variety of literary journals where working under a male pen name, she was able to explore lesbian themes^[287] at a time when homosexuality was criminalised and subject to censorship and punishment.

More recently, the British anarcho-pacifist Alex Comfort gained notoriety during the sexual revolution for writing the bestseller sex manual *The Joy of Sex*. The issue of free love has a dedicated treatment in the work of French anarcho-hedonist philosopher *Michel Onfray* in such works as *Théorie du corps amoureux : pour une érotique solaire* (2000) and *L'invention du plaisir : fragments cyréaniques* (2002).

Libertarian education and freethought

See also: *Anarchism and education* and *Freethought*

For English anarchist William Godwin education was “the main means by which change would be achieved.”^[288] Godwin saw that the main goal of education should be the promotion of happiness.^[288] For Godwin education had to have “A respect for the child's autonomy which precluded any form of coercion,” “A pedagogy that respected this and sought to build on the child's own motivation and initiatives,” and “A concern about the child's capacity to resist an ideology transmitted through the school.”^[288] In his *Political Justice* he criticises state sponsored schooling “on account of its obvious alliance with national government”.^[289] Early American anarchist Josiah Warren advanced alternative education experiences in the libertarian communities he established.^[290] Max Stirner wrote in 1842 a long essay on education called *The False Principle of our Education*. In it Stirner names his educational principle “personalist,” explaining that self-understanding consists in hourly self-creation. Education for him is to create “free men, sovereign characters,” by which he means “eternal characters ... who are therefore eternal because they form themselves each moment”.^[291]

In the United States “freethought was a basically anti-Christian, anti-clerical movement, whose purpose was to make the individual politically and spiritually free to decide for himself on religious matters. A number of contributors to *Liberty* (anarchist publication) were prominent figures in both freethought and anarchism. The individualist anarchist George MacDonald was a co-editor of *Freethought* and, for a time, *The Truth Seeker*. E.C.



Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia, Catalan anarchist pedagogue and free-thinker

Walker was co-editor of the excellent free-thought / free love journal *Lucifer, the Light-Bearer*.^[206] “Many of the anarchists were ardent freethinkers; reprints from freethought papers such as *Lucifer, the Light-Bearer*, *Freethought* and *The Truth Seeker* appeared in *Liberty*... The church was viewed as a common ally of the state and as a repressive force in and of itself”.^[206]

In 1901, Catalan anarchist and free-thinker Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia established “modern” or *progressive schools* in Barcelona in defiance of an educational system controlled by the Catholic Church.^[292] The schools’ stated goal was to “educate the working class in a rational, secular and non-coercive setting”. Fiercely anti-clerical, Ferrer believed in “freedom in education”, education free from the authority of church and state.^[293] Murray Bookchin wrote: “This period [1890s] was the heyday of libertarian schools and pedagogical projects in all areas of the country where Anarchists exercised some degree of influence. Perhaps the best-known effort in this field was Francisco Ferrer’s Modern School (*Escuela Moderna*), a project which exercised a considerable influence on Catalan education and on experimental techniques of teaching generally.”^[294] La Escuela Moderna, and Ferrer’s ideas generally, formed the inspiration for a series of *Modern Schools* in the United States,^[292] Cuba, South

America and London. The first of these was started in New York City in 1911. It also inspired the Italian newspaper *Università popolare*, founded in 1901. Russian christian anarchist Leo Tolstoy established a school for peasant children on his estate.^[295] Tolstoy’s educational experiments were short-lived due to harassment by the Tsarist secret police.^[296] Tolstoy established a conceptual difference between education and culture.^[295] He thought that “Education is the tendency of one man to make another just like himself ... Education is culture under restraint, culture is free. [Education is] when the teaching is forced upon the pupil, and when then instruction is exclusive, that is when only those subjects are taught which the educator regards as necessary”.^[295] For him “without compulsion, education was transformed into culture”.^[295]

A more recent libertarian tradition on education is that of *unschooling* and the *free school* in which child-led activity replaces pedagogic approaches. Experiments in Germany led to A. S. Neill founding what became Summerhill School in 1921.^[297] Summerhill is often cited as an example of anarchism in practice.^{[298][299]} However, although Summerhill and other free schools are radically libertarian, they differ in principle from those of Ferrer by not advocating an overtly political class struggle-approach.^[300] In addition to organising schools according to libertarian principles, anarchists have also questioned the concept of schooling per se. The term *deschooling* was popularised by Ivan Illich, who argued that the school as an institution is dysfunctional for self-determined learning and serves the creation of a consumer society instead.^[301]

1.1.6 Criticisms

Main article: *Criticisms of anarchism*

Criticisms of anarchism include moral criticisms and pragmatic criticisms. Anarchism is often evaluated as unfeasible or *utopian* by its critics.

1.1.7 See also

- *Anarchism by country*

1.1.8 References

- [1] “ANARCHISM, a social philosophy that rejects authoritarian government and maintains that voluntary institutions are best suited to express man’s natural social tendencies.” George Woodcock. “Anarchism” at The Encyclopedia of Philosophy
- [2] “In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations which already now begin to cover all the fields of human activity would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the state in all its functions.”

- Peter Kropotkin. "Anarchism" from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*
- [3] "Anarchism." *The Shorter Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. 2005. p. 14 "Anarchism is the view that a society without the state, or government, is both possible and desirable."
- [4] Sheehan, Sean. *Anarchism*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2004. p. 85
- [5] "as many anarchists have stressed, it is not government as such that they find objectionable, but the hierarchical forms of government associated with the nation state." Judith Suissa. *Anarchism and Education: a Philosophical Perspective*. Routledge. New York. 2006. p. 7
- [6] "IAF principles". International of Anarchist Federations. Archived from the original on 5 January 2012. The IAF – IFA fights for : the abolition of all forms of authority whether economical, political, social, religious, cultural or sexual.
- [7] "That is why Anarchy, when it works to destroy authority in all its aspects, when it demands the abrogation of laws and the abolition of the mechanism that serves to impose them, when it refuses all hierarchical organization and preaches free agreement — at the same time strives to maintain and enlarge the precious kernel of social customs without which no human or animal society can exist." Peter Kropotkin. *Anarchism: its philosophy and ideal*
- [8] "anarchists are opposed to irrational (e.g., illegitimate) authority, in other words, hierarchy — hierarchy being the institutionalization of authority within a society." "B.1 Why are anarchists against authority and hierarchy?" in *An Anarchist FAQ*
- [9] Malatesta, Errico. "Towards Anarchism". *MAN!*. Los Angeles: International Group of San Francisco. OCLC 3930443. Archived from the original on 7 November 2012. Agrell, Siri (14 May 2007). "Working for The Man". *The Globe and Mail*. Archived from the original on 16 May 2007. Retrieved 14 April 2008. "Anarchism". *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica Premium Service. 2006. Archived from the original on 14 December 2006. Retrieved 29 August 2006. "Anarchism". *The Shorter Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*: 14. 2005. Anarchism is the view that a society without the state, or government, is both possible and desirable. The following sources cite anarchism as a political philosophy: McLaughlin, Paul (2007). *Anarchism and Authority*. Aldershot: Ashgate. p. 59. ISBN 978-0754661962. Johnston, R. (2000). *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers. p. 24. ISBN 0-631-20561-6.
- [10] Slevin, Carl. "Anarchism." *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*. Ed. Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan. Oxford University Press, 2003.
- [11] "Anarchists do reject the state, as we will see. But to claim that this central aspect of anarchism is definitive is to sell anarchism short." *Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism* by Paul McLaughlin. AshGate. 2007. p. 28
- [12] [6][13][14][15][16][17][18][19]
- [13] "My use of the word hierarchy in the subtitle of this work is meant to be provocative. There is a strong theoretical need to contrast hierarchy with the more widespread use of the words class and State; careless use of these terms can produce a dangerous simplification of social reality. To use the words hierarchy, class, and State interchangeably, as many social theorists do, is insidious and obscurantist. This practice, in the name of a "classless" or "libertarian" society, could easily conceal the existence of hierarchical relationships and a hierarchical sensibility, both of which—even in the absence of economic exploitation or political coercion—would serve to perpetuate unfreedom." Murray Bookchin. *The Ecology of Freedom: the emergence and dissolution of Hierarchy*. CHESHIRE BOOKS Palo Alto. 1982. Pg. 3
- [14] "Authority is defined in terms of the right to exercise social control (as explored in the "sociology of power") and the correlative duty to obey (as explored in the "philosophy of practical reason"). Anarchism is distinguished, philosophically, by its scepticism towards such moral relations – by its questioning of the claims made for such normative power – and, practically, by its challenge to those "authoritative" powers which cannot justify their claims and which are therefore deemed illegitimate or without moral foundation." *Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism* by Paul McLaughlin. AshGate. 2007. p. 1
- [15] "Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations." Emma Goldman. "What it Really Stands for Anarchy" in *Anarchism and Other Essays*.
- [16] Individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker defined anarchism as opposition to authority as follows "They found that they must turn either to the right or to the left, – follow either the path of Authority or the path of Liberty. Marx went one way; Warren and Proudhon the other. Thus were born State Socialism and Anarchism ... Authority, takes many shapes, but, broadly speaking, her enemies divide themselves into three classes: first, those who abhor her both as a means and as an end of progress, opposing her openly, avowedly, sincerely, consistently, universally; second, those who profess to believe in her as a means of progress, but who accept her only so far as they think she will subserve their own selfish interests, denying her and her blessings to the rest of the world; third, those who distrust her as a means of progress, believing in her only as an end to be obtained by first trampling upon, violating, and outraging her. These three phases of opposition to Liberty are met in almost every sphere of thought and human activity. representatives of the first are seen in the Catholic Church and the Russian autocracy; of the second, in the Protestant Church and the Manchester school of politics and political economy; of the third, in the atheism

- of Gambetta and the socialism of Karl Marx.” Benjamin Tucker. *Individual Liberty*.
- [17] Ward, Colin (1966). “Anarchism as a Theory of Organization”. Archived from the original on 25 March 2010. Retrieved 1 March 2010.
- [18] Anarchist historian George Woodcock report of Mikhail Bakunin's anti-authoritarianism and shows opposition to both state and non-state forms of authority as follows: “All anarchists deny authority; many of them fight against it.” (p. 9) ... Bakunin did not convert the League's central committee to his full program, but he did persuade them to accept a remarkably radical recommendation to the Berne Congress of September 1868, demanding economic equality and implicitly attacking authority in both Church and State.”
- [19] Brown, L. Susan (2002). “Anarchism as a Political Philosophy of Existential Individualism: Implications for Feminism”. *The Politics of Individualism: Liberalism, Liberal Feminism and Anarchism*. Black Rose Books Ltd. Publishing. p. 106.
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- [34] ἀρχή. Liddell, Henry George; Scott, Robert; A *Greek–English Lexicon* at the Perseus Project.
- [35] -ism, Online etymology dictionary.
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- [40] “At the end of the century in France, Sebastien Faure took up a word used in 1858 by one Joseph Dejacque to make it the title of a journal, Le Libertaire. Today the terms “anarchist” and “libertarian” have become interchangeable.” *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* Daniel Guérin
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- [48] “The priority of dao over tiannature:sky underwrites the themes of dependency and relativism that pervade the Zhuangzi and ultimately the skepticism, the open-minded toleration and the political anarchism (or disinterest in political activity or involvement).” “Taoism” at the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy
- [49] “Doing nothing [wu wei] is the famous Daoist concept for natural action, action in accord with Dao, action in which we freely follow our own way and allow other beings to do likewise. Zhuangzi, the great anarchic Daoist sage, compared it to “riding on the wind.” Max Cafard. “Zen Anarchy”
- [50] “Zhuangzi helps us discover an anarchistic epistemology and sensibility. He describes a state in which “you are open to everything you see and hear, and allow this to act through you.”[45] Part of wuwei, doing without doing, is “knowing without knowing,” knowing as being open to the things known, rather than conquering and possessing the objects of knowledge. This means not imposing our prejudices (whether our own personal ones, our culture’s, or those built into the human mind) on the Ten Thousand Things.” Max Cafard. *The Surre(gion)alist Manifesto and Other Writings*
- [51] “The next group of interpreters have also become incorporated into the extant version of the text. They are the school of anarchistically inclined philosophers, that Graham identifies as a “Primitivist” and a school of “Yangists,” chapters 8 to 11, and 28 to 31. These thinkers appear to have been profoundly influenced by the Laozi, and also by the thought of the first and last of the Inner Chapters: “Wandering Beyond,” and “Responding to Emperors and Kings.” There are also possible signs of influence from Yang Zhu, whose concern was to protect and cultivate one’s inner life-source. These chapters combine the anarchistic ideals of a simple life close to nature that can be found in the Laozi with the practices that lead to the cultivation and nurturing of life. ” “Zhuangzi (Chuang-Tzu, 369–298 BCE)” at the Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy
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- [54] Cited in George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1962), p. 38.
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- [57] هادي الـعـلـوي. *الـلـنـوز الـأدبـي*. ص 136، 1995
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- [60] Several historians of anarchism have gone so far as to classify La Botie’s treatise itself as anarchist, which is incorrect since La Botie never extended his analysis from tyrannical government to government per se. But while La Botie cannot be considered an anarchist, his sweeping strictures on tyranny and the universality of his political philosophy lend themselves easily to such an expansion. *Introduction to The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude* by Murray Rothbard. Ludwig Von Mises Institute. p. 18
- [61] “Quite rightly, La Boétie recognizes the potential for domination in any democracy: the democratic leader, elected by the people, becomes intoxicated with his own power and teeters increasingly towards tyranny. Indeed, we can see modern democracy itself as an instance of voluntary servitude on a mass scale. It is not so much that we participate in an illusion whereby we are deceived by elites into thinking we have a genuine say in decision-making. It is rather that democracy itself has encouraged a mass contentment with powerlessness and a general love of submission.” “Voluntary Servitude Reconsidered: Radical Politics and the Problem of Self-Domination” Saul Newman
- [62] “Anarchists have regarded the secular revolt of the Diggers, or True Levellers, in seventeenth-century England led by Gerrard Winstanley as a source of pride. Winstanley, deeming that property is corrupting, opposed clericalism, political power and privilege. It is economic inequality, he believed, that produces crime and misery. He championed a primitive communalism based on the

- pure teachings of God as comprehended through reason.” Kenneth C. Wenzel. “Godwin’s Place in the Anarchist Tradition — a Bicentennial Tribute”
- [63] “It was in these conditions of class struggle that, among a whole cluster of radical groups such as the Fifth Monarchy Men, the Levellers and the Ranters, there emerged perhaps the first real proto-anarchists, the Diggers, who like the classical 19th-century anarchists identified political and economic power and who believed that a social, rather than political revolution was necessary for the establishment of justice. Gerrard Winstanley, the Diggers’ leader, made an identification with the word of God and the principle of reason, an equivalent philosophy to that found in Tolstoy’s *The Kingdom of God is Within You*.” Marlow. “Anarchism and Christianity”
- [64] “Although Proudhon was the first writer to call himself an anarchist, at least two predecessors outlined systems that contain all the basic elements of anarchism. The first was Gerrard Winstanley (1609 – c. 1660), a linen draper who led the small movement of the Diggers during the Commonwealth. Winstanley and his followers protested in the name of a radical Christianity against the economic distress that followed the Civil War and against the inequality that the grandees of the New Model Army seemed intent on preserving. In 1649–1650 the Diggers squatted on stretches of common land in southern England and attempted to set up communities based on work on the land and the sharing of goods.” George Woodcock *Anarchism* The Encyclopedia of Philosophy
- [65] “Anarchism”, BBC Radio 4 program, In Our Time, Thursday 7 December 2006. Hosted by Melvyn Bragg of the BBC, with John Keane, Professor of Politics at University of Westminster, Ruth Kinna, Senior Lecturer in Politics at Loughborough University, and Peter Marshall, philosopher and historian.
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- [70] Godwin himself attributed the first anarchist writing to Edmund Burke’s *A Vindication of Natural Society*. “Most of the above arguments may be found much more at large in Burke’s *Vindication of Natural Society*; a treatise in which the evils of the existing political institutions are displayed with incomparable force of reasoning and lustre of eloquence ...” – footnote, Ch. 2 *Political Justice* by William Godwin.
- [71] Adams, Ian. *Political Ideology Today*. Manchester University Press, 2001. p. 116.
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- [116] Historian Benedict Anderson thus writes:
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- [123] "Die bayerische Revolution 1918/19: Die erste Räterepublik: Literaten an der Macht" [The Bavarian Revolution 1918/19: The first Soviet Republic: Literati in Power]. *br.de* (in German). Munich, Bavaria, Germany: Bayerischer Rundfunk. Archived from the original on 2012-11-20. Retrieved 1 September 2012.
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- [141] "When clashes with the Communist Party broke out, his house, where he lived with other anarchists, was attacked on 4 May 1937. They were all labelled "counter-revolutionaries", disarmed, deprived of their papers and forbidden to go out into the street. There was still shooting in the streets when, on 5 May 1937, news arrived from Italy of Antonio Gramsci's death in a fascist prison...Leaving Radio Barcelona, Berneri set off for the Plaça de la Generalitat, where some Stalinists shouted after him. Before he could turn and look, they opened fire with machine guns, and left his dead body there on the street." "Berneri, Luigi Camillo, 1897–1937" at *libcom.com*
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- [143] "Spain: Return to "normalization" in Barcelona. The Republican government had sent troops to take over the telephone exchange on 3 May, pitting the anarchists & Poumists on one side against the Republican government & the Stalinist Communist Party on the other, in pitched street battles, resulting in 500 anarchists killed. Squads of Communist Party members took to the streets on 6 May to assassinate leading anarchists. Today, among those found murdered, was the Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri" "Camillo Berneri" at The Anarchist Encyclopedia: A Gallery of Saints & Sinners ... Archived February 19, 2006, at the Wayback Machine.

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- [151] *Encyclopedia of British and Irish Political Organizations*. United Kingdom: Pinter Publishers. 2000. ISBN 978-1855672642. Retrieved 2013-04-22.
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- [153] "The Breakdown of Nations". *ditext.com*. Archived from the original on 2012-10-28. Retrieved 2013-05-12.
- [154] Cage self-identified as an anarchist in a 1985 interview: "I'm an anarchist. I don't know whether the adjective is pure and simple, or philosophical, or what, but I don't like government! And I don't like institutions! And I don't have any confidence in even good institutions." John Cage at Seventy: An Interview by Stephen Montague. *American Music*, Summer 1985. Ubu.com. Accessed 24 May 2007.
- [155] "It was in the black mirror of anarchism that surrealism first recognised itself," wrote André Breton in "The Black Mirror of Anarchism," Selection 23 in Robert Graham, ed., *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas, Volume Two: The Emergence of the New Anarchism (1939–1977)*. Breton had returned to France in 1947 and in April of that year Andre Julien welcomed his return in the pages of *Le Libertaire* the weekly paper of the Federation Anarchiste "1919–1950: The politics of Surrealism" by Nick Heath on libcom.org
- [156] "In the forties and fifties, anarchism, in fact if not in name, began to reappear, often in alliance with pacifism, as the basis for a critique of militarism on both sides of the Cold War. The anarchist/pacifist wing of the peace movement was small in comparison with the wing of the movement that emphasized electoral work, but made an important contribution to the movement as a whole. Where the more conventional wing of the peace movement rejected militarism and war under all but the most dire circumstances, the anarchist/pacifist wing rejected these on principle." "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement" by Barbara Epstein
- [157] "In the 1950s and 1960s anarcho-pacifism began to gel, tough-minded anarchists adding to the mixture their critique of the state, and tender-minded pacifists their critique of violence. Its first practical manifestation was at the level of method: nonviolent direct action, principled and pragmatic, was used widely in both the Civil Rights movement in the US and the campaign against nuclear weapons in Britain and elsewhere." Geoffrey Ostergaard. *Resisting the Nation State. The pacifist and anarchist tradition*
- [158] "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement". *Monthly Review*. Retrieved 2006-06-22.
- [159] Thomas 1985, p. 4
- [160] "Islands of Anarchy: Simian, Cienfuegos, Refract and their support network". *katesharpleylibrary.net*. Archived from the original on 2011-06-04. Retrieved 2010-12-22.
- [161] Farrell provides a detailed history of the Catholic Workers and their founders Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin. He explains that their pacifism, anarchism, and commitment to the downtrodden were one of the important models and inspirations for the 1960s. As Farrell puts it, "Catholic Workers identified the issues of the sixties before the Sixties began, and they offered models of protest long before the protest decade." "The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism" by James J. Farrell
- [162] "While not always formally recognized, much of the protest of the sixties was anarchist. Within the nascent women's movement, anarchist principles became so widespread that a political science professor denounced what she saw as "The Tyranny of Structurelessness." Several groups have called themselves "Amazon Anarchists." After the Stonewall Rebellion, the New York Gay Liberation Front based their organization in part on a reading of Murray Bookchin's anarchist writings." "Anarchism" by Charley Shively in *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. p. 52

- [163] "Within the movements of the sixties there was much more receptivity to anarchism-in-fact than had existed in the movements of the thirties ... But the movements of the sixties were driven by concerns that were more compatible with an expressive style of politics, with hostility to authority in general and state power in particular ... By the late sixties, political protest was intertwined with cultural radicalism based on a critique of all authority and all hierarchies of power. Anarchism circulated within the movement along with other radical ideologies. The influence of anarchism was strongest among radical feminists, in the commune movement, and probably in the Weather Underground and elsewhere in the violent fringe of the anti-war movement." "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement" by Barbara Epstein
- [164] London Federation of Anarchists involvement in Carrara conference, 1968 International Institute of Social History. Retrieved 19 January 2010
- [165] Short history of the IAF-IFA A-infos news project. Retrieved 19 January 2010
- [166] McLaughlin, Paul (2007). *Anarchism and Authority*. Aldershot: Ashgate. p. 10. ISBN 0-7546-6196-2.
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- [173] *The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (1908).
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- [176] Wayne Gabardi, review of *Anarchism* by David Miller, published in *American Political Science Review* Vol. 80, No. 1. (March 1986), pp. 300–02.
- [177] Klosko, George. *Political Obligations*. Oxford University Press 2005. p. 4.
- [178] Avrich, Paul. *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America*. Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 6.
- [179] Esenwein, George Richard "Anarchist Ideology and the Working Class Movement in Spain, 1868–1898" [p. 135].
- [180] "A member of a community," *The Mutualist*; this 1826 series criticised Robert Owen's proposals, and has been attributed to a dissident Owenite, possibly from the Friendly Association for Mutual Interests of Valley Forge; Shawn Wilburn, 2006, "More from the 1826 "Mutualist"?"
- [181] Proudhon, *Solution to the Social Problem*, ed. H. Cohen (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927), p. 45.
- [182] Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1979). *The Principle of Federation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. ISBN 0-8020-5458-7. The notion of *anarchy* in politics is just as rational and positive as any other. It means that once industrial functions have taken over from political functions, then business transactions alone produce the social order.
- [183] "Communism versus Mutualism", *Socialistic, Communistic, Mutualistic and Financial Fragments*. (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1875) William Batchelder Greene: "Under the mutual system, each individual will receive the just and exact pay for his work; services equivalent in cost being exchangeable for services equivalent in cost, without profit or discount; and so much as the individual laborer will then get over and above what he has earned will come to him as his share in the general prosperity of the community of which he is an individual member."
- [184] Avrich, Paul. *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America*, Princeton University Press 1996 ISBN 0-691-04494-5, p. 6
Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought, Blackwell Publishing 1991 ISBN 0-631-17944-5, p. 11.
- [185] Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. *What Is Property?* Princeton, MA: Benjamin R. Tucker, 1876. p. 281.
- [186] "What do I mean by individualism? I mean by individualism the moral doctrine which, relying on no dogma, no tradition, no external determination, appeals only to the individual conscience." *Mini-Manual of Individualism* by Han Ryner
- [187] "I do not admit anything except the existence of the individual, as a condition of his sovereignty. To say that the sovereignty of the individual is conditioned by Liberty is simply another way of saying that it is conditioned by itself." "Anarchism and the State" in *Individual Liberty*
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- [193] Miller, David. "Anarchism." 1987. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought*. Blackwell Publishing. p. 11.
- [194] "What my might reaches is my property; and let me claim as property everything I feel myself strong enough to attain, and let me extend my actual property as far as I entitle, that is, empower myself to take ..." In Ossar, Michael. 1980. *Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller*. SUNY Press. p. 27.
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- [199] William Bailie, *Josiah Warren: The First American Anarchist – A Sociological Study*, Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1906, p. 20
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- [202] "The Free Love Movement and Radical Individualism, By Wendy McElroy". *ncc-1776.org*. Retrieved 2009-11-29.
- [203] "Proliferarán así diversos grupos que practicarán el excursionismo, el naturismo, el nudismo, la emancipación sexual o el esperantismo, alrededor de asociaciones informales vinculadas de una manera o de otra al anarquismo. Precisamente las limitaciones a las asociaciones obreras impuestas desde la legislación especial de la Dictadura potenciarán indirectamente esta especie de asociacionismo informal en que confluirá el movimiento anarquista con esta heterogeneidad de prácticas y tendencias. Uno de los grupos más destacados, que será el impulsor de la revista individualista *Ética* será el Ateneo Naturista Ecléctico, con sede en Barcelona, con sus diferentes secciones la más destacada de las cuales será el grupo excursionista Sol y Vida." "La insumisión voluntaria: El anarquismo individualista español durante la Dictadura y la Segunda República (1923–1938)" by Xavier Díez
- [204] "Los anarco-individualistas, G.I.A ... Una escisión de la FAI producida en el IX Congreso (Carrara, 1965)
- se produjo cuando un sector de anarquistas de tendencia humanista rechazan la interpretación que ellos juzgan disciplinaria del *pacto asociativo* clásico, y crean los GIA (Gruppi di Iniziativa Anarchica). Esta pequeña federación de grupos, hoy nutrida sobre todo de veteranos anarco-individualistas de orientación pacifista, naturista, etcétera defiende la autonomía personal y rechaza a rajatabla toda forma de intervención en los procesos del sistema, como sería por ejemplo el sindicalismo. Su portavoz es L'Internazionale con sede en Ancona. La escisión de los GIA prefiguraba, en sentido contrario, el gran debate que pronto había de comenzar en el seno del movimiento "El movimiento libertario en Italia" by *Bicicleta*. *REVISTA DE COMUNICACIONES LIBERTARIAS* Year 1 No. Noviembre, 1 1977 Archived April 25, 2012, at the Wayback Machine.
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- [208] Parry, Richard. *The Bonnot Gang*. Rebel Press, 1987. p. 15
- [209] "This does not mean that the majority thread within the anarchist movement is uncritical of individualist anarchism. Far from it! Social anarchists have argued that this influence of non-anarchist ideas means that while its "criticism of the State is very searching, and [its] defence of the rights of the individual very powerful," like Spencer it "opens ... the way for reconstituting under the heading of 'defence' all the functions of the State." Section G – Is individualist anarchism capitalistic? *An Anarchist FAQ*
- [210] "The revolution abolishes private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and with it goes capitalistic business. Personal possession remains only in the things you use. Thus, your watch is your own, but the watch factory belongs to the people." Alexander Berkman. "What Is Communist Anarchism?"
- [211] Ostergaard, Geoffrey. "Anarchism". *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*. Blackwell Publishing, 1991. p. 21.
- [212] Morris, Brian. *Bakunin: The Philosophy of Freedom*. Black Rose Books Ltd., 1993. p. 76.
- [213] Rae, John. *Contemporary Socialism*. C. Scribner's sons, 1901, Original from Harvard University. p. 261.
- [214] Patsouras, Louis. 2005. *Marx in Context*. iUniverse. p. 54.
- [215] Avrich, Paul. 2006. *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America*. AK Press. p. 5.

- [216] Kropotkin, Peter (2007). "13". *The Conquest of Bread*. Edinburgh: AK Press. ISBN 978-1-904859-10-9.
- [217] Bakunin, Mikhail (1990). *Statism and Anarchy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0-521-36182-6. They [the Marxists] maintain that only a dictatorship – their dictatorship, of course – can create the will of the people, while our answer to this is: No dictatorship can have any other aim but that of self-perpetuation, and it can beget only slavery in the people tolerating it; freedom can be created only by freedom, that is, by a universal rebellion on the part of the people and free organization of the toiling masses from the bottom up.
- [218] Guillaume, James (1876). "Ideas on Social Organization". Retrieved 2006-04-03.
- [219] "Anarchist communism is also known as anarcho-communism, communist anarchism, or, sometimes, libertarian communism." "Anarchist communism – an introduction" by libcom.org
- [220] "The terms libertarian communism and anarchist communism thus became synonymous within the international anarchist movement as a result of the close connection they had in Spain (with libertarian communism becoming the prevalent term)." "Anarchist Communism & Libertarian Communism" by Gruppo Comunista Anarchico di Firenze. from "L'informatore di parte", No. 4, October 1979, quarterly journal of the Gruppo Comunista Anarchico di Firenze, on libcom.org
- [221] "The 'Manifesto of Libertarian Communism' was written in 1953 by Georges Fontenis for the Federation Communiste Libertaire of France. It is one of the key texts of the anarchist-communist current." "Manifesto of Libertarian Communism" by Georges Fontenis on libcom.org
- [222] "In 1926 a group of exiled Russian anarchists in France, the Delo Truda (Workers' Cause) group, published this pamphlet. It arose not from some academic study but from their experiences in the 1917 Russian revolution." "The Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists" by Delo Truda
- [223] *From Politics Past to Politics Future: An Integrated Analysis of Current and Emergent Paradigms* Alan James Mayne Published 1999 Greenwood Publishing Group 316 pages ISBN 0-275-96151-6. Books.google.com. 1999. ISBN 978-0-275-96151-0. Retrieved 20 September 2010.
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- [225] "Luggi Fabbri". Dwardmac.pitzer.edu. 2002-10-13. Archived from the original on 2012-03-02. Retrieved 2015-03-16.
- [226] "Platform: Constructive Section". Nestormakhno.info. Archived from the original on 2012-02-06. Retrieved 2015-03-16.
- [227] Post-left anarcho-communist Bob Black after analysing insurrectionary anarcho-communist Luigi Galleani's view on anarcho-communism went as far as saying that "communism is the final fulfillment of individualism ... The apparent contradiction between individualism and communism rests on a misunderstanding of both ... Subjectivity is also objective: the individual really is subjective. It is nonsense to speak of "emphatically prioritizing the social over the individual," ... You may as well speak of prioritizing the chicken over the egg. Anarchy is a "method of individualization." It aims to combine the greatest individual development with the greatest communal unity." Bob Black. *Nightmares of Reason*.
- [228] "Modern Communists are more individualistic than Stirner. To them, not merely religion, morality, family and State are spooks, but property also is no more than a spook, in whose name the individual is enslaved – and how enslaved! ... Communism thus creates a basis for the liberty and Eigenheit of the individual. I am a Communist because I am an Individualist. Fully as heartily the Communists concur with Stirner when he puts the word take in place of demand – that leads to the dissolution of property, to expropriation. Individualism and Communism go hand in hand." Max Baginski. "Stirner: The Ego and His Own" on *Mother Earth*. Vol. 2. No. 3 May 1907
- [229] Christopher Gray, *Leaving the Twentieth Century*, p. 88.
- [230] "Toward the Creative Nothing". *theanarchistlibrary.org*. Archived from the original on 2010-11-28. Retrieved 2010-07-14.
- [231] Peter Kropotkin. *Communism and Anarchy*. Retrieved 2011-07-26. Communism is the one which guarantees the greatest amount of individual liberty – provided that the idea that begets the community be Liberty, Anarchy ... Communism guarantees economic freedom better than any other form of association, because it can guarantee wellbeing, even luxury, in return for a few hours of work instead of a day's work.
- [232] This other society will be libertarian communism, in which social solidarity and free individuality find their full expression, and in which these two ideas develop in perfect harmony. *Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists* by Delo Truda (Workers' Cause)
- [233] "I see the dichotomies made between individualism and communism, individual revolt and class struggle, the struggle against human exploitation and the exploitation of nature as false dichotomies and feel that those who accept them are impoverishing their own critique and struggle." "MY PERSPECTIVES" by Willful Disobedience Vol. 2, No. 12
- [234] Robert Graham, *Anarchism – A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas – Volume One: From Anarchy to Anarchism (300CE to 1939)*, Black Rose Books, 2005
- [235] "The Great French Revolution 1789–1793". *theanarchistlibrary.org*. Retrieved 2011-07-26.
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- [239] Bookchin, Murray. *To Remember Spain: The Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936*.
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- [243] David Pepper (1996). *Modern Environmentalism* p. 44. Routledge.
- [244] Ian Adams (2001). *Political Ideology Today* p. 130. Manchester University Press.
- [245] "Anarchism and the different Naturist views have always been related." "Anarchism – Nudism, Naturism" by Carlos Ortega at Asociacion para el Desarrollo Naturista de la Comunidad de Madrid. Published on Revista ADN. Winter 2003
- [246] EL NATURISMO LIBERTARIO EN LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA (1890–1939) by Jose Maria Rosello Archived September 2, 2013, at the Wayback Machine.
- [247] Brown, p. 208.
- [248] "'Resisting the Nation State, the pacifist and anarchist tradition" by Geoffrey Ostergaard". [Ppu.org.uk](http://ppu.org.uk). 6 August 1945. Archived from the original on 2011-05-14. Retrieved 20 September 2010.
- [249] Christoyannopoulos, Alexandre (2010). *Christian Anarchism: A Political Commentary on the Gospel*. Exeter: Imprint Academic. pp. 2–4. Locating Christian anarchism ... In political theology
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- [254] "insurgentdesire.org.uk". insurgentdesire.org.uk. Retrieved 2012-11-19.
- [255] "'Anarchism, insurrections and insurrectionalism" by Joe Black". [Ainfos.ca](http://ainfos.ca). 19 July 2006. Archived from the original on 6 December 2010. Retrieved 20 September 2010.
- [256] Writing before the rise of the Carson–Long school of left-libertarianism, historian of American anarchism David DeLeon was disinclined to treat any market-oriented variant of libertarianism as leftist; see DeLeon, David (1978). *The American as Anarchist: Reflections on Indigenous Radicalism*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. p. 123.
- [257] Gary Chartier and Charles W. Johnson (eds). *Markets Not Capitalism: Individualist Anarchism Against Bosses, Inequality, Corporate Power, and Structural Poverty*. Minor Compositions; 1st edition (November 5, 2011)
- [258] Gary Chartier has joined Kevin Carson, Charles Johnson, and others (echoing the language of Benjamin Tucker and Thomas Hodgskin) in maintaining that, because of its heritage and its emancipatory goals and potential, radical market anarchism should be seen—by its proponents and by others—as part of the socialist tradition, and that market anarchists can and should call themselves "socialists." See Gary Chartier, "Advocates of Freed Markets Should Oppose Capitalism," "Free-Market Anti-Capitalism?" session, annual conference, Association of Private Enterprise Education (Caesar's Palace, Las Vegas, NV, April 13, 2010); Gary Chartier, "Advocates of Freed Markets Should Embrace 'Anti-Capitalism'"; Gary Chartier, *Socialist Ends, Market Means: Five Essays*. Cp. Tucker, "Socialism."
- [259] "But there has always been a market-oriented strand of libertarian socialism that emphasizes voluntary cooperation between producers. And markets, properly understood, have always been about cooperation. As a commenter at Reason magazine's Hit&Run blog, remarking on Jesse Walker's link to the Kelly article, put it: "every trade is a cooperative act." In fact, it's a fairly common observation among market anarchists that genuinely free markets have the most legitimate claim to the label 'socialism.'" "Socialism: A Perfectly Good Word Rehabilitated" by Kevin Carson at website of Center for a Stateless Society
- [260] Hamowy, Ronald (editor). *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism*, SAGE, 2008, pp. 10–12, p 195, ISBN 978-1-4129-6580-4, ISBN 978-1-4129-6580-4
- [261] Edward Stringham, *Anarchy and the law: the political economy of choice*, p 51
- [262] Tormey, Simon. *Anti-Capitalism*, One World, 2004.
- [263] Perlin, Terry M. *Contemporary Anarchism*, Transaction Books, NJ 1979.
- [264] Raico, Ralph. *Authentic German Liberalism of the 19th Century*, Ecole Polytechnique, Centre de Recherche en Epistemologie Appliquée, Unité associée au CNRS, 2004.
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- [268] Ostergaard, Geoffrey. Resisting the Nation State – the anarchist and pacifist tradition, *Anarchism As A Tradition of Political Thought*. Peace Pledge Union Publications
- [269] Edward Stringham, *Anarchy, State, and Public Choice*, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2005.
- [270] “The philosophy of “anarcho-capitalism” dreamed up by the “libertarian” New Right, has nothing to do with Anarchism as known by the Anarchist movement proper.” Meltzer, Albert. *Anarchism: Arguments For and Against* AK Press, (2000) p. 50
- [271] “In fact, few anarchists would accept the ‘anarcho-capitalists’ into the anarchist camp since they do not share a concern for economic equality and social justice. Their self-interested, calculating market men would be incapable of practising voluntary co-operation and mutual aid. Anarcho-capitalists, even if they do reject the State, might therefore best be called right-wing libertarians rather than anarchists.” Peter Marshall. *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*. Harper Perennial. London. 2008. p. 565
- [272] “It is important to distinguish between anarchism and certain strands of right-wing libertarianism which at times go by the same name (for example, Murray Rothbard’s anarcho-capitalism).” Saul Newman, *The Politics of Postanarchism*, Edinburgh University Press, 2010, p. 43 ISBN 0748634959
- [273] Section F – Is “anarcho”-capitalism a type of anarchism? at An Anarchist FAQ published in physical book form by An Anarchist FAQ as “Volume I”; by AK Press, Oakland/Edinburgh 2008; 558 pages, ISBN 978-1902593906
- [274] “‘Libertarian’ and ‘libertarianism’ are frequently employed by anarchists as synonyms for ‘anarchist’ and ‘anarchism’, largely as an attempt to distance themselves from the negative connotations of ‘anarchy’ and its derivatives. The situation has been vastly complicated in recent decades with the rise of anarcho-capitalism, ‘minimal statism’ and an extreme right-wing laissez-faire philosophy advocated by such theorists as Murray Rothbard and Robert Nozick and their adoption of the words ‘libertarian’ and ‘libertarianism’. It has therefore now become necessary to distinguish between their right libertarianism and the left libertarianism of the anarchist tradition.” *Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow: Left-Libertarian Thought and British Writers from William Morris to Colin Ward* by David Goodway. Liverpool University Press. Liverpool. 2006. p. 4
- [275] “Within Libertarianism, Rothbard represents a minority perspective that actually argues for the total elimination of the state. However Rothbard’s claim as an anarchist is quickly voided when it is shown that he only wants an end to the public state. In its place he allows countless private states, with each person supplying their own police force, army, and law, or else purchasing these services from capitalist venders...so what remains is shrill anti-statism conjoined to a vacuous freedom in hackneyed defense of capitalism. In sum, the “anarchy” of Libertarianism reduces to a liberal fraud.” “Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy” by Peter Sabatini in issue #41 (Fall/Winter 1994–95) of *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*
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- [287] “R. Fue una época transgresora, emergió el feminismo y la libertad sexual estuvo en el candelero. Hay rastros de muchas lesbianas escritoras: Carmen Conde[primera académica de número], Victorina Durán, Margarita Xirgu, Ana María Sagi, la periodista Irene Polo, Lucía Sánchez Saornil, fundadora de Mujeres Libres[sección feminista de CNT]... Incluso existía un círculo sáfico en Madrid como lugar de encuentro y tertulia. P. ¿Se declaraban lesbianas? R. Había quien no se escondía mucho, como Polo o Durán, pero lesbiana era un insulto, algo innombrable. Excepto los poemas homosexuales de

Sánchez Saornil, sus textos no eran explícitos para poder publicarlos, así que hay que reinterpretarlos.”“Tener referentes serios de lesbianas elimina estereotipos” by Juan Fernandez at *El País*

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1.1.9 Further reading

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- Woodcock, George, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Penguin Books, 1962). ISBN 0-14-022697-4. OCLC 221147531.
- Woodcock, George, ed., *The Anarchist Reader* (Fontana/Collins 1977; ISBN 0-00-634011-3): An anthology of writings from anarchist thinkers and activists including Proudhon, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Malatesta, Bookchin, Goldman, and many others.

1.1.10 External links

- Anarchism at DMOZ
-
- Anarchism on *In Our Time* at the BBC. (listen now)

1.2 Contemporary anarchism

Anarchism is a political philosophy which holds the state to be undesirable, unnecessary, or harmful.^{[1][2]} However, others argue that while anti-statism is central, it is inadequate to define anarchism solely on this basis.^[3] Therefore, they argue instead that anarchism entails opposing authority or hierarchical organization in the conduct of human relations, including, but not limited to, the state system.^{[4][5][6][7][8][9][10]} Proponents of this form of anarchism advocate stateless societies based on non-hierarchical free associations.^{[5][11][12][13][14]}

Since the last third of the 20th century, anarchists have been involved in student protest movements, peace movements, squatter movements, and the anti-globalization

movement, among others. Anarchists have participated in violent revolutions (such as in **Revolutionary Catalonia** and the **Free Territory**) and anarchist political organizations (such as **IWA-AIT** or the **IWW**) exist since the 19th century.

1.2.1 Overview

Anarchism was influential in the **Counterculture of the 1960s**^{[15][16][17]} and anarchists actively participated in the late sixties students and workers revolts.^[18] In 1968 in Carrara, Italy the International of Anarchist Federations was founded during an international anarchist conference held there in 1968 by the three existing European federations of France (the **Fédération Anarchiste**), the **Federazione Anarchica Italiana** of Italy and the **Iberian Anarchist Federation** as well as the **Bulgarian federation** in French exile.^{[19][20]}

In the United Kingdom in the 1970s this was associated with the **punk rock** movement, as exemplified by bands such as **Crass** and the **Sex Pistols**.^[21] The housing and employment crisis in most of Western Europe led to the formation of **communes** and **squatter** movements like that of **Barcelona**, Spain. In Denmark, squatters occupied a disused military base and declared the **Freetown Christiania**, an autonomous haven in central Copenhagen.



Members of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist trade union CNT marching in Madrid in 2010

Since the revival of anarchism in the mid 20th century,^[22] a number of new movements and schools of thought emerged, well documented in Robert Graham's *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas*, Volume Two, *The Emergence of the New Anarchism (1939-1977)*. Although feminist tendencies have always been a part of the anarchist movement in the form of **anarcha-feminism**, they returned with vigour during the second wave of feminism in the 1960s. The **American Civil Rights Movement** and the movement against the war in **Vietnam** also contributed to the revival of North American anarchism. European anarchism of the late 20th century drew much of its strength from the labour movement, and both have incorporated animal rights activism. Anarchist anthropologist David Graeber and anarchist his-

torian Andrej Grubacic have posited a rupture between generations of anarchism, with those “who often still have not shaken the sectarian habits” of the 19th century contrasted with the younger activists who are “much more informed, among other elements, by indigenous, feminist, ecological and cultural-critical ideas”, and who by the turn of the 21st century formed “by far the majority” of anarchists.^[23]

Around the turn of the 21st century, anarchism grew in popularity and influence as part of the anti-war, anti-capitalist, and anti-globalisation movements.^[24] Anarchists became known for their involvement in protests against the meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO), Group of Eight, and the World Economic Forum. Some anarchist factions at these protests engaged in rioting, property destruction, and violent confrontations with police. These actions were precipitated by ad hoc, leaderless, anonymous cadres known as *black blocs*; other organisational tactics pioneered in this time include security culture, affinity groups and the use of decentralised technologies such as the internet.^[24] A significant event of this period was the confrontations at WTO conference in Seattle in 1999.^[24]

International anarchist federations in existence include the International of Anarchist Federations, the International Workers' Association, and International Libertarian Solidarity. The largest organised anarchist movement today is in Spain, in the form of the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT) and the CNT. CGT membership was estimated at around 100,000 for 2003.^[25] Other active syndicalist movements include in Sweden the Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden and the Swedish Anarcho-syndicalist Youth Federation; the CNT-AIT in France;^[26] the Union Sindicale Italiana in Italy; in the US Workers Solidarity Alliance and the UK Solidarity Federation. The revolutionary industrial unionist Industrial Workers of the World, claiming 10,000 paying members, and the International Workers Association, an anarcho-syndicalist successor to the First International, also remain active.

1.2.2 Post-classical schools of thought and movements

Anarchism continues to generate many philosophies and movements, at times eclectic, drawing upon various sources, and *syncretic*, combining disparate concepts to create new philosophical approaches.^[27]

- Anarcha-feminism developed as a synthesis of radical feminism and anarchism that views patriarchy (male domination over women) as a fundamental manifestation of compulsory government. It was inspired by the late 19th century writings of early feminist anarchists such as Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman, and Voltairine de Cleyre.

Anarcha-feminists, like other radical feminists, criticize and advocate the abolition of traditional conceptions of family, education, and gender roles.

- Green anarchism (or eco-anarchism)^[28] is a school of thought within anarchism that emphasizes environmental issues,^[29] with an important precedent in anarcho-naturism,^{[30][31][32]} and whose main contemporary currents are anarcho-primitivism and social ecology.
- Anarcho-syndicalism is a movement within anarchism that seeks to organize society along economic syndicalism. Among its proponents include Noam Chomsky who said it is “highly relevant to advanced industrial societies.”^[33]
- Anarcho-pacifism is a tendency that rejects violence in the struggle for social change (see non-violence).^{[34][35]} It developed “mostly in the Netherlands, Britain, and the United States, before and during the Second World War”.^[35] Christian anarchism is a movement in political theology that combines anarchism and Christianity.^[36] Its main proponents included Leo Tolstoy, Dorothy Day, Ammon Hennacy, and Jacques Ellul.
- Platformism is a tendency within the wider anarchist movement based on the organisational theories in the tradition of Dielo Truda's *Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)*.^[37] The document was based on the experiences of Russian anarchists in the 1917 October Revolution, which led eventually to the victory of the Bolsheviks over the anarchists and other groups. The *Platform* attempted to address and explain the anarchist movement's failures during the Russian Revolution. Today “Platformism” is an important current in international anarchism. Around thirty platformists and especificistas are linked together in the Anarkismo.net project, including groups from Africa, Latin America, North America and Europe.^[38] At least in terms of the number of affiliated organisations, the Anarkismo network is larger than other anarchist international bodies, like the International of Anarchist Federations and the International Workers' Association. It is not, however, a formal “international” and has no intention of competing with these other formations. Today there are organisations inspired by the *Platform* in many countries, including the Workers Solidarity Movement in Ireland, Common Struggle/Lucha Común in the United States, the *Union Communiste Libertaire* in Quebec, Common Cause^[39] in Ontario, the *Federación Comunista Libertaria* (FCL) and *Organización Comunista Libertaria* (OCL) in Chile, the *Federación Anarco-Comunista de Argentina* (FACA) and *Línea Anarco-Comunista* (LAC) in Argentina, the *Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchici*

(FdCA) in Italy, the *Fórum do Anarquismo Organizado* in Brazil, *Unión Socialista Libertaria* in Peru, the *Organisation Communiste Libertaire* and *Alternative Libertaire* in France, the *Alianza de los Comunistas Libertarios* (ACL) in Mexico, the Melbourne Anarchist Communist Group (MACG) and Sydney Anarchist Communist Trajectory (SACT) in Australia, *Motmakt* in Norway, *Libertære Socialister* in Denmark, Collective Action in the UK, the Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front (ZACF) in South Africa, and the Revolutionary Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists by the name of N. I. Makhno (RKAS), which is an international anarcho-syndicalist, platformist confederation with sections and individual members in Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Germany, Latvia, Bulgaria and Israel. Organisations inspired by the Platform were also among the founders of the now-defunct International Libertarian Solidarity network and its successor, the Anarkismo network; which is run collaboratively by roughly 30 platformist and especificista organisations around the world.



Contemporary members of the Italian Anarchist Federation marching in Rome in 2008 in an anti-catholic church manifestation. The text translates as “free from dogmas, always heretics”

- Synthesis anarchism is a form of anarchist organization that tries to join anarchists of different tendencies under the principles of anarchism without adjectives.^[40] In the 1920s, this form found as its main proponents the anarcho-communists Voline and Sébastien Faure.^{[40][41]} It is the main principle behind the anarchist federations grouped around the contemporary global International of Anarchist Federations.^[40] The International of Anarchist Federations (IAF/IFA) was founded during an international anarchist conference in Carrara in 1968 by the three existing European anarchist federations of France (Fédération Anarchiste), Italy (Federazione Anarchica Italiana) and Spain (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) as well as the Bulgarian federation in French exile. These organizations were also inspired

on synthesist principles.^[40] Currently alongside the previously mentioned federations, the IAF includes the Argentine Libertarian Federation, the Anarchist Federation of Belarus, the Federation of Anarchists in Bulgaria, the Czech-Slovak Anarchist Federation, the Federation of German speaking Anarchists in Germany and Switzerland, and the Anarchist Federation in the United Kingdom and Ireland.^[42]

- Post-left anarchism is a recent current in anarchist thought that promotes a critique of anarchism’s relationship to traditional Left-wing politics. Some post-leftists seek to escape the confines of ideology in general also presenting a critique of organizations and morality.^[43] Influenced by the work of Max Stirner^[43] and by the Marxist Situationist International,^[43] post-left anarchism is marked by a focus on social insurrection and a rejection of leftist social organisation.^[44]
- Insurrectionary anarchism is a revolutionary theory, practice, and tendency within the anarchist movement which emphasizes insurrection within anarchist practice.^{[45][46]} It is critical of formal organizations such as labor unions and federations that are based on a political programme and periodic congresses.^[45] Instead, insurrectionary anarchists advocate informal organization and small affinity group based organization.^{[45][46]} Insurrectionary anarchists put value in attack, permanent class conflict, and a refusal to negotiate or compromise with class enemies.^{[45][46]} The Informal Anarchist Federation (not to be confused with the synthesist Italian Anarchist Federation also FAI) is an Italian insurrectionary anarchist organization.^[47] It has been described by Italian intelligence sources as a “horizontal” structure of various anarchist terrorist groups, united in their beliefs in revolutionary armed action. In 2003, the group claimed responsibility for a bomb campaign targeting several European Union institutions.^{[48][49]} In 2010, Italy’s postal service intercepted a threatening letter containing a bullet addressed to Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi.^[50] A large envelope containing a letter addressed to Berlusconi with the threat “you will end up like a rat” was discovered on Friday in a post office in the Libate suburb of the northern city of Milan. On 23 December 2010, credit for exploding parcels delivered to the Swiss and Chilean embassies in Rome was claimed by the Informal Anarchist Federation.^[51]
- Post-anarchism is a theoretical move towards a synthesis of classical anarchist theory and poststructuralist thought, drawing from diverse ideas including post-modernism, autonomist marxism, post-left anarchism, situationism, and postcolonialism. Analytical anarchism, which partly began as a response to analytical Marxism, is a recent development in academia that uses the

methods of [analytic philosophy](#) to clarify or defend anarchist theory.^[52] Analytical anarchists include [Robert Paul Wolff](#), [Alan Carter](#), and [Michael Taylor](#). Wolff argues that we have no obligation to obey the state, while Carter argues that the state cannot be trusted to liberate the people, and Taylor uses [game theory](#) to argue that cooperation is possible without the state.^[53]

- [Free-market anarchism](#), usually referring to [anarcho-capitalism](#), is a political philosophy advocating property rights and the [non-aggression principle](#). While not considered to be a form of anarchism by the majority of anarchists, due to its connection with capitalism, it is most common in the United States.^[54] It is “based on a belief in the freedom to own [private property](#), a rejection of any form of governmental authority or intervention, and the upholding of the competitive free market as the main mechanism for social interaction.”^[55] Anarcho-capitalists advocate for all services, including law enforcement and security, to be performed by multiple private providers all competing for business, rather than by a monopolist state agency funded by [taxation](#). Anarcho-capitalism’s proponents include [Murray Rothbard](#), [David D. Friedman](#), [Hans-Hermann Hoppe](#) and [Walter Block](#)

1.2.3 New Anarchism

“New Anarchism” is a term that has been notably used by [Andrej Grubacic](#), amongst others, to describe the most recent reinvention of the anarchist thought and practice. What distinguishes the new anarchism of today from the new anarchism of the 1960s and 1970s, or from the work of US-UK based authors like [Murray Bookchin](#), [Paul Goodman](#), [Herbert Read](#), [Colin Ward](#) and [Alex Comfort](#), is its emphasis on the global perspective. Some of essays on new anarchism include [David Graeber](#)’s “New Anarchists” in *A Movement of Movements: is Another World Really possible?*, ed. Tom Mertes (London: Verso, 2004) and Grubacic’s “Towards Another Anarchism” in *World Social Forum: Challenging Empires*, ed. [Jai Sen](#) and [Peter Waterman](#) (Montreal: [Black Rose Books](#), 2007).^{[56][57]}

1.2.4 See also

- [Anarchism and the Occupy movement](#)
- [Anarchist schools of thought](#)
- [History of anarchism](#)

1.2.5 References

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- [2] [Slevin, Carl](#). “Anarchism.” *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*. Ed. [Iain McLean](#) and [Alistair McMillan](#). Oxford University Press, 2003.
- [3] “Anarchists do reject the state, as we will see. But to claim that this central aspect of anarchism is definitive is to sell anarchism short.” *Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism* by [Paul McLaughlin](#). AshGate. 2007. pg. 28
- [4] “Authority is defined in terms of the right to exercise social control (as explored in the “sociology of power”) and the correlative duty to obey (as explored in the “philosophy of practical reason”). Anarchism is distinguished, philosophically, by its scepticism towards such moral relations-by its questioning of the claims made for such normative power- and, practically, by its challenge to those “authoritative” powers which cannot justify their claims and which are therefore deemed illegitimate or without moral foundation.” *Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism* by [Paul McLaughlin](#). AshGate. 2007. pg. 1
- [5] “IAF principles”. [International of Anarchist Federations](#). Archived from the original on 5 January 2012. The IAF - IFA fights for : the abolition of all forms of authority whether economical, political, social, religious, cultural or sexual.
- [6] “Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations.” [Emma Goldman](#). “What it Really Stands for Anarchy” in *Anarchism and Other Essays*.
- [7] Individualist anarchist [Benjamin Tucker](#) defined anarchism as opposition to authority as follows “They found that they must turn either to the right or to the left, — follow either the path of Authority or the path of Liberty. Marx went one way; Warren and Proudhon the other. Thus were born State Socialism and Anarchism ... Authority, takes many shapes, but, broadly speaking, her enemies divide themselves into three classes: first, those who

- abhor her both as a means and as an end of progress, opposing her openly, avowedly, sincerely, consistently, universally; second, those who profess to believe in her as a means of progress, but who accept her only so far as they think she will subserve their own selfish interests, denying her and her blessings to the rest of the world; third, those who distrust her as a means of progress, believing in her only as an end to be obtained by first trampling upon, violating, and outraging her. These three phases of opposition to Liberty are met in almost every sphere of thought and human activity. Good representatives of the first are seen in the Catholic Church and the Russian autocracy; of the second, in the Protestant Church and the Manchester school of politics and political economy; of the third, in the atheism of Gambetta and the socialism of Karl Marx.” Benjamin Tucker. *Individual Liberty*.
- [8] Ward, Colin (1966). “Anarchism as a Theory of Organization”. Archived from the original on 25 March 2010. Retrieved 1 March 2010.
- [9] Anarchist historian George Woodcock report of Mikhail Bakunin's anti-authoritarianism and shows opposition to both state and non-state forms of authority as follows: “All anarchists deny authority; many of them fight against it.” (pg. 9) ... Bakunin did not convert the League's central committee to his full program, but he did persuade them to accept a remarkably radical recommendation to the Berne Congress of September 1868, demanding economic equality and implicitly attacking authority in both Church and State.”
- [10] Brown, L. Susan (2002). “Anarchism as a Political Philosophy of Existential Individualism: Implications for Feminism”. *The Politics of Individualism: Liberalism, Liberal Feminism and Anarchism*. Black Rose Books Ltd. Publishing. p. 106.
- [11] “That is why Anarchy, when it works to destroy authority in all its aspects, when it demands the abrogation of laws and the abolition of the mechanism that serves to impose them, when it refuses all hierarchical organization and preaches free agreement — at the same time strives to maintain and enlarge the precious kernel of social customs without which no human or animal society can exist.” Peter Kropotkin. *Anarchism: its philosophy and ideal*
- [12] “anarchists are opposed to irrational (e.g., illegitimate) authority, in other words, hierarchy — hierarchy being the institutionalisation of authority within a society.” “B.1 Why are anarchists against authority and hierarchy?” in *An Anarchist FAQ*
- [13] “ANARCHISM, a social philosophy that rejects authoritarian government and maintains that voluntary institutions are best suited to express man's natural social tendencies.” George Woodcock. “Anarchism” at *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
- [14] “In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations which already now begin to cover all the fields of human activity would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the state in all its functions.” Peter Kropotkin. “Anarchism” from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*
- [15] “These groups had their roots in the anarchist resurgence of the nineteen sixties. Young militants finding their way to anarchism, often from the anti-bomb and anti-Vietnam war movements, linked up with an earlier generation of activists, largely outside the ossified structures of ‘official’ anarchism. Anarchist tactics embraced demonstrations, direct action such as industrial militancy and squatting, protest bombings like those of the First of May Group and Angry Brigade — and a spree of publishing activity.” “Islands of Anarchy: Simian, Cienfuegos, Refract and their support network” by John Patten
- [16] “Farrell provides a detailed history of the Catholic Workers and their founders Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin. He explains that their pacifism, anarchism, and commitment to the downtrodden were one of the important models and inspirations for the 60s. As Farrell puts it, “Catholic Workers identified the issues of the sixties before the Sixties began, and they offered models of protest long before the protest decade.” “The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism” by James J. Farrell
- [17] “While not always formally recognized, much of the protest of the sixties was anarchist. Within the nascent women's movement, anarchist principles became so widespread that a political science professor denounced what she saw as “The Tyranny of Structurelessness.” Several groups have called themselves “Amazon Anarchists.” After the Stonewall Rebellion, the New York Gay Liberation Front based their organization in part on a reading of Murray Bookchin's anarchist writings.” “Anarchism” by Charley Shively in *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. pg. 52
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1.2.6 External links

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1.3 Left-wing market anarchism

Left-wing market anarchism, a form of left-libertarianism, individualist anarchism^[1] and libertarian socialism,^{[2][3]} is associated with contemporary scholars such as Kevin Carson,^{[4][5]} Roderick T. Long,^{[6][7]} Charles Johnson,^[8] Brad Spangler,^[9] Sheldon Richman,^{[10][11][12]} Chris Matthew Sciabarra,^[13] and Gary Chartier,^[14] who stress the value of radically free markets, termed *freed markets* to distinguish them from the common conception which these libertarians believe to be riddled with statist and capitalist privileges.^[15] Referred to as left-wing market anarchists^[16] or market-oriented left-libertarians,^[12] proponents of this approach strongly affirm the classical liberal ideas of self-ownership and free markets, while maintaining that, taken to their logical conclusions, these ideas support anti-capitalist,^{[17][18][19]} anti-corporatist, anti-hierarchical, pro-labor positions in economics; anti-imperialism in foreign policy; and thoroughly radical views regarding such cultural issues as gender, sexuality, and race.

The genealogy of contemporary market-oriented left-libertarianism – sometimes labeled “left-wing market anarchism”^[20] – overlaps to a significant degree with that of Steiner–Vallentyne left-libertarianism as the roots of that tradition are sketched in the book *The Origins of Left-Libertarianism*.^[21] Carson–Long-style left-libertarianism is rooted in 19th-century mutualism and in the work of figures such as Thomas Hodgskin and the individualist anarchists Benjamin Tucker and Lysander Spooner. While with notable exceptions, market-oriented libertarians after Tucker tended to ally with the political right, relationships between such libertarians and the New Left thrived in the 1960s, laying the groundwork for modern left-wing market anarchism.^[22] Left-wing market anarchism identifies with Left-libertarianism (or left-wing libertarianism)^[23] which names several related but distinct approaches to politics, society, culture, and political and social theory, which stress both individual freedom and social justice. Unlike right-libertarians, they believe that neither claiming nor mixing one’s labor with natural resources is enough to generate full private property rights,^{[24][25]} and maintain that natural resources (land, oil, gold, trees) ought to be held in some egalitarian manner, either unowned or owned collectively.^[25] Those left-libertarians who support private property do so under the condition that recompense is offered to the local community.

1.3.1 Precedents

19th and early 20th century: Mutualism, individualist anarchism and Georgism

Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist,^[26] and the four-page weekly paper he edited

during 1833, *The Peaceful Revolutionist*, was the first anarchist periodical published,^[27] an enterprise for which he built his own printing press, cast his own type, and made his own printing plates.^[27] Warren was a follower of Robert Owen and joined Owen’s community at New Harmony, Indiana. Josiah Warren termed the phrase “Cost the limit of price”, with “cost” here referring not to monetary price paid but the labor one exerted to produce an item.^[28] Therefore, “he proposed a system to pay people with certificates indicating how many hours of work they did. They could exchange the notes at local time stores for goods that took the same amount of time to produce.”^[26] He put his theories to the test by establishing an experimental “labor for labor store” called the Cincinnati Time Store where trade was facilitated by notes backed by a promise to perform labor. The store proved successful and operated for three years after which it was closed so that Warren could pursue establishing colonies based on mutualism. These included “Utopia” and “Modern Times.” Warren said that Stephen Pearl Andrews’ *The Science of Society*, published in 1852, was the most lucid and complete exposition of Warren’s own theories.^[29] Catalan historian Xavier Diez report that the intentional communal experiments pioneered by Warren were influential in European individualist anarchists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries such as Emile Armand and the intentional communities started by them.^[30]

Mutualism began in 18th-century English and French labour movements before taking an anarchist form associated with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in France and others in the United States.^[31] Proudhon proposed spontaneous order, whereby organisation emerges without central authority, a “positive anarchy” where order arises when everybody does “what he wishes and only what he wishes”^[32] and where “business transactions alone produce the social order.”^[33] It is important to recognize that Proudhon distinguished between ideal political possibilities and practical governance. For this reason, much in contrast to some of his theoretical statements concerning ultimate spontaneous self-governance, Proudhon was heavily involved in French parliamentary politics and allied himself not with Anarchist but Socialist factions of workers movements and in addition to advocating state-protected charters for worker-owned cooperatives, promoted certain nationalization schemes during his life of public service. Mutualist anarchism is concerned with reciprocity, free association, voluntary contract, federation, and credit and currency reform. According to the American mutualist William Batchelder Greene, each worker in the mutualist system would receive “just and exact pay for his work; services equivalent in cost being exchangeable for services equivalent in cost, without profit or discount.”^[34] Mutualism has been retrospectively characterised as ideologically situated between individualist and collectivist forms of anarchism.^[35] Proudhon first characterised his goal as a “third form of society, the synthesis of communism and property.”^[36]



Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the first self-identified anarchist, supported a left-wing market anarchism called mutualism.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was a French activist and theorist, the founder of Mutualist philosophy, an economist and a libertarian socialist. He was the first person to declare himself an *anarchist*^[37] and is among its most influential theorists. He is considered by many to be the “father of anarchism”.^[38] He became a member of the French Parliament after the revolution of 1848, whereupon and thereafter he referred to himself as a federalist.^[39] Proudhon, who was born in Besançon, was a printer who taught himself Latin in order to better print books in the language. His best-known assertion is that *Property is Theft!*, contained in his first major work, *What is Property? Or, an Inquiry into the Principle of Right and Government* (*Qu'est-ce que la propriété? Recherche sur le principe du droit et du gouvernement*), published in 1840. The book's publication attracted the attention of the French authorities. It also attracted the scrutiny of Karl Marx, who started a correspondence with its author. The two influenced each other: they met in Paris while Marx was exiled there. Their friendship finally ended when Marx responded to Proudhon's *The System of Economic Contradictions, or The Philosophy of Poverty* with the provocatively titled *The Poverty of Philosophy*. The dispute became one of the sources of the split between the anarchist and Marxian wings of the International Working Men's Association. Some, such as Edmund Wilson, have contended that Marx's attack on Proudhon had its origin in the latter's defense of Karl Grün, whom Marx bitterly disliked but who had been preparing translations of Proudhon's work. Proudhon favored workers' associations or co-operatives as well as individual worker/peasant possession over private ownership or the nationalization of land and workplaces. He considered social revolution to be achievable in a peaceful manner. In *The Confessions of a Revolutionary* Proudhon asserted that, *Anarchy is Order Without Power*, the phrase which much later inspired, in the view of some, the anarchist circled-A symbol, today “one of the most common graffiti on the urban landscape.”^[40] He unsuccessfully tried to create a national bank to be funded by what became an abortive attempt at an income tax on

capitalists and shareholders. Similar in some respects to a credit union, it would have given interest-free loans.^[41]

William Batchelder Greene (1819–1878) was a 19th-century mutualist individualist anarchist, Unitarian minister, soldier and promoter of free banking in the United States. Greene is best known for the works *Mutual Banking* (1850), which proposed an interest-free banking system, and *Transcendentalism*, a critique of the New England philosophical school. For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster, “It is apparent...that Proudhonian Anarchism was to be found in the United States at least as early as 1848 and that it was not conscious of its affinity to the Individualist Anarchism of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews...William B. Greene presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form.”^[42] After 1850 he became active in labor reform.^[42] “He was elected vice-president of the New England Labor Reform League, the majority of the members holding to Proudhon's scheme of mutual banking, and in 1869 president of the Massachusetts Labor Union.”^[42] He then publishes *Socialistic, Mutualistic, and Financial Fragments* (1875).^[42] He saw mutualism as the synthesis of “liberty and order.”^[42] His “associationism...is checked by individualism...‘Mind your own business,’ ‘Judge not that ye be not judged.’” Over matters which are purely personal, as for example moral conduct, the individual is sovereign, as well as over that which he himself produces. For this reason he demands “mutuality” in marriage – the equal right of a woman to her own personal freedom and property.”^[42]



American individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker, known for his libertarian journal, Liberty

A form of individualist anarchism was found in the United States, as advocated by the “Boston anarchists.”^[43] Some “Boston anarchists”, including Benjamin Tucker, identified themselves as “socialists”, which in the 19th century was often used in the sense of a commitment to improving conditions of the working class (i.e. “the labor problem”).^[44] By around the start of the 20th century, the heyday of individualist anarchism had passed.^[45] On the other hand, anarchist historian George Woodcock describes Lysander Spooner's essays as an “eloquent elaboration” of Josiah Warren and the early American development of Proudhon's ideas, and associates his works with that of Stephen Pearl Andrews.^[46] Woodcock also reports that both Lysander Spooner and William B. Greene had been members of the socialist First International.^[46] American individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker identified as a socialist,^[47] and argued that the elimination of what he called the “four monopolies” – the land monopoly, the money and banking monopoly, the monopoly powers conferred by patents, and the quasi-monopolistic effects of tariffs – would undermine the power of the wealthy and big business, making possible widespread property ownership and higher incomes for ordinary people, while minimizing the power of would-be bosses and achieving socialist goals without state action. Tucker influenced and interacted with anarchist contemporaries – including Spooner, Voltairine de Cleyre, Dyer D. Lum, and William B. Greene – who have in various ways influenced later left-libertarian thinking.^[48] Kevin Carson characterizes American individualist anarchism saying that “Unlike the rest of the socialist movement, the individualist anarchists believed that the natural wage of labor in a free market was its product, and that economic exploitation could only take place when capitalists and landlords harnessed the power of the state in their interests. Thus, individualist anarchism was an alternative both to the increasing statism of the mainstream socialist movement, and to a classical liberal movement that was moving toward a mere apologetic for the power of big business.”^[49] Two individualist anarchists who wrote in Benjamin Tucker's *Liberty* were also important labor organizers of the time. Joseph Labadie and Dyer Lum. Kevin Carson has praised Dyer Lum's fusion of individualist laissez-faire economics with radical labor activism as “creative” and described him as “more significant than any in the Boston group”.^[50]

Some of the American individualist anarchists later in this era such as Benjamin Tucker abandoned natural rights positions and converted to Max Stirner's Egoist anarchism. Rejecting the idea of moral rights, Tucker said that there were only two rights, “the right of might” and “the right of contract.” He also said, after converting to Egoist individualism, “In times past ... it was my habit to talk glibly of the right of man to land. It was a bad habit, and I long ago sloughed it off ... Man's only right to land is his might over it.”^[51] In adopting Stirnerite egoism (1886), Tucker rejected natural rights which had long been considered the foundation of libertarianism. This

rejection galvanized the movement into fierce debates, with the natural rights proponents accusing the egoists of destroying libertarianism itself. So bitter was the conflict that a number of natural rights proponents withdrew from the pages of *Liberty* in protest even though they had hitherto been among its frequent contributors. Thereafter, *Liberty* championed egoism although its general content did not change significantly.”^[52]

Geolibertarianism, an anarchist form of Henry George's philosophy, is considered left-libertarian because it assumes land to be initially owned in common, so that when land is privately appropriated the proprietor pays rent to the community.^[53] Geolibertarians generally advocate distributing the land rent to the community via a land value tax as proposed by Henry George and others before him. For this reason, they are often called “single taxers”. Fred E. Foldvary coined the word *geo-libertarianism* in an article so titled in *Land and Liberty*.^[54] In the case of geonarchism, the voluntary form of geolibertarianism as described by Foldvary, rent would be collected by private associations with the opportunity to secede from the rent-sharing community (and not receive the community's services).^[55]

Similar economic positions also existed within European individualist anarchism. French individualist anarchist Emile Armand shows clearly opposition to capitalism and centralized economies when he said that the individualist anarchist “inwardly he remains refractory – fatally refractory – morally, intellectually, economically (The capitalist economy and the directed economy, the speculators and the fabricators of single are equally repugnant to him.)”^[56] He argued for a pluralistic economic logic when he said that “Here and there everything happening – here everyone receiving what they need, there each one getting whatever is needed according to their own capacity. Here, gift and barter – one product for another; there, exchange – product for representative value. Here, the producer is the owner of the product, there, the product is put to the possession of the collectivity”.^[50] The Spanish individualist anarchist Miguel Gimenez Igualada thought that “capitalism is an effect of government; the disappearance of government means capitalism falls from its pedestal vertiginously... That which we call capitalism is not something else but a product of the State, within which the only thing that is being pushed forward is profit, good or badly acquired. And so to fight against capitalism is a pointless task, since be it State capitalism or Enterprise capitalism, as long as Government exists, exploiting capital will exist. The fight, but of consciousness, is against the State.”^[57] His view on class division and technocracy are as follows “Since when no one works for another, the profiteer from wealth disappears, just as government will disappear when no one pays attention to those who learned four things at universities and from that fact they pretend to govern men. Big industrial enterprises will be transformed by men in big associations in which everyone will work and enjoy the product of their

work. And from those easy as well as beautiful problems anarchism deals with and he who puts them in practice and lives them are anarchists.... The priority which without rest an anarchist must make is that in which no one has to exploit anyone, no man to no man, since that non-exploitation will lead to the limitation of property to individual needs".^[58]

The 1960s: American libertarianism and the New Left

The doyen of modern American market-oriented libertarianism, Austrian School economist Murray Rothbard, was initially an enthusiastic partisan of the Old Right, particularly because of its general opposition to war and imperialism.^[59] But Rothbard had long embraced a reading of American history that emphasized the role of elite privilege in shaping legal and political institutions – one that was thus naturally agreeable to many on the Left – and he came increasingly in the 1960s to seek alliances on the Left – especially with members of the “New Left” – in light of the Vietnam War,^[60] the military draft, and the emergence of the black power movement.^[61]

Working with other radicals like Ronald Radosh^[62] and Karl Hess,^[63] Rothbard argued that the consensus view of American economic history, according to which a beneficent government has used its power to counter corporate predation, is fundamentally flawed. Rather, he argued, government intervention in the economy has largely benefited established players at the expense of marginalized groups to the detriment of both liberty and equality. Moreover, the “Robber Baron” period, hailed by the right and despised by the left as a heyday of laissez-faire, was not characterized by laissez-faire at all but was in fact a time of massive state privilege accorded to capital.^[64] In tandem with his emphasis on the intimate connection between state and corporate power, he defended the seizure of corporations dependent on state largesse by workers and others.^[65]

Rothbard himself ultimately broke with the left, allying himself instead with the burgeoning paleoconservative movement.^[66] However, drawing on the work of Rothbard during his alliance with the left and on the thought of Karl Hess, some thinkers associated with market-oriented American libertarianism came increasingly to identify with the Left on a range of issues, including opposition to war, corporate oligopolies and state-corporate partnerships, and an affinity for cultural liberalism. One variety of this kind of libertarianism has been a resurgent mutualism, incorporating modern economic ideas such as marginal utility theory into mutualist theory. Kevin A. Carson's *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy* helped to stimulate the growth of new-style mutualism, articulating a version of the labor theory of value incorporating ideas drawn from Austrian economics.^[67] Other market-oriented left-libertarians have declined to embrace mutualist views of real property, while sharing the mutualist

opposition to corporate hierarchies and wealth concentration.^[68] Left-libertarians have placed particular emphasis on the articulation and defense of a libertarian theory of class and class conflict, though considerable work in this area has been performed by libertarians of other persuasions.^[69]

1.3.2 Theory

Arguing that vast disparities in wealth and social influence result from the use of force and especially state power to steal and engross land and acquire and maintain special privileges, members of this thought typically urge the abolition of the state. They judge that in a stateless society, the kinds of privileges secured by the state will be absent, and injustices perpetrated or tolerated by the state can be rectified. Thus they conclude that with state interference eliminated, it will be possible to achieve “socialist ends by market means.” According to libertarian scholar Sheldon Richman:

Left-libertarians favor worker solidarity vis-à-vis bosses, support poor people's squatting on government or abandoned property, and prefer that corporate privileges be repealed before the regulatory restrictions on how those privileges may be exercised. They see Walmart as a symbol of corporate favoritism – supported by highway subsidies and eminent domain – view the fictive personhood of the limited-liability corporation with suspicion, and doubt that Third World sweatshops would be the “best alternative” in the absence of government manipulation. Left-libertarians tend to eschew electoral politics, having little confidence in strategies that work through the government. They prefer to develop alternative institutions and methods of working around the state.^[12]

Gary Chartier has joined Kevin Carson, Charles Johnson, and others (echoing the language of Benjamin Tucker and Thomas Hodgskin) in maintaining that because of its heritage and its emancipatory goals and potential, radical market anarchism should be seen – by its proponents and by others – as part of the socialist tradition and that market anarchists can and should call themselves “socialists.”^[70]

Labour rights

Also there is a tendency to support labour struggles. Kevin Carson has praised individualist anarchist Dyer Lum's fusion of individualist economics with radical labor activism as “creative” and described him as “more significant than any in the Boston group.”^[50] Roderick T. Long is an advocate of “build[ing] worker solidarity.

On the one hand, this means formal organisation, including unionization – but I’m not talking about the prevailing model of ‘business unions’ ... but *real unions*, the old-fashioned kind, committed to the working class and not just union members, and interested in worker autonomy, not government patronage.”^[71] Long in particular has described the situation where:

Cultural politics

Contemporary free-market left-libertarians also show markedly more sympathy than mainstream or *paleolibertarians* towards various cultural movements which challenge non-governmental relations of power. For instance, left-libertarians Roderick Long and Charles Johnson have called for a recovery of the 19th-century alliance with radical liberalism and *feminism*.^[72]

While adopting familiar libertarian views including opposition to *drug prohibition*, *gun control*, *civil liberties* violations, and war, left-libertarians are more likely than most self-identified libertarians to take more distinctively leftist stances on issues as diverse as feminism, *gender* and *sexuality*, class, immigration, and *environmentalism*. Especially influential regarding these topics have been scholars including Chris Matthew Sciabarra, Roderick T. Long, Charles W. Johnson, and Arthur Silber.

Theorists

Kevin Carson describes his politics as on “the outer fringes of both free market libertarianism and socialism.” He has identified the work of Benjamin Tucker, Thomas Hodgskin, Ralph Borsodi, Paul Goodman, Lewis Mumford, and Ivan Illich as sources of inspiration for his approach to politics and economics.^[73] In addition to individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker’s “big four” monopolies (land, money, tariffs, and patents), Carson argues that the *state* has also transferred wealth to the wealthy by subsidizing organizational centralization in the form of transportation and communication subsidies. He believes that Tucker overlooked this issue due to Tucker’s focus on individual market transactions, whereas Carson also focuses on organizational issues. The theoretical sections of *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy* are presented as an attempt to integrate *marginalist* critiques into the *labor theory of value*.^[74] Carson has also been highly critical of *intellectual property*.^[75] The primary focus of his most recent work has been decentralized manufacturing and the informal and household economies.^[76] In response to claims that he uses the term “capitalism” incorrectly, Carson says he is deliberately choosing to resurrect what he claims to be an old definition of the term in order to “make a point.” He claims that “the term ‘capitalism,’ as it was originally used, did not refer to a free market, but to a type of statist class system in which capitalists controlled the state and the state intervened in the market on their behalf.”^[77] Carson holds that “Capitalism, arising

as a new class society directly from the old class society of the *Middle Ages*, was founded on an act of robbery as massive as the earlier *feudal* conquest of the land. It has been sustained to the present by continual state intervention to protect its system of privilege without which its survival is unimaginable.”^[78] Carson argues that in a truly *laissez-faire* system, the ability to extract a profit from labor and capital would be negligible.^[79] Carson coined the *pejorative* term “vulgar libertarianism,” a phrase that describes the use of a free market rhetoric in defense of *corporate capitalism* and *economic inequality*. According to Carson, the term is derived from the phrase “vulgar political economy,” which Karl Marx described as an economic order that “deliberately becomes increasingly apologetic and makes strenuous attempts to talk out of existence the ideas which contain the contradictions [existing in economic life].”^[80]

Gary Chartier offers an understanding of *property rights* as contingent but tightly constrained social strategies – reflective of the importance of multiple, overlapping rationales for separate *ownership* and of natural law principles of practical reasonableness, defending robust but non-absolute protections for these rights in a manner similar to that employed by David Hume.^[81] This account is distinguished both from *Lockean* and neo-Lockean views which deduce property rights from the idea of self-ownership and from *consequentialist* accounts that might license widespread *ad hoc* interference with the possessions of groups and individuals.^[82] Chartier uses this account to ground a clear statement of the *natural law* basis for the view that solidaristic wealth *redistribution* by individual persons is often morally required, but as a response by individuals and grass-roots networks to particular circumstances rather than as a state-driven attempt to achieve a particular distributive pattern.^[83] He advances detailed arguments for *workplace democracy* rooted in such natural law principles as *subsidiarity*,^[84] defending it as morally desirable and as a likely outcome of the elimination of injustice rather than as something to be mandated by the state.^[85] He discusses natural law approaches to land reform and to the occupation of factories by workers.^[86] He objects on natural law grounds to intellectual property protections, drawing on his theory of property rights more generally.^[87] And he develops a general natural law account of *boycotts*.^[88] He has argued that proponents of genuinely freed markets should explicitly reject *capitalism* and identify with the global anti-capitalist movement, while emphasizing that the abuses the *anti-capitalist* movement highlights result from state-tolerated violence and state-secured privilege rather than from voluntary cooperation and exchange. According to Chartier, “it makes sense for [left-libertarians] to name what they oppose ‘capitalism.’ Doing so . . . ensures that advocates of freedom aren’t confused with people who use market rhetoric to prop up an unjust status quo, and expresses solidarity between defenders of freed markets and workers – as well as ordinary people around the world who use ‘capitalism’ as a short-hand label for

the world-system that constrains their freedom and stunts their lives.”^[89]

1.3.3 See also

- Agorism
- Anarchist schools of thought
- Bleeding-heart libertarianism
- Debates within libertarianism
- Distributism
- Free-market anarchism
- Individualist anarchism
- Issues in anarchism
- Left-libertarianism
- Left-wing anarchism
- Market socialism
- Mutualism
- Our Enemy, the State

1.3.4 References

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- [17] Gary Chartier and Charles W. Johnson (eds). *Markets Not Capitalism: Individualist Anarchism Against Bosses, Inequality, Corporate Power, and Structural Poverty*. Minor Compositions; 1st edition (November 5, 2011
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- [19] Gary Chartier has joined Kevin Carson, Charles Johnson, and others (echoing the language of Benjamin Tucker and Thomas Hodgskin) in maintaining that because of its heritage and its emancipatory goals and potential, radical market anarchism should be seen – by its proponents and by others – as part of the socialist tradition, and that market anarchists can and should call themselves “socialists.” See Gary Chartier, “Advocates of Freed Markets Should Oppose Capitalism,” “Free-Market Anti-Capitalism?” session, annual conference, Association of

- Private Enterprise Education (Caesar's Palace, Las Vegas, NV, April 13, 2010); Gary Chartier, "Advocates of Freed Markets Should Embrace 'Anti-Capitalism'"; Gary Chartier, *Socialist Ends, Market Means: Five Essays*. Cp. Tucker, "Socialism."
- [20] Chris Sciabarra is the only scholar associated with this school of left-libertarianism who is skeptical about anarchism; see Sciabarra's *Total Freedom*
- [21] Peter Vallentyne and Hillel Steiner. *The origins of Left Libertarianism*. Palgrave. 2000
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- [27] William Bailie, *Josiah Warren: The First American Anarchist — A Sociological Study*, Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1906, p. 20
- [28] "A watch has a *cost* and a *value*. The *COST* consists of the amount of labor bestowed on the mineral or natural wealth, in converting it into metals...". Warren, Josiah. *Equitable Commerce*
- [29] Charles A. Madison. "Anarchism in the United States". *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 6, No. 1. (Jan., 1945), p. 53
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- [31] "A member of a community," *The Mutualist*; this 1826 series criticised Robert Owen's proposals, and has been attributed to a dissident Owenite, possibly from the Friendly Association for Mutual Interests of Valley Forge; Wilbur, Shawn, 2006, "More from the 1826 "Mutualist"?".
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- [33] Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1979). *The Principle of Federation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. ISBN 0-8020-5458-7. The notion of *anarchy* in politics is just as rational and positive as any other. It means that once industrial functions have taken over from political functions, then business transactions alone produce the social order.
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Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought, Blackwell Publishing 1991 ISBN 0-631-17944-5, p. 11.
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- [51] Tucker, *Instead of a Book*, p. 350
- [52] Wendy McElroy, "Benjamin Tucker, Individualism, & Liberty: Not the Daughter but the Mother of Order"
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- [56] "'Anarchist Individualism as a Life and Activity" by Emile Armand". Spaz.org. 2002-03-01. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [57] "el capitalismo es sólo el efecto del gobierno; desaparecido el gobierno, el capitalismo cae de su pedestal vertiginosamente.... Lo que llamamos capitalismo no es otra cosa que el producto del Estado, dentro del cual lo único que se cultiva es la ganancia, bien o mal habida. Luchar, pues, contra el capitalismo es tarea inútil, porque sea Capitalismo de Estado o Capitalismo de Empresa, mientras el Gobierno exista, existirá el capital que explota. La lucha, pero de conciencias, es contra el Estado." *Anarquismo* by Miguel Gimenez Igualada
- [58] "¿La propiedad? ¡Bah! No es problema. Porque cuando nadie trabaje para nadie, el acaparador de la riqueza desaparece, como ha de desaparecer el gobierno cuando nadie haga caso a los que aprendieron cuatro cosas en las universidades y por ese sólo hecho pretenden gobernar a los hombres. Porque si en la tierra de los ciegos el tuerto es rey, en donde todos ven y juzgan y discernen, el rey estorba. Y de lo que se trata es de que no haya reyes porque todos sean hombres. Las grandes empresas industriales las transformarán los hombres en grandes asociaciones donde todos trabajen y disfruten del producto de su trabajo. Y de esos tan sencillos como hermosos problemas trata el anarquismo y al que lo cumple y vive es al que se le llama anarquista...El hincapié que sin cansancio debe hacer el anarquista es el de que nadie debe explotar a nadie, ningún hombre a ningún hombre, porque esa no-explotación llevaría consigo la limitación de la propiedad a las necesidades individuales." *Anarquismo* by Miguel Gimenez Igualada
- [59] See Justin Raimondo, *An Enemy of the State: The Life of Murray N. Rothbard* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus 2001).
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- [61] See Brian M. Doherty, *Radicals for Capitalism: A Free-wheeling History of the Modern American Libertarian Movement* (New York: Public Affairs 2007) 338.
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- [70] See Gary Chartier, "Advocates of Freed Markets Should Oppose Capitalism," "Free-Market Anti-Capitalism?" session, annual conference, Association of Private Enterprise Education (Caesar's Palace, Las Vegas, NV, April 13, 2010); Gary Chartier, "Advocates of Freed Markets Should Embrace 'Anti-Capitalism'"; Gary Chartier, *Socialist Ends, Market Means: Five Essays*. Cp. Tucker, "Socialism."

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- [81] See Gary Chartier, *Anarchy and Legal Order: Law and Politics for a Stateless Society* (New York: Cambridge UP 2013) 44–156.
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1.3.6 External links

- Alliance of the Libertarian Left
- Mutualist.org, free market anti-capitalism
- Center for a Stateless Society

1.4 Anarcho-syndicalism



Flag of Anarcho-syndicalism

1.3.5 Further reading

- Kevin A. Carson, *The Iron Fist behind the Invisible Hand: Corporate Capitalism As a State-Guaranteed System of Privilege* (Nanaimo, BC: Red Lion 2001)
- Kevin A. Carson, *Austrian and Marxist Theories of Monopoly-Capital* (London: Libertarian Alliance 2004)

Anarcho-syndicalism (also referred to as **revolutionary syndicalism**)^[1] is a theory of anarchism which views revolutionary industrial unionism or syndicalism as a method for workers in capitalist society to gain control of an economy and, with that control, influence broader society. Syndicalists consider their economic theories a

strategy for facilitating **worker** self-activity and as an alternative **co-operative economic system** with democratic values and production centered on meeting human needs.

The basic principles of anarcho-syndicalism are **solidarity**, **direct action** (action undertaken without the intervention of third parties such as politicians, bureaucrats, and arbitrators) and **direct democracy**, or **workers' self-management**. The end goal of anarcho-syndicalism is to abolish the **wage system**, regarding it as **wage slavery**. Anarcho-syndicalist theory therefore generally focuses on the **labour movement**.^[2]

Anarcho-syndicalists view the primary purpose of the state as being the defence of **private property**, and therefore of economic, social, and political privilege, denying most of its denizens the ability to enjoy material independence and the social autonomy which springs from it.^[3] In contrast with other bodies of thought, particularly with **Marxism–Leninism**, anarcho-syndicalists deny the possibility of a **workers' state**, or a state which acts in the interests of workers, as opposed to those of the powerful, and posit that any state with the intention of empowering the workers will inevitably work to empower itself or the existing elite at the expense of the workers. Reflecting the anarchist philosophy from which it draws its primary inspiration, anarcho-syndicalism is centred around the idea that **power corrupts**.^[3]

1.4.1 History

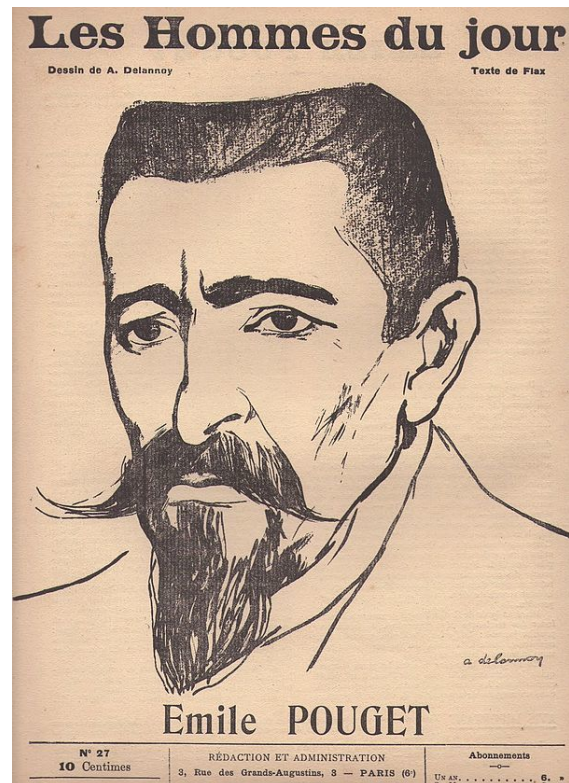
Origins

Hubert Lagardelle wrote that **Pierre-Joseph Proudhon** laid out fundamental ideas of anarcho-syndicalism, and repudiated both capitalism and the state in the process. He viewed free economic groups and 'struggle', not pacifism as dominant in humans.^[4]

In September 1903 and March 1904 **Sam Mainwaring** published in Britain two issues of a short-lived newspaper called *The General Strike*, a publication which made detailed criticisms of the "officialism" of union bureaucracy and which publicised strikes in Europe making use of **syndicalist tactics**.^[5]

Revolutionary Syndicalism and the International Workers Association

In 1910, in the middle of the restoration, the **Confederación Nacional del Trabajo** was founded in Barcelona in a congress of the **Catalonian** trade union *Solidaridad Obrera* (Workers' Solidarity) with the objective of constituting an opposing force to the then-majority trade union, the socialist UGT and "to speed up the economic emancipation of the working class through the revolutionary **expropriation** of the bourgeoisie". The CNT started small, counting 26,571 members represented through several trade unions and



Émile Pouget



The 1910 Congress in which the spanish CNT was established

other confederations.^[6] In 1911, coinciding with its first congress, the CNT initiated a general strike that provoked a Barcelona judge to declare the union illegal until 1914. That same year of 1911, the trade union officially received its name.^[6] From 1918 on the CNT grew stronger. The CNT had an outstanding role in the events of the *La Canadiense* general strike, which paralyzed 70% of industry in Catalonia in 1919, the year the CNT reached a membership of 700,000.^[7] Around that time, panic spread among employers, giving rise to the practice of *pistolismo* (employing thugs to intimidate active unionists), causing a spiral of violence which significantly affected the trade union. These *pistoleros* are credited with killing 21 union leaders in 48 hours.^[8]

In 1922 the **International Workers' Association** was founded in Berlin; the CNT joined immediately. However, the following year, with the rise of **Miguel Primo de Rivera's** dictatorship, the labor union was outlawed, once again.^[9] After the end of the war however, with the workers' movement resurgent following the **Russian Revolution**, what was to become the modern IWA was formed, billing itself as the "true heir" of the **original international**.^[10] The successful **Bolshevik-led** revolution of 1918 in Russia was mirrored by a wave of syndicalist successes worldwide, including the struggle of the **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)** in the USA alongside the creation of mass anarchist unions across Latin America and huge syndicalist-led strikes in Germany, Portugal, Spain, Italy and France, where it was noted that "neutral (economic, but not political) syndicalism had been swept away."^[11] The final formation of this new international, then known as the **International Workingmen's Association**, took place at an illegal conference in Berlin in December 1922, marking an irrevocable break between the international syndicalist movement and the Bolsheviks.^[11]

- The **Italian Syndicalist Union**: 500,000 members,
- The **Argentine Workers Regional Organisation (FORA)**: 200,000,
- The **General Confederation of Workers in Portugal**: 150,000,
- The **Free Workers' Union of Germany (FAUD)**: 120,000,
- The **Committee for the Defense of Revolutionary Syndicalism in France**: 100,000,
- The **Federation du Combattant** from Paris: 32,000,
- The **Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden (SAC)**: 32,000,
- **National Labor Secretariat** of the Netherlands: 22,500,
- The **Industrial Workers of the World** in Chile: 20,000,
- The **Union for Syndicalist Propaganda** in Denmark: 600.^[12]

The first secretaries of the International included the famed writer and activist **Rudolph Rocker**, along with **Augustin Souchy** and **Alexander Schapiro**. Following the first congress, other groups affiliated from France, Austria, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Poland and Romania. Later, a bloc of unions in the USA, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala, Cuba, Costa Rica and El Salvador also shared the IWA's statutes. The biggest syndicalist union in the USA, the **IWW**, considered joining but eventually ruled out affiliation in 1936, citing the

IWA's policies on religious and political affiliation.^[13] The **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)**, although not anarcho-syndicalist, were informed by developments in the broader revolutionary syndicalist milieu at the turn of the 20th century. At its founding congress in 1905, influential members with strong anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist sympathies like **Thomas J. Hagerty**, **William Trautmann**, and **Lucy Parsons** contributed to the union's overall revolutionary syndicalist orientation.^[14] Although the terms anarcho-syndicalism and revolutionary syndicalism are often used interchangeably, the anarcho-syndicalist label was not widely used until the early 1920s. "The term 'anarcho-syndicalist' only came into wide use in 1921–1922 when it was applied polemically as a pejorative term by communists to any syndicalists...who opposed increased control of syndicalism by the communist parties."^[15] In fact, the original statement of aims and principles of the **International Workers Association** (drafted in 1922) refers not to anarcho-syndicalism, but to revolutionary syndicalism or revolutionary unionism,^{[16][17]} depending on the translation.



Bandera de la CNT-FAI.

The *Biennio Rosso* (English: "Red Biennium") was a two-year period, between 1919 and 1920, of intense social conflict in Italy, following the **first world war**.^[18] The *Biennio Rosso* took place in a context of economic crisis at the end of the war, with high unemployment and political instability. It was characterized by mass strikes, worker manifestations as well as self-management experiments through land and factories occupations.^[18] In **Turin** and **Milan**, **workers councils** were formed and many **factory occupations** took place under the leadership of **anarcho-syndicalists**. The agitations also extended to the agricultural areas of the **Padan plain** and were accompanied by peasant strikes, rural unrests and guerilla conflicts between left-wing and right-wing militias. According to libcom.org, the anarcho-syndicalist trade union **Unione Sindacale Italiana** "grew to 800,000 members and the influence of the Italian Anarchist Union (20,000 members plus *Umanita Nova*, its daily paper) grew accordingly ... Anarchists were the first to suggest occupying workplaces."^[19]

Many of the largest members of the IWA were broken, driven underground or wiped out in the 1920s–30s as **fascists** came to power in states across Europe and work-



Rudolph Rocker, 1922 International Workers Association Secretary

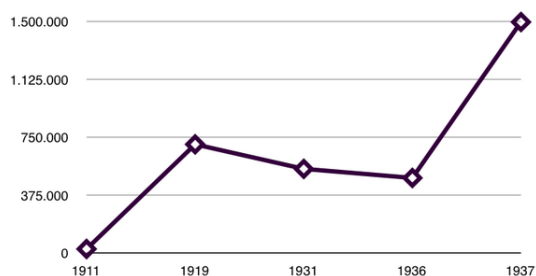
ers switched away from anarchism towards the seeming success of the Bolshevik model of socialism. In Argentina, the FORA had already begun a process of decline by the time it joined the IWA, having split in 1915 into pro and anti-Bolshevik factions. From 1922, the anarchist movement there lost most of its membership, exacerbated by further splits, most notably around the Severino Di Giovanni affair. It was crushed by General Uriburu's military coup in 1930.^[20] Germany's FAUD struggled throughout the late 1920s and early 30s as the brownshirts took control of the streets. Its last national congress in Erfurt in March 1932 saw the union attempt to form an underground bureau to combat Hitler's fascists, a measure which was never put into practice as mass arrests decimated the conspirators' ranks.^[21] The editor of the FAUD organ *Der Syndikalist*, Gerhard Wartenberg was killed in Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Karl Windhoff, delegate to the IWA Madrid congress of 1931 was driven out of his mind and also died in a Nazi death camp. There were also mass trials of FAUD members held in Wuppertal and Rhenanie, many of these never survived the death camps.^[22] Italian IWA union the *Unione Sindacale Italiana*, which had claimed a membership of up to 600,000 people in 1922, was warning even at that time of murders and repression from Benito Mussolini's fascists.^[22] It had been driven underground by 1924 and although it was still able to lead significant strikes by miners, metalworkers and marble workers, Mussolini's ascent to power in 1925 sealed its fate. By 1927 its leading activists had been arrested or exiled.^[23]

Portugal's CGT was driven underground after an unsuccessful attempt to break the newly installed dictatorship of Gomes da Costa with a general strike in 1927 which led to nearly 100 deaths. It survived underground with 15-20,000 members until January 1934, when it called a general revolutionary strike against plans to replace trade unions with fascist corporations, which failed. It was able to continue in a much reduced state until World War II but was effectively finished as a fighting union.^[24] Massive government repression repeated such defeats around the world, as anarcho-syndicalist unions were destroyed in Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Japan, Cuba, Bulgaria, Paraguay and Bolivia. By the end of the 1930s legal anarcho-syndicalist trade unions existed only in Chile, Bolivia, Sweden and Uruguay.^[11] But perhaps the greatest blow was struck in the Spanish Civil War which saw the CNT, then claiming a membership of 1.58 million, driven underground with the defeat of the Spanish Republic by Francisco Franco. The sixth IWA congress took place in 1936, shortly after the Spanish Revolution had begun, but was unable to provide serious material support for the section. The IWA held its last pre-war congress in Paris in 1938, with months to go before the German invasion of Poland it received an application from ZZZ,^[25] a syndicalist union in the country claiming up to 130,000 workers – ZZZ members went on to form a core part of the resistance against the Nazis, and participated in the Warsaw uprising. But the international was not to meet again until after World War II had finished, in 1951. During the war, only one member of the IWA was able to continue to function as a revolutionary union, the SAC in Sweden.^[12] In 1927 with the "moderate" positioning of some *cenetistas* (CNT members) the *Federación Anarquista Ibérica* (FAI), an association of anarchist affinity groups, was created in Valencia. The FAI would play an important role during the following years through the so-called *trabazón* (connection) with the CNT, that is, the presence of FAI elements in the CNT, encouraging the labor union not to move away from its anarchist principles, an influence that continues today.^[26]

The Spanish Revolution

Main articles: *Spanish Revolution* and *Anarchist Catalonia*

On 1 June 1936, the CNT joined the UGT in declaring a strike of "building workers, mechanics, and lift operators." A demonstration was held, 70,000 workers strong. Members of the *Falange* attacked the strikers. The strikers responded by looting shops, and the police reacted by attempting to suppress the strike. By the beginning of July, the CNT was still fighting, while the UGT had agreed to arbitration. In retaliation to the attacks by the Falangists, anarchists killed three bodyguards of the Falangist leader José Antonio Primo de Rivera. The government then closed the CNT's centers in Madrid, and arrested David Antona and Cipriano Mera, two CNT militants.^[27]



Evolution of the number of affiliates in the CNT from 1911 to 1937

George Orwell wrote of the nature of the new society that arose in the communities:

I had dropped more or less by chance into the only community of any size in Western Europe where political consciousness and disbelief in capitalism were more normal than their opposites. Up here in Aragón one was among tens of thousands of people, mainly though not entirely of working-class origin, all living at the same level and mingling on terms of equality. In theory it was perfect equality, and even in practice it was not far from it. There is a sense in which it would be true to say that one was experiencing a foretaste of Socialism, by which I mean that the prevailing mental atmosphere was that of Socialism. Many of the normal motives of civilised life—snobbishness, money-grubbing, fear of the boss, etc.—had simply ceased to exist. The ordinary class-division of society had disappeared to an extent that is almost unthinkable in the money-tainted air of England; there was no one there except the peasants and ourselves, and no one owned anyone else as his master.

— George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, ch. VII

Some of the most important communities in this respect were those of Alcañiz, Calanda, Alcorisa, Valderrobres, Fraga or Alcampel. Not only were the lands collectivized, but collective labours were also undertaken, like the retirement home in Fraga, the collectivization of some hospitals (such as in Barbastro or Binéfar), and the founding of schools such as the School of Anarchist Militants. These institutions would be destroyed by the Nationalist troops during the war.

The Committee held an extraordinary regional plenary session to protect the new rural organization, gathering all the union representatives from the supporting villages and backed by Buenaventura Durruti. Against the will of the mainly Catalanian CNT National Committee, the

Regional Defence Council of Aragón was created. Following Largo Caballero's assumption of the position of Prime Minister of the government, he invited the CNT to join in the coalition of groups making up the national government. The CNT proposed instead that a National Defense Council should be formed, led by Largo Caballero, and containing five members each from the CNT and UGT, and four "liberal republicans". When this proposal was declined, the CNT decided not to join the government. However, in Catalonia, the CNT joined the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Militias, which joined the Generalitat on 26 September. For the first time, three members of the CNT were also members of the government.^[28]

In November, Caballero once again asked the CNT to become part of the government. The leadership of the CNT requested the finance and war ministries, as well as three others, but were given four posts, the ministries of health, justice, industry, and commerce. With Federica Montseny became Minister of Health, the first female minister in Spain. Juan García Oliver, as minister of justice, abolished legal fees and destroyed all criminal files. Shortly afterwards, despite the disapproval of the anarchist ministers, the capital was moved from Madrid to Valencia.^[29] On 23 December 1936, after receiving in Madrid a retinue formed by Joaquín Ascaso, Miguel Chueca and three republican and independent leaders, the government of Largo Caballero, which by then had four anarchists as ministers (García Oliver, Juan López, Federica Montseny and Joan Peiró), approved the formation of the National Defense Committee. It was a revolutionary body which represented anarchists as much as socialists and republicans. Halfway through February 1937, a congress took place in Caspe with the purpose of creating the Regional Federation of Collectives of Aragón. 456 delegates, representing more than 141,000 collective members, attended the congress. The congress was also attended by delegates of the National Committee of the CNT.^[30]

At a plenary session of the CNT in March 1937, the national committee asked for a motion of censure to suppress the Aragonese Regional Council. The Aragonese regional committee threatened to resign, which thwarted the censure effort. Though there had always been disagreements, that spring also saw a great escalation in confrontations between the CNT-FAI and the Communists. In Madrid, Melchor Rodríguez, who was then a member of the CNT, and director of prisons in Madrid, published accusations that the Communist José Cazorla, who was then overseeing public order, was maintaining secret prisons to hold anarchists, socialists, and other republicans, and either executing, or torturing them as "traitors". Soon after, on this pretext, Largo Caballero dissolved the Communist-controlled Junta de Defensa.^[31] Cazorla reacted by closing the offices of *Solidaridad Obrera*.^[32]

The next day CNT's regional committee declared a general strike. The CNT controlled the majority of the



CNT poster informing about the socialization of the Textiles industry

city, including the heavy artillery on the hill of Montjuïc overlooking the city. CNT militias disarmed more than 200 members of the security forces at their barricades, allowing only CNT vehicles to pass through.^[33] After unsuccessful appeals from the CNT leadership to end the fighting, the government began transferring Assault Guard from the front to Barcelona, and even destroyers from Valencia. On 5 May, the Friends of Durruti issued a pamphlet calling for “disarming of the paramilitary police... dissolution of the political parties...” and declared “Long live the social revolution! – Down with the counter-revolution!” The pamphlet was quickly denounced by the leadership of the CNT.^[34] The next day, the government agreed to a proposal by the leadership of the CNT-FAI, that called for the removal of the Assault Guards, and no reprisals against libertarians that had participated in the conflict, in exchange for the dismantling of barricades, and end of the general strike. However, neither the PSUC or the Assault Guards gave up their positions, and according to historian Antony Beevor “carried out violent reprisals against libertarians”^[35] By 8 May, the fighting was over.

These events, the fall of Largo Caballero's government, and the new prime ministership of Juan Negrín soon led to the collapse of much that the CNT had achieved immediately following the rising the previous July. At the beginning of July, the Aragonese organizations of the Popu-

lar Front publicly declared their support for the alternative council in Aragon, led by their president, Joaquín Ascaso. Four weeks later the 11th Division, under Enrique Lister, entered the region. On 11 August 1937, the Republican government, now situated in Valencia, dismissed the Regional Council for the Defense of Aragon.^[36] Lister's division was prepared for an offensive on the Aragonese front, but they were also sent to subdue the collectives run by the CNT-UGT and in dismantling the collective structures created the previous twelve months. The offices of the CNT were destroyed, and all the equipment belonging to its collectives was redistributed to landowners.^[36] The CNT leadership not only refused to allow the anarchist columns on the Aragon front to leave the front to defend the collectives, but they failed to condemn the government's actions against the collectives, causing much conflict between it and the rank and file membership of the union.^[37]

In April 1938, Juan Negrín was asked to form a government, and included Segundo Blanco, a member of the CNT, as minister of education, and by this point, the only CNT member left in the cabinet. At this point, many in the CNT leadership were critical of participation in the government, seeing it as dominated by the Communists. Prominent CNT leaders went so far as to refer to Blanco as “sop of the libertarian movement”^[38] and “just one more Negrínist.”^[39] On the other side, Blanco was responsible for installing other CNT members into the ministry of education, and stopping the spread of “Communist propaganda” by the ministry.^[40] In March 1939, with the war nearly over, CNT leaders participated in the National Defense Council's coup overthrowing the government of the Socialist Juan Negrín.^[41] Those involved included the CNT's Eduardo Val and José Manuel González Marín serving on the council, while Cipriano Mera's 70th Division provided military support, and Melechor Rodríguez became mayor of Madrid.^[42] The Council attempted to negotiate a peace with Franco, though he granted virtually none of their demands.

The Post World War II era



Logo of the French *Confédération nationale du travail*, established after the war

After World War II, an appeal in the *Fraye Arbeter Shtime* detailing the plight of German anarchists and called for Americans to support them.^[43] By February 1946, the sending of aid parcels to anarchists in Germany was a large-scale operation. In 1947, Rudolf Rocker published *Zur Betrachtung der Lage in Deutschland (Regarding the Portrayal of the Situation in Germany)* about the impossibility of another anarchist movement in Germany. It became the first post-World War II anarchist writing to be distributed in Germany. Rocker thought young Germans were all either totally cynical or inclined to fascism and awaited a new generation to grow up before anarchism could bloom once again in the country. Nevertheless, the Federation of Libertarian Socialists (FFS) was founded in 1947 by former FAUD members. Rocker wrote for its organ, *Die Freie Gesellschaft*, which survived until 1953.^[44] In 1949, Rocker published another well-known work. On 10 September 1958, Rocker died in the Mohegan Colony. The Syndicalist Workers' Federation was a syndicalist group in active in post-war Britain,^[45] and one of the Solidarity Federation's earliest predecessors. It was formed in 1950 by members of the dissolved Anarchist Federation of Britain.^[45] Unlike the AFB, which was influenced by anarcho-syndicalist ideas but ultimately not syndicalist itself, the SWF decided to pursue a more definitely syndicalist, worker-centred strategy from the outset.^[45] The Confédération nationale du travail (CNT, or National Confederation of Labour) was founded in 1946 by Spanish anarcho-syndicalists in exile with former members of the CGT-SR. The CNT later split into the CNT-Vignoles and the CNT-AIT, which is the French section of the IWA.

At the seventh congress in Toulouse in 1951 a much smaller IWA was relaunched, again without the CNT, which would not be strong enough to reclaim membership until 1958 as an exiled and underground organization. Delegates attended, though mostly representing very small groups, from Cuba, Argentina, Spain, Sweden, France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Britain, Bulgaria and Portugal. A message of support was received from Uruguay. But the situation remained difficult for the International, as it struggled to deal with the rise of state-sanctioned economic trade unionism in the West, heavy secret service intervention as Cold War anti-communism reached its height and the banning of all strikes and free trade unions in the Soviet Union bloc of countries.^[12] At the tenth congress in 1958, the SAC's response to these pressures led it into a clash with the rest of the international. It withdrew from the IWA following its failure to amend the body's statutes to allow it to stand in municipal elections^[46] and amid concerns over its integration with the state over distribution of unemployment benefits.^[47] For most of the next two decades, the international struggled to prebuild itself. In 1976, at the 15th congress, the IWA had only five member groups, two of which (the Spanish and Bulgarian members) were still operating in exile (though following Franco's death in 1975, the CNT was already ap-

proaching a membership of 200,000).^[22]

The Direct Action Movement was formed in 1979, when the one remaining SWF branch, along with other smaller anarchist groups, decided to form a new organisation of anarcho-syndicalists in Britain.^[48] The DAM was highly involved in the Miners' Strike as well as a series of industrial disputes later in the 1980s, including the Ardbride dispute in Ardrossan, Scotland, involving a supplier to Laura Ashley, for which the DAM received international support. From 1988 in Scotland, then England and Wales, the DAM was active in opposing the Poll Tax.^[49] In 1994 it adopted its current name, having previously been the Direct Action Movement since 1979, and before that the Syndicalist Workers' Federation since 1950. In March 1994, DAM changed its name to the Solidarity Federation. Presently, the Solidarity Federation publishes the quarterly magazine *Direct Action* (presently on hiatus) and the newspaper *Catalyst*

In 1979 a split over representative unionism, professional unionism and state-funded schemes saw the CNT divided into two sections, the CNT as it is today and the Confederación General del Trabajo. After Franco's death in November 1975 and the beginning of Spain's transition to democracy, the CNT was the only social movement to refuse to sign the 1977 Moncloa Pact,^[50] an agreement amongst politicians, political parties, and trade unions to plan how to operate the economy during the transition. In 1979, the CNT held its first congress since 1936 as well as several mass meetings, the most remarkable one in Montjuïc. Views put forward in this congress would set the pattern for the CNT's line of action for the following decades: no participation in union elections, no acceptance of state subsidies,^[51] no acknowledgment of works councils, and support of union sections. In this first congress, held in Madrid,^[52] a minority sector in favor of union elections split from the CNT, initially calling themselves CNT Valencia Congress (referring to the alternative congress held in this city), and later Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT) after an April 1989 court decision determined that they could not use the CNT initials.^[53] In 1990, a group of CGT members left this union because they rejected the CGT's policy of accepting government subsidies, founding *Solidaridad Obrera*. One year before, the 1978 Scala Case affected the CNT. An explosion killed three people in a Barcelona night club.^[54] The authorities alleged that striking workers "blew themselves up", and arrested surviving strikers, implicating them in the crime.^[55] CNT members declared that the prosecution sought to criminalize their organization.^[56]

Contemporary times

After its legalization, the CNT began efforts to recover the expropriations of 1939. The basis for such recovery would be established by Law 4/1986, which required the return of the seized properties, and the unions' right



Members of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist trade union CNT marching in Madrid in 2010

to use or yield the real estate. Since then the CNT has been claiming the return of these properties from the State. In 1996, the Economic and Social Council facilities in Madrid were squatted by 105 CNT militants.^[57] This body is in charge of the repatriation of the accumulated union wealth. In 2004 an agreement was reached between the CNT and the District Attorney's Office, through which all charges were dropped against the hundred prosecuted for this occupation.

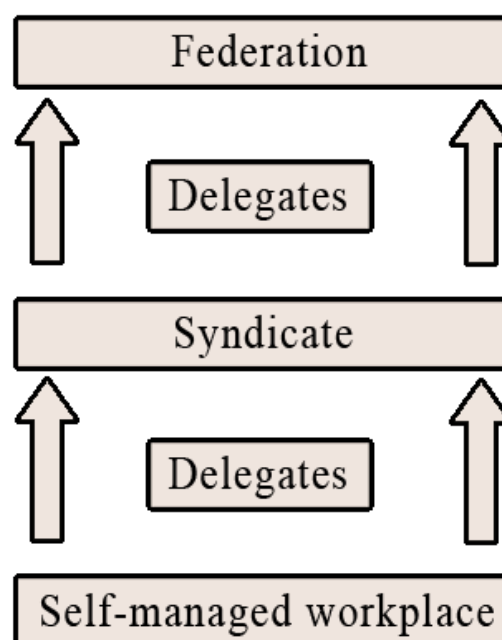
On 3 September 2009, six members of the Serbian IWA section (ASI-MUR), including then-IWA General Secretary Ratibor Trivunac, were arrested^[58] on suspicion of international terrorism, a charge which was heavily disputed by the international and other anarchist groups. Shortly after their arrest, an open letter was circulated^[59] by Serbian academics criticizing the charges and the attitude of Serbian police. The six were formally indicted on 7 December and after a lengthy trial procedure Trivunac, along with other 5 anarchists, were freed on 17 February 2010. On 10 December 2009, the FAU local in Berlin was effectively banned as a union following a public industrial dispute at the city's Babylon cinema. At the XXIV annual congress of the IWA, which was held in Brazil in December 2009, the first time the congress had been held outside Europe, motions of support were passed for the "Belgrade Six" and FAU while members of the Solidarity Federation temporarily took over duties as Secretariat. The International's Norwegian section subsequently took on the Secretariat role in 2010. As part of the anti-austerity movement in Europe, various IWA sections have been highly active in the 2008-2012 period, with the CNT taking a leading role in agitating for the general strikes which have occurred in Spain, the USI in Milan taking on anti-austerity campaigns in the health service and the ZSP organizing tenants against abuses in rented accommodation.^[60]

The largest organised anarchist movement today is in Spain, in the form of the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT) and the CNT. CGT membership was estimated at around 100,000 for 2003.^[61] The regions with the largest CNT membership are the Centre (Madrid

and surrounding area), the North (Basque country), Andalucía, Catalonia and the Balearic Islands.^[62] The CNT opposes the model of union elections and workplace committees^[63] and is critical of labor reforms and the UGT and the CCOO,^[64] standing instead on a platform of *reivindicación*, that is, "return of what is due", or social revolution.^[65]

The following organizations are either member groups or friends of the IWA.^[66] Friends of the IWA are regarded as semi-official fellow travelers politically but have not formally joined and do not have voting rights at Congress. They are often invited to send observers to Congress.

1.4.2 Theory and politics



Basic outline of syndicalism as an economic system.

Anarcho-syndicalists believe that **direct action**—action carried out by workers, as opposed to indirect action, such as electing a representative to a government position—would allow workers to liberate themselves.^[68]

Anarcho-syndicalists believe that workers' organisations that oppose the wage system will eventually form the basis of a new society and should be self-managing. They should not have bosses or "business agents"; rather, the workers alone should decide on that which affects them.^[69]

Notable theorists

Rudolf Rocker Rudolf Rocker is one of the most influential figures in the anarcho-syndicalist movement. He



Anarcho-syndicalist flag.

dedicated himself to the organisation of Jewish immigrant workers in London's East End and led the 1912 garment workers strike. He outlined a view of the origins of the movement, what it sought, and why it was important to the future of labour in his 1938 pamphlet *Anarcho-Syndicalism*. In his article *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Rocker points out that the anarcho-syndicalist union has a dual purpose, "1. To enforce the demands of the producers for the safeguarding and raising of their standard of living; 2. To acquaint the workers with the technical management of production and economic life in general and prepare them to take the socio-economic organism into their own hands and shape it according to socialist principles." In short, laying the foundations of the new society "within the shell of the old". Up to the First World War and the Russian Revolution, anarcho-syndicalist unions and organisations were the important actors in the revolutionary left.

Noam Chomsky Noam Chomsky, who was influenced by Rocker, wrote the introduction to a modern edition of "Anarcho-syndicalism: Theory and Practice". A member of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Chomsky is a self-described Anarcho-Syndicalist, a position which he sees as the appropriate application of classical liberal political theory to contemporary industrial society:

'Now a federated, decentralised system of free associations, incorporating economic as well as other social institutions, would be what I refer to as anarcho-syndicalism; and it seems to me that this is the appropriate form of social organisation for an advanced technological society in which human beings do *not* have to be forced into the position of tools, of cogs in the machine. There is no longer any social necessity for human beings to be treated as mechanical elements in the productive process; that can be overcome and we must overcome it to be a society of freedom and free association, in which the creative urge that I consider intrinsic to human nature will in fact be able to realize itself in whatever way it will.'^[70]

1.4.3 Anarcho-syndicalist groups



The Barcelona offices of the CNT.

- International Workers Association (IWA-AIT)
- Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) Spain
- Federação Operária do Rio Grande do Sul – Confederação Operária Brasileira (FORGS-COB-AIT) Brazil
- Federación Obrera Regional Argentina (FORA-AIT) Argentina
- Associação Internacional dos Trabalhadores – Secção Portuguesa (AIT-SP) Portugal
- Anarho-sindikalistička inicijativa (ASI-MUR) Serbia
- Freie Arbeiterinnen- und Arbeiter-Union (FAU) Germany
- Konfederatsiya Revolyutsionnikh Anarkho-Sindikalistov (KRAS-IWA) Russia
- Сибирская Конфедерация Труда (СКТ) Siberian Confederation of Labour (SKT) Siberia, Russia
- Mreža anarhosindikalista (MASA) Croatia
- Norsk Syndikalistisk Forbund (NSF-IAA) Norway
- Priama Akcia (PA-IWA) Slovakia
- Solidarity Federation (SF-IWA) Britain

- **Unione Sindacale Italiana (USI)** Italy
- **Workers Solidarity Alliance (WSA)** USA
- **Ελευθεριακή Συνδικαλιστική Ένωση (ΕΣΕ)** Libertarian Syndicalist Union (ESE) Greece
- **Rocinante** (Greece)
- **Freie Arbeiterinnen Union (FAU)** Switzerland
- **Swedish Anarcho-syndicalist Youth Federation** (Syndikalistiska Ungdomsförbundet, SUF) Sweden
- **Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden** (Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation, SAC) Sweden
- **Anarcho-Syndicalistische Bond (ASB)** The Netherlands
- **Green Mountain Anarchist Collective (GMAC)** Vermont

1.4.4 Criticisms and responses

Anarcho-syndicalism has been criticised as anachronistic by some contemporary anarchists.^[71] Murray Bookchin in 1992 spoke against its reliance on an outdated view of work:

As “practical” and “realistic” as anarcho-syndicalism may seem, it represents in my view an archaic ideology rooted in a narrowly economic notion of bourgeois interest, indeed of a sectorial interest as such. It relies on the persistence of social forces like the factory system and the traditional class consciousness of the industrial proletariat that are waning radically in the Euro-American world in an era of indefinable social relations and ever-broadening social concerns. Broader movements and issues are now on the horizon of modern society that, while they must necessarily involve workers, require a perspective that is larger than the factory, trade union, and a proletarian orientation.^[72]

Bookchin has said that it prioritizes the interests of the working class, instead of communal freedom for society as a whole; and that this view ultimately prevents a true revolution. He argues that in instances like the **Spanish Revolution**, it was in spite of the syndicalist-minded CNT leadership that the revolution occurred.^[72]

Direct action, being one of the main staples of anarcho-syndicalism, would extend into the political sphere according to its supporters. To them, the labour council is the federation of all workplace branches of all industries in a geographical area “territorial basis of organisation

linkage brought all the workers from one area together and fomented working-class solidarity over and before corporate solidarity”.^[73] Rudolf Rocker argued:

based on the principles of Federalism, on free combination from below upwards, putting the right of self-determination of every member above everything else and recognising only the organic agreement of all on the basis of like interests and common convictions.^[74]

Thus, anarcho-syndicalism is not apolitical but instead sees political and economic activity as the same. Unlike the propositions of some of its critics, anarcho-syndicalism is different from reformist union activity in that it aims to obliterate capitalism “[Anarcho-syndicalism] has a double aim: with tireless persistence, it must pursue betterment of the working class’s current conditions. But, without letting themselves become obsessed with this passing concern, the workers should take care to make possible and imminent the essential act of comprehensive emancipation: the expropriation of capital.”^[75]



Confederacion General del Trabajo demonstration in Barcelona, October 2005

While collectivist and communist anarchists criticise syndicalism as having the potential to exclude the voices of citizens and consumers outside of the union, anarcho-syndicalists argue that labour councils will work outside of the workplace and within the community to encourage community and consumer participation in economic and political activity (even workers and consumers outside of the union or nation) and will work to form and maintain the institutions necessary in any society such as schools, libraries, homes, etc. Murray Bookchin argues:

[a]t the same time that syndicalism exerts this unrelenting pressure on capitalism, it tries to build the new social order within the old. The unions and the ‘labour councils’ are not merely means of struggle and instruments of social revolution; they are also the very structure around which to build a free society. The

workers are to be educated [by their own activity within the union] in the job of destroying the old propertied order and in the task of reconstructing a stateless, libertarian society. The two go together.^[76]

1.4.5 In popular culture

- One of the main characters in Eugene O'Neill's play *The Iceman Cometh* (1939), Larry Slade is an ex-anarcho-syndicalist.
- Ursula K. Le Guin's novel *The Dispossessed* (1974) shows a fictional functioning anarcho-syndicalist society. The novel is subtitled "An Ambiguous Utopia".
- The 1975 comedy film *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* contains a scene wherein King Arthur encounters uncooperative peasants who are part of an autonomous, anarcho-syndicalist commune.
- The 28 April 1987 episode of the U.S. series *Max Headroom* entitled "War" featured a terrorist group known as the "White Brigade" dedicated to 'neo-radicalistic anarcho-syndicalism.'
- A short song for BBC Radio 6 Music by Jake Yapp featured "Elmo the anarcho-syndicalist". The song lampooned the book *Primetime Propaganda*, whose premise is that children's programs have "secret left-wing messages".^[77]

1.4.6 Film

- *Living Utopia*, ("Vivir la utopía", Documentary-film from 1997 about Anarcho-syndicalism and Anarchism in Spain)
- Noam Chomsky: The Relevance of Anarcho-syndicalism (interviewed by Peter Jay, 1976) (video and text)

1.4.7 See also

- General strike
- Kronstadt Rebellion
- Libertarian socialism
- List of federations of trade unions
- Participatory Economics
- Wildcat strike action
- Workers' self-management

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1.4.9 Further reading

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1.4.10 External links

- A comprehensive list of Anarcho-syndicalist organisations

- What is revolutionary syndicalism? An ongoing historical series on anarcho-syndicalism and revolutionary syndicalism from a communist perspective
- Anarcho-Syndicalism 101
- Anarcho-Syndicalist Review
- Syndicalism: Myth and Reality
- *Revolutionary Unionism: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* by Dan Jakopovich
- Anarcho-Syndicalism texts from the Kate Sharpley Library

1.5 Individualist anarchism

Individualist anarchism refers to several traditions of thought within the anarchist movement that emphasize the **individual** and their **will** over external determinants such as groups, society, traditions, and ideological systems.^{[1][2]} Individualist anarchism is not a single philosophy but refers to a group of individualistic philosophies that sometimes are in conflict. Benjamin R. Tucker, a famous 19th-century individualist anarchist, held that "if the individual has the right to govern himself, all external government is tyranny."^[3]

1.5.1 Overview



Liberty (1881–1908), *US individualist anarchist publication* edited by Benjamin Tucker

Among the early influences on individualist anarchism were William Godwin,^[4] Josiah Warren ("sovereignty of the individual"), Max Stirner (egoism),^[5] Lysander Spooner ("natural law"), Pierre Joseph Proudhon (mutualism), Henry David Thoreau (transcendentalism),^[6] Herbert Spencer ("law of equal liberty"),^[7] and Anselme Bellegarrigue.^[8]

Individualist anarchism of different kinds have a few things in common. These are:

1. The concentration on the **individual** and their will in preference to any construction such as **morality**, **ideology**, social custom, **religion**, metaphysics, **ideas** or the will of others.^{[9][10]}
2. The rejection of or reservations about the idea of **revolution**, seeing it as a time of mass uprising which could bring about new hierarchies. Instead they favor more **evolutionary** methods of bringing about anarchy through alternative experiences and experiments and education which could be brought about **today**.^{[11][12]} This is also because it is not seen as desirable for individuals to wait for revolution to start experiencing alternative experiences outside what is offered in the current social system.^[13]
3. The view that relationships with other persons or things can be in one's own interest only and can be as transitory and without compromises as desired since in individualist anarchism sacrifice is usually rejected. In this way, Max Stirner recommended associations of **egoists**.^{[14][15]} Individual experience and exploration therefore is emphasized.

The egoist form of individualist anarchism, derived from the philosophy of Max Stirner, supports the individual doing exactly what he pleases – taking no notice of God, state, or moral rules.^[16] To Stirner, rights were *spooks* in the mind, and he held that society does not exist but “the individuals are its reality” – he supported property by force of might rather than moral right.^[17] Stirner advocated self-assertion and foresaw “associations of egoists” drawn together by respect for each other's ruthlessness.^[18]

For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster, American individualist anarchism “stresses the isolation of the individual – his right to his own tools, his mind, his body, and to the products of his labor. To the artist who embraces this philosophy it is “aesthetic” anarchism, to the reformer, ethical anarchism, to the independent mechanic, economic anarchism. The former is concerned with philosophy, the latter with practical demonstration. The economic anarchist is concerned with constructing a society on the basis of anarchism. Economically he sees no harm whatever in the private possession of what the individual produces by his own labor, but only so much and no more. The aesthetic and ethical type found expression in the transcendentalism, humanitarianism, and romanticism of the first part of the nineteenth century, the economic type in the pioneer life of the West during the same period, but more favorably after the Civil War.”^[19] It is for this reason that it has been suggested that in order to understand American individualist anarchism one must take into account “the social context of their ideas, namely the transformation of America from a pre-capitalist to a capitalist society ... the non-capitalist nature of the early U.S. can be seen from the early dominance of self-employment (artisan and peasant production). At the beginning of the 19th century, around

80% of the working (non-slave) male population were self-employed. The great majority of Americans during this time were farmers working their own land, primarily for their own needs.” and so “Individualist anarchism is clearly a form of artisanal socialism ... while communist anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism are forms of industrial (or proletarian) socialism.”^[20] Contemporary individualist anarchist Kevin Carson characterizes American individualist anarchism saying that “Unlike the rest of the socialist movement, the individualist anarchists believed that the natural wage of labor in a free market was its product, and that economic exploitation could only take place when capitalists and landlords harnessed the power of the state in their interests. Thus, individualist anarchism was an alternative both to the increasing statism of the mainstream socialist movement, and to a classical liberal movement that was moving toward a mere apologetic for the power of big business.”^[21]



L'Anarchie, French individualist anarchist journal established in April 1905 by Albert Libertad.

In European individualist anarchism a different social context helped the rise of European individualist illegals and as such “The illegals were proletarians who had nothing to sell but their labour power, and nothing to discard but their dignity; if they disdained waged-work, it was because of its compulsive nature. If they turned to illegality it was due to the fact that honest toil only benefited the employers and often entailed a complete loss of dignity, while any complaints resulted in the sack; to avoid starvation through lack of work it was necessary to beg or steal, and to avoid conscription

into the army many of them had to go on the run.”^[22] And so a European tendency of individualist anarchism advocated violent individual acts of **individual reclamation, propaganda by the deed** and criticism of organization. Such individualist anarchist tendencies include French **illegalism**^{[23][24]} and Italian anti-organizational **insurrectionarism**.^[25] Bookchin reports that at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th “it was in times of severe social repression and deadening social quiescence that individualist anarchists came to the foreground of libertarian activity – and then primarily as terrorists. In France, Spain, and the United States, individualistic anarchists committed acts of terrorism that gave anarchism its reputation as a violently sinister conspiracy.”^[26]

Another important tendency within individualist anarchist currents emphasizes individual subjective exploration and defiance of social conventions. Individualist anarchist philosophy attracted “amongst artists, intellectuals and the well-read, urban middle classes in general.”^[22] As such **Murray Bookchin** describes a lot of individualist anarchism as people who “expressed their opposition in uniquely personal forms, especially in fiery tracts, outrageous behavior, and aberrant lifestyles in the cultural ghettos of fin de siècle New York, Paris, and London. As a credo, individualist anarchism remained largely a **bohemian** lifestyle, most conspicuous in its demands for sexual freedom ('free love') and enamored of innovations in art, behavior, and clothing.”^[27] In this way **free love**^{[28][29]} currents and other radical lifestyles such as **naturism**^{[29][30]} had popularity among individualist anarchists.

For Catalan historian **Xavier Diez**, individualist anarchism “under its iconoclastic, antiintellectual, antitheist run, which goes against all sacralized ideas or values it entailed, a philosophy of life which could be considered a reaction against the sacred gods of capitalist society. Against the idea of **nation**, it opposed its **internationalism**. Against the exaltation of authority embodied in the **military** institution, it opposed its **antimilitarism**. Against the concept of **industrial civilization**, it opposed its **naturist vision**.”^[31]

In regards to economic questions, there are diverse positions. There are adherents to **mutualism** (Proudhon, **Émile Armand**, early **Benjamin Tucker**), **egoistic** disrespect for “ghosts” such as private property and markets (Stirner, **John Henry Mackay**, **Lev Chernyi**, later Tucker), and adherents to **anarcho-communism** (**Albert Libertad**, **illegalism**, **Renzo Novatore**).^[32] Anarchist historian **George Woodcock** finds a tendency in individualist anarchism of a “distrust (of) all co-operation beyond the barest minimum for an ascetic life”.^[33]

On the issue of violence opinions have gone from a violentist point of view mainly exemplified by **illegalism** and **insurrectionary anarchism** to one that can be called **anarcho-pacifist**. In the particular case of Spanish in-

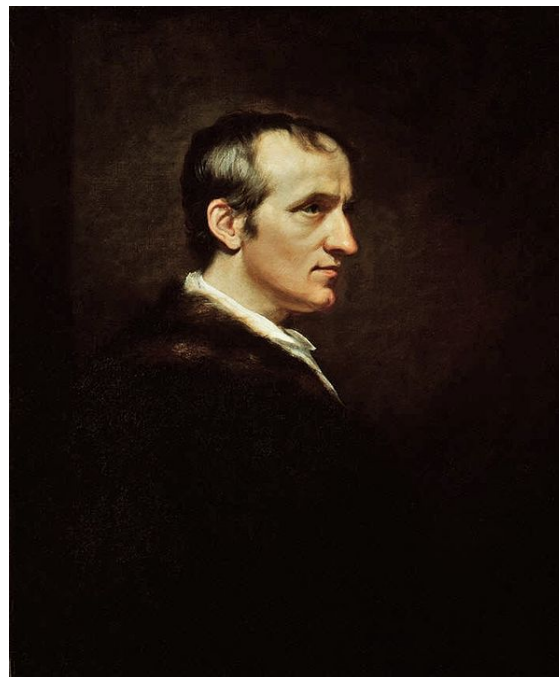
dividualist anarchist **Miguel Gimenez Igualada**, he went from illegalist practice in his youth^[34] towards a pacifist position later in his life.^[35]

1.5.2 Early influences

William Godwin

Main article: **William Godwin**

William Godwin can be considered an individualist

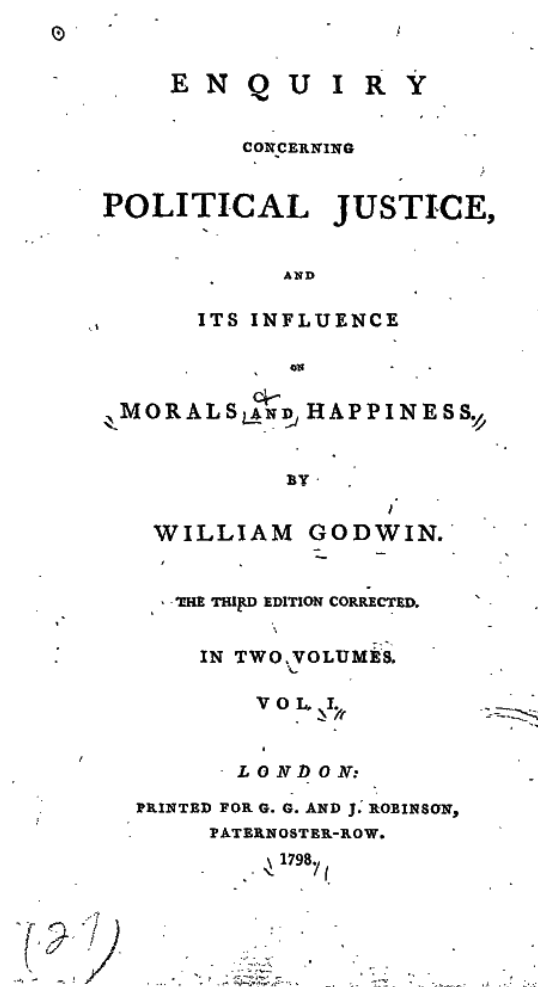


James Northcote, William Godwin, oil on canvas, 1802, the National Portrait Gallery, William Godwin, a radical liberal and utilitarian was one of the first to espouse what became known as individualist anarchism.

anarchist^[36] and philosophical anarchist who was influenced by the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment,^[37] and developed what many consider the first expression of **modern anarchist thought**.^[4] Godwin was, according to **Peter Kropotkin**, “the first to formulate the political and economical conceptions of anarchism, even though he did not give that name to the ideas developed in his work.”^{[38][39]} Godwin advocated extreme individualism, proposing that all cooperation in labor be eliminated.^[40] Godwin was a utilitarian who believed that all individuals are not of equal value, with some of us “of more worth and importance’ than others depending on our utility in bringing about social good. Therefore he does not believe in equal rights, but the person’s life that should be favored that is most conducive to the general good.”^[41] Godwin opposed government because it infringes on the individual’s right to “private judgement” to determine which actions most maximize utility, but also makes a critique of all authority over the individual’s judgement. This aspect

of Godwin's philosophy, minus the utilitarianism, was developed into a more extreme form later by Stirner.^[42]

Godwin took individualism to the radical extent of opposing individuals performing together in orchestras, writing in *Political Justice* that "everything understood by the term co-operation is in some sense an evil."^[40] The only apparent exception to this opposition to cooperation is the spontaneous association that may arise when a society is threatened by violent force. One reason he opposed cooperation is he believed it to interfere with an individual's ability to be benevolent for the greater good. Godwin opposes the idea of government, but wrote that a *minimal state* as a present "necessary evil"^[43] that would become increasingly irrelevant and powerless by the gradual spread of knowledge.^[44] He expressly opposed *democracy*, fearing oppression of the individual by the majority, though he believed it to be preferable to dictatorship.



Title page from the third edition of *Political Justice*

Godwin supported individual ownership of property, defining it as "the empire to which every man is entitled over the produce of his own industry."^[43] However, he also advocated that individuals give to each other their surplus property on the occasion that others have a

need for it, without involving trade (e.g. *gift economy*). Thus, while people have the right to private property, they *should* give it away as enlightened *altruists*. This was to be based on *utilitarian* principles; he said: "Every man has a right to that, the exclusive possession of which being awarded to him, a greater sum of benefit or pleasure will result than could have arisen from its being otherwise appropriated."^[43] However, benevolence was not to be enforced, being a matter of free individual "private judgement." He did not advocate a *community of goods* or assert collective ownership as is embraced in *communism*, but his belief that individuals ought to share with those in need was influential on the later development of *anarchist communism*.

Godwin's political views were diverse and do not perfectly agree with any of the ideologies that claim his influence; writers of the *Socialist Standard*, organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, consider Godwin both an individualist and a communist;^[44] Murray Rothbard did not regard Godwin as being in the individualist camp at all, referring to him as the "founder of *communist anarchism*";^[45] and historian Albert Weisbord considers him an individualist anarchist without reservation.^[46] Some writers see a conflict between Godwin's advocacy of "private judgement" and utilitarianism, as he says that ethics requires that individuals give their surplus property to each other resulting in an egalitarian society, but, at the same time, he insists that all things be left to individual choice.^[44] Many of Godwin's views changed over time, as noted by Kropotkin.

William Godwin's influenced "the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of this commune was Josiah Warren (1798–1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist. After New Harmony failed Warren shifted his ideological loyalties from socialism to anarchism (which was no great leap, given that Owen's socialism had been predicated on Godwin's anarchism)."^[47]

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon

Main article: *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) was the first philosopher to label himself an "anarchist."^[48] Some consider Proudhon to be an individualist anarchist,^{[49][50][51]} while others regard him to be a *social anarchist*.^{[52][53]} Some commentators do not identify Proudhon as an individualist anarchist due to his preference for association in large industries, rather than individual control.^[54] Nevertheless, he was influential among some of the American individualists; in the 1840s and 1850s, Charles A. Dana,^[55] and William B. Greene introduced Proudhon's works to the United States. Greene adapted Proudhon's



Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the first self-identified anarchist.

mutualism to American conditions and introduced it to Benjamin R. Tucker.^[56]

Proudhon opposed government privilege that protects capitalist, banking and land interests, and the accumulation or acquisition of property (and any form of coercion that led to it) which he believed hampers competition and keeps wealth in the hands of the few. Proudhon favoured a right of individuals to retain the product of their labour as their own property, but believed that any property beyond that which an individual produced and could possess was illegitimate. Thus, he saw private property as both essential to liberty and a road to tyranny, the former when it resulted from labour and was required for labour and the latter when it resulted in exploitation (profit, interest, rent, tax). He generally called the former “possession” and the latter “property.” For large-scale industry, he supported workers associations to replace wage labour and opposed the ownership of land.

Proudhon maintained that those who labour should retain the entirety of what they produce, and that monopolies on

credit and land are the forces that prohibit such. He advocated an economic system that included private property as possession and exchange market but without profit, which he called **mutualism**. It is Proudhon’s philosophy that was explicitly rejected by Joseph Dejacque in the inception of **anarchist-communism**, with the latter asserting directly to Proudhon in a letter that “it is not the product of his or her labour that the worker has a right to, but to the satisfaction of his or her needs, whatever may be their nature.” An individualist rather than **anarchist communist**,^{[49][50][51]} Proudhon said that “communism ... is the very denial of society in its foundation ...”^[57] and famously declared that “**property is theft!**” in reference to his rejection of ownership rights to land being granted to a person who is not using that land.

After Dejacque and others split from Proudhon due to the latter’s support of individual property and an exchange economy, the relationship between the individualists, who continued in relative alignment with the philosophy of Proudhon, and the anarcho-communists was characterised by various degrees of antagonism and harmony. For example, individualists like Tucker on the one hand translated and reprinted the works of **collectivists** like Mikhail Bakunin, while on the other hand rejected the economic aspects of collectivism and communism as incompatible with anarchist ideals.

Mutualism Main article: **Mutualism (economic theory)**

Mutualism is an **anarchist school of thought** which can be traced to the writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who envisioned a society where each person might possess a **means of production**, either individually or collectively, with trade representing equivalent amounts of labor in the **free market**.^[58] Integral to the scheme was the establishment of a mutual-credit bank which would lend to producers at a minimal interest rate only high enough to cover the costs of administration.^[59] Mutualism is based on a **labor theory of value** which holds that when labour or its product is sold, in exchange, it ought to receive goods or services embodying “the amount of labor necessary to produce an article of exactly similar and equal utility”.^[60] Some mutualists believe that if the state did not intervene, as a result of increased competition in the marketplace, individuals would receive no more income than that in proportion to the amount of labor they exert.^[61] Mutualists oppose the idea of individuals receiving an income through loans, investments, and rent, as they believe these individuals are not labouring. Some of them argue that if state intervention ceased, these types of incomes would disappear due to increased competition in capital.^[62] Though Proudhon opposed this type of income, he expressed: “... I never meant to ... forbid or suppress, by sovereign decree, ground rent and interest on capital. I believe that all these forms of human activity should remain free and optional for all.”^[63]

QU'EST-CE QUE LA PROPRIÉTÉ?

RECHERCHES SUR LE PRINCIPE
DU DROIT ET DU GOUVERNEMENT,

P.-J. PROUDHON.

Adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas esto.
Contre l'ennemi, la revendication est éternelle.
LOI DES DOIZ TABLES.

PREMIER MÉMOIRE.

PARIS,
A LA LIBRAIRIE DE PRÉVOT,
RUE BOURBON-VILLENEUVE, 61.
1841.

What is Property? Or, an Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government by Pierre Joseph Proudhon by *Pierre Joseph Proudhon*

Insofar as they ensure the workers right to the full product of their labor, mutualists support **markets** and **private property** in the product of labor. However, they argue for conditional titles to land, whose private ownership is legitimate only so long as it remains in use or occupation (which Proudhon called “possession.”)^[64] Proudhon’s Mutualism supports **labor-owned cooperative firms** and associations^[65] for “we need not hesitate, for we have no choice. . . it is necessary to form an ASSOCIATION among workers . . . because without that, they would remain related as subordinates and superiors, and there would ensue two . . . castes of masters and wage-workers, which is repugnant to a free and democratic society” and so “it becomes necessary for the workers to form themselves into democratic societies, with equal conditions for all members, on pain of a relapse into feudalism.”^[66] As for capital goods (man-made, non-land, “**means of production**”), mutualist opinion differs on whether these should be commonly managed public assets or private property.

Mutualists, following Proudhon, originally considered themselves to be libertarian socialists. However, “some mutualists have abandoned the labor theory of value, and prefer to avoid the term “socialist.” But they still retain some cultural attitudes, for the most part, that set them

off from the **libertarian right**.”^[67] Mutualists have distinguished themselves from **state socialism**, and don't advocate social control over the means of production. Benjamin Tucker said of Proudhon, that “though opposed to socializing the ownership of capital, **Proudhon** aimed nevertheless to socialize its effects by making its use beneficial to all instead of a means of impoverishing the many to enrich the few ... by subjecting capital to the natural law of competition, thus bringing the price of its own use down to cost.”^[3]

Max Stirner

Main article: **Max Stirner**

Johann Kaspar Schmidt (October 25, 1806 – June 26,



Max Stirner. Portrait by Friedrich Engels.

1856), better known as Max Stirner (the *nom de plume* he adopted from a schoolyard nickname he had acquired as a child because of his high brow, in **German** 'Stirn'), was a **German philosopher**, who ranks as one of the literary fathers of **nihilism**, **existentialism**, **post-modernism** and **anarchism**, especially of individualist anarchism. Stirner’s main work is *The Ego and Its Own*, also known as *The Ego and His Own* (*Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* in German, which translates literally as *The Only One [individual] and his Property*). This work was first published in 1844 in **Leipzig**, and has since appeared in numerous editions and translations.

Egoism Main articles: **Egoist anarchism** and **Philosophy of Max Stirner**

See also: **Ethical egoism** and **Moral nihilism**

Max Stirner's philosophy, sometimes called "egoism," is a form of individualist anarchism.^[68] Max Stirner was a Hegelian philosopher whose "name appears with familiar regularity in historically oriented surveys of anarchist thought as one of the earliest and best-known exponents of individualist anarchism."^[5] In 1844, his *The Ego and Its Own* (*Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* which may literally be translated as *The Unique Individual and His Property*)^[69] was published, which is considered to be "a founding text in the tradition of individualist anarchism."^[5] Stirner does not recommend that the individual try to eliminate the state but simply that they disregard the state when it conflicts with one's autonomous choices and go along with it when doing so is conducive to one's interests.^[70] He says that the egoist rejects pursuit of devotion to "a great idea, a good cause, a doctrine, a system, a lofty calling," saying that the egoist has no political calling but rather "lives themselves out" without regard to "how well or ill humanity may fare thereby."^[71] Stirner held that the only limitation on the rights of the individual is that individual's power to obtain what he desires.^[72] He proposes that most commonly accepted social institutions – including the notion of State, property as a right, natural rights in general, and the very notion of society – were mere *spooks* in the mind. Stirner wants to "abolish not only the state but also society as an institution responsible for its members."^[73] Stirner advocated self-assertion and foresaw Unions of Egoists, non-systematic associations, which Stirner proposed in as a form of organization in place of the state.^[74] A Union is understood as a relation between egoists which is continually renewed by all parties' support through an act of will.^{[36][75]} Even murder is permissible "if it is right for me,"^[76] though it is claimed by egoist anarchists that egoism will foster genuine and spontaneous union between individuals.^[77]

For Stirner, property simply comes about through might: "Whoever knows how to take, to defend, the thing, to him belongs property." And, "What I have in my power, that is my own. So long as I assert myself as holder, I am the proprietor of the thing." He says, "I do not step shyly back from your property, but look upon it always as my property, in which I respect nothing. Pray do the like with what you call my property!"^[78] His concept of "egoistic property" not only a lack of moral restraint on how one obtains and uses *things*, but includes other people as well.^[79] His embrace of *egoism* is in stark contrast to Godwin's *altruism*. Stirner was opposed to communism, seeing it as a form of authority over the individual.

This position on property is much different from the Native American, natural law, form of individualist anarchism, which defends the inviolability of the private property that has been earned through labor^[80] and trade. However, in 1886 Benjamin Tucker rejected the natural rights philosophy and adopted Stirner's egoism, with several others joining with him. This split the American individualists into fierce debate, "with the natural rights proponents accusing the egoists of destroying libertari-

anism itself."^[81] Other egoists include James L. Walker, Sidney Parker, Dora Marsden and John Beverly Robinson.



The Ego and Its Own by Max Stirner

In Russia, individualist anarchism inspired by Stirner combined with an appreciation for Friedrich Nietzsche attracted a small following of bohemian artists and intellectuals such as Lev Chernyi, as well as a few lone wolves who found self-expression in crime and violence.^[82] They rejected organizing, believing that only unorganized individuals were safe from coercion and domination, believing this kept them true to the ideals of anarchism.^[83] This type of individualist anarchism inspired *anarcha-feminist Emma Goldman*^[82]

Though Stirner's philosophy is individualist, it has influenced some libertarian communists and anarcho-communists. "For Ourselves Council for Generalized Self-Management" discusses Stirner and speaks of a "communist egoism," which is said to be a "synthesis of individualism and collectivism," and says that "greed in its fullest sense is the only possible basis of communist society."^[84] Forms of libertarian communism such as *Situationism* are influenced by Stirner.^[85] Anarcho-communist Emma Goldman was influenced by both Stirner and Peter Kropotkin and blended their philosophies together in her own, as shown in books of hers such as *Anarchism And Other Essays*.^[86]

Early American individualist anarchism

Josiah Warren Main article: [Josiah Warren](#)
 Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American



Josiah Warren

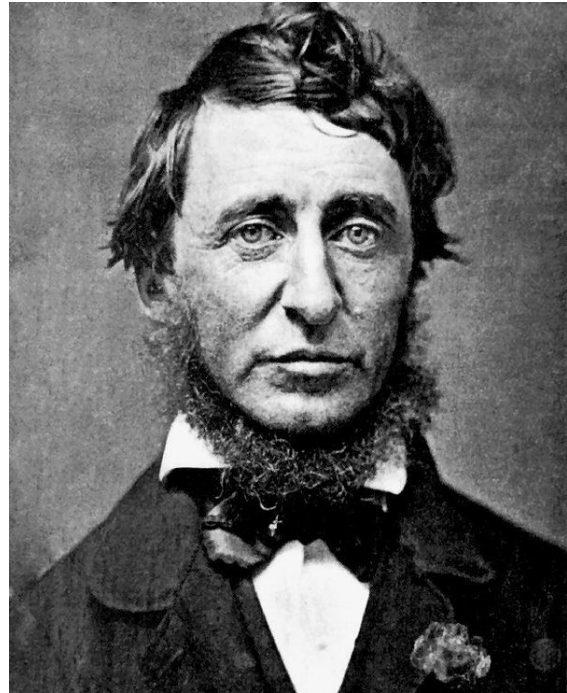
anarchist,^[87] and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833, *The Peaceful Revolutionist*, was the first anarchist periodical published,^[88] an enterprise for which he built his own printing press, cast his own type, and made his own printing plates.^[88]

Warren was a follower of [Robert Owen](#) and joined Owen's community at [New Harmony, Indiana](#). Josiah Warren termed the phrase "[Cost the limit of price](#)," with "cost" here referring not to monetary price paid but the labor one exerted to produce an item.^[89] Therefore, "[h]e proposed a system to pay people with certificates indicating how many hours of work they did. They could exchange the notes at local time stores for goods that took the same amount of time to produce."^[87] He put his theories to the test by establishing an experimental "labor for labor store" called the [Cincinnati Time Store](#) where trade was facilitated by notes backed by a promise to perform labor. The store proved successful and operated for three years after which it was closed so that Warren could pursue establishing colonies based on [mutualism](#). These included "[Utopia](#)" and "[Modern Times](#)." Warren said that [Stephen Pearl Andrews'](#) *The Science of Society*, published in 1852, was the most lucid and complete exposition of Warren's own theories.^[90] Catalan historian Xavier Diez report that the [intentional communal](#) experiments pioneered by Warren were influential in [European individualist anarchists](#) of the late 19th and early 20th centuries

such as [Émile Armand](#) and the [intentional communities](#) started by them.^[31]

Henry David Thoreau Main article: [Henry David Thoreau](#)

Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) was an important



Henry David Thoreau

early influence in individualist anarchist thought in the United States and Europe. Thoreau was an American author, poet, naturalist, tax resister, [development critic](#), surveyor, historian, philosopher, and leading [transcendentalist](#). He is best known for his book *Walden*, a reflection upon [simple living](#) in natural surroundings, and his essay, *Civil Disobedience*, an argument for individual resistance to civil government in moral opposition to an unjust state. His thought is an early influence on [green anarchism](#) but with an emphasis on the individual experience of the natural world influencing later [naturist](#) currents,^[6] [simple living](#) as a rejection of a [materialist](#) lifestyle^[6] and [self-sufficiency](#) were Thoreau's goals, and the whole project was inspired by transcendentalist philosophy. "Many have seen in Thoreau one of the precursors of [ecologism](#) and [anarcho-primitivism](#) represented today in [John Zerzan](#). For [George Woodcock](#) this attitude can be also motivated by certain idea of resistance to progress and of rejection of the growing materialism which is the nature of American society in the mid 19th century."^[30]

The essay *Civil Disobedience* (*Resistance to Civil Government*) was first published in 1849. It argues that people should not permit governments to overrule or atrophy their consciences, and that people have a duty to avoid allowing such [acquiescence](#) to enable the govern-

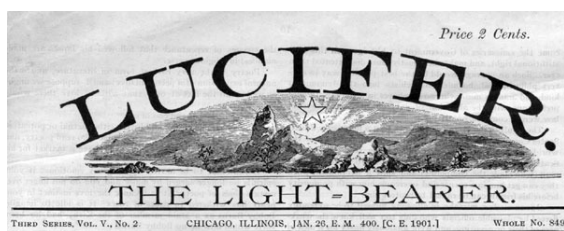
ment to make them the agents of injustice. Thoreau was motivated in part by his disgust with slavery and the Mexican–American War. The essay later influenced Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., Martin Buber and Leo Tolstoy through its advocacy of nonviolent resistance.^[91] It is also the main precedent for anarcho-pacifism.^[91] The American version of individualist anarchism has a strong emphasis on the non-aggression principle and individual sovereignty.^[92] Some individualist anarchists, such as Thoreau,^{[93][94]} do not speak of economics but simply the right of “disunion” from the state, and foresee the gradual elimination of the state through social evolution.

1.5.3 Developments and expansion

Free love, anarcho-feminism and LGBT issues

Main articles: Anarchism and issues related to love and sex, Anarcho-feminism, and Queer anarchism

An important current within individualist anarchism is



Lucifer the Lightbearer, an influential American free love journal

free love.^[28] Free love advocates sometimes traced their roots back to Josiah Warren and to experimental communities, and viewed sexual freedom as a clear, direct expression of an individual’s self-ownership. Free love particularly stressed women’s rights since most sexual laws, such as those governing marriage and use of birth control, discriminated against women.^[28] The most important American free love journal was *Lucifer the Light-bearer* (1883–1907) edited by Moses Harman and Lois Waisbrooker^[95] but also there existed Ezra Heywood and Angela Heywood’s *The Word* (1872–1890, 1892–1893).^[28] Also M. E. Lazarus was an important American individualist anarchist who promoted free love.^[28] Later John William Lloyd, a collaborator of Benjamin Tucker’s periodical *Liberty*, published in 1931 a sex manual that he called *The Karezza Method: Or Magnetation, the Art of Connubial Love*.^[96]

In Europe, the main propagandist of free love within individualist anarchism was Émile Armand.^[97] He proposed the concept of *la camaraderie amoureuse* to speak of free love as the possibility of voluntary sexual encounter between consenting adults. He was also a consistent proponent of polyamory.^[97] In France, there was also feminist activity inside individualist anarchism as promoted by

individualist feminists Marie Kùge, Anna Mahé, Rirette Maitrejean, and Sophia Zaïkovska.^[98]

The Brazilian individualist anarchist Maria Lacerda de Moura lectured on topics such as education, women’s rights, free love, and antimilitarism. Her writings and essays garnered her attention not only in Brazil, but also in Argentina and Uruguay.^[99] She also wrote for the Spanish individualist anarchist magazine *Al Margen* alongside Miguel Gimenez Igualada^[100]

In Germany, the Stirnerists Adolf Brand and John Henry Mackay were pioneering campaigners for the acceptance of male bisexuality and homosexuality.

Freethought

Main article: Freethought

Freethought as a philosophical position and as activism was important in both North American and European individualist anarchism.

In the United States, “freethought was a basically anti-Christian, anti-clerical movement, whose purpose was to make the individual politically and spiritually free to decide for himself on religious matters. A number of contributors to *Liberty* were prominent figures in both freethought and anarchism. The individualist anarchist George MacDonald was a co-editor of *Freethought* and, for a time, *The Truth Seeker*. E.C. Walker was co-editor of the excellent free-thought / free love journal *Lucifer, the Light-Bearer*.”^[101] “Many of the anarchists were ardent freethinkers; reprints from freethought papers such as *Lucifer, the Light-Bearer*, *Freethought* and *The Truth Seeker* appeared in *Liberty* ... The church was viewed as a common ally of the state and as a repressive force in and of itself.”^[101]

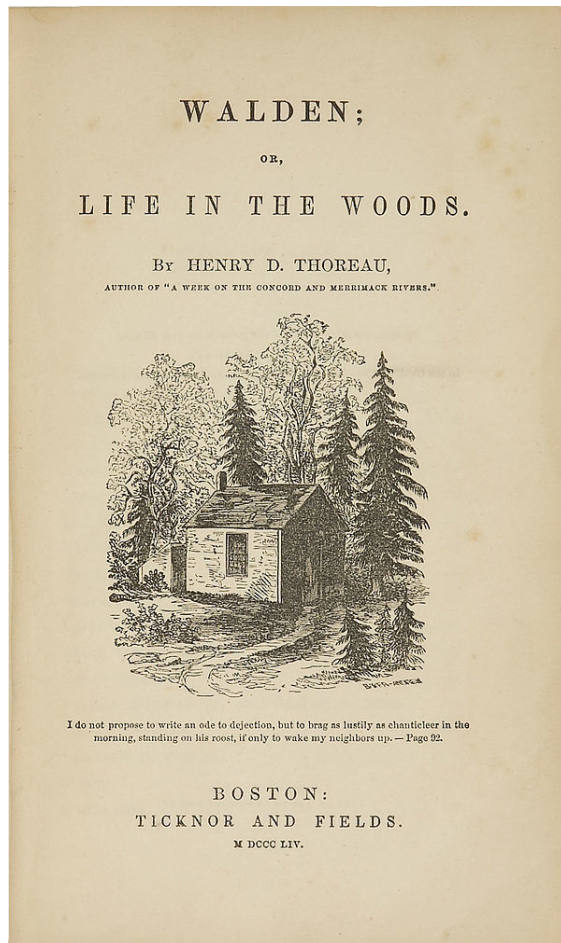
In Europe a similar development occurred in French and Spanish individualist anarchist circles. “Anticlericalism, just as in the rest of the libertarian movement, is another of the frequent elements which will gain relevance related to the measure in which the (French) Republic begins to have conflicts with the church ... Anti-clerical discourse, frequently called for by the french individualist André Lorulot, will have its impacts in *Estudios* (a Spanish individualist anarchist publication). There will be an attack on institutionalized religion for the responsibility that it had in the past on negative developments, for its irrationality which makes it a counterpoint of philosophical and scientific progress. There will be a criticism of proselitism and ideological manipulation which happens on both believers and agnostics.”^[102] These tendencies will continue in French individualist anarchism in the work and activism of Charles-Auguste Bontemps and others. In the Spanish individualist anarchist magazine *Ética* and *Iniciales* “there is a strong interest in publishing scientific news, usually linked to a certain atheist and anti-theist ob-

session, philosophy which will also work for pointing out the incompatibility between science and religion, faith and reason. In this way there will be a lot of talk on Darwin's theories or on the negation of the existence of the soul.”.^[103]

Anarcho-naturism

Main articles: **Naturism** and **anarcho-naturism**

Another important current, especially within French



Walden by Henry David Thoreau. Influential early eco-anarchist work

and Spanish^{[30][104]} individualist anarchist groups was **naturism**.^[105] Naturism promoted an ecological worldview, small **ecovillages**, and most prominently **nudism** as a way to avoid the artificiality of the industrial mass society of modernity. Naturist individualist anarchists saw the individual in his biological, physical and psychological aspects and avoided, and tried to eliminate, social determinations.^[30] An early influence in this vein was Henry David Thoreau and his famous book *Walden*.^[106] Important promoters of this were Henri Zisly and Emile Gravelle who collaborated in *La Nouvelle Humanité* followed by *Le Naturien*, *Le Sauvage*, *L'Ordre Naturel*, & *La Vie Naturelle*.^{[107][108]}

This relationship between anarchism and naturism was quite important at the end of the 1920s in Spain.^[109] “The linking role played by the ‘Sol y Vida’ group was very important. The goal of this group was to take trips and enjoy the open air. The Naturist athenaeum, ‘Eclético’, in Barcelona, was the base from which the activities of the group were launched. First *Etica* and then *Iniciales*, which began in 1929, were the publications of the group, which lasted until the **Spanish Civil War**. We must be aware that the naturist ideas expressed in them matched the desires that the libertarian youth had of breaking up with the conventions of the bourgeoisie of the time. That is what a young worker explained in a letter to ‘Iniciales’ He writes it under the odd pseudonym of ‘silvestre del campo’, (wild man in the country). “I find great pleasure in being naked in the woods, bathed in light and air, two natural elements we cannot do without. By shunning the humble garment of an exploited person, (garments which, in my opinion, are the result of all the laws devised to make our lives bitter), we feel there no others left but just the natural laws. Clothes mean slavery for some and tyranny for others. Only the naked man who rebels against all norms, stands for anarchism, devoid of the prejudices of outfit imposed by our money-oriented society.”.^[109] “The relation between Anarchism and Naturism gives way to the Naturist Federation, in July 1928, and to the IV Spanish Naturist Congress, in September 1929, both supported by the Libertarian Movement. However, in the short term, the Naturist and Libertarian movements grew apart in their conceptions of everyday life. The Naturist movement felt closer to the Libertarian individualism of some French theoreticians such as Henri Ner (real name of **Han Ryner**) than to the revolutionary goals proposed by some Anarchist organisations such as the FAI, (**Federación Anarquista Ibérica**)”.^[109]

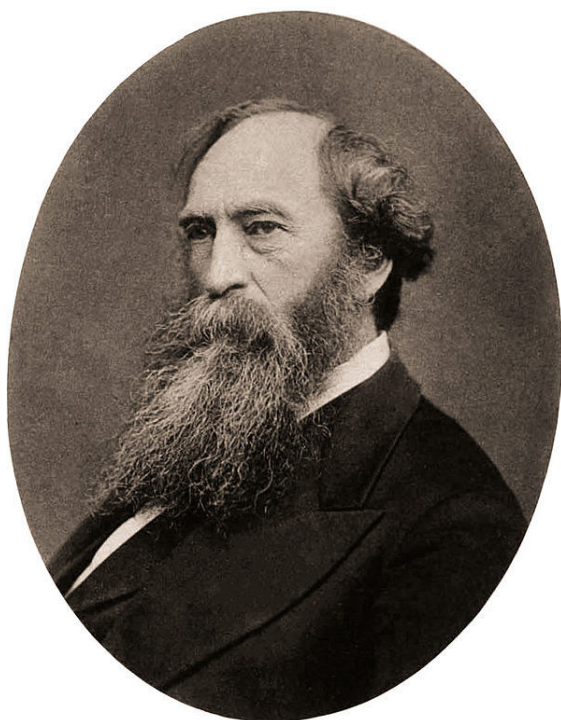
Individualist anarchism and Friedrich Nietzsche

See also: **Anarchism and Friedrich Nietzsche § Individualist anarchism**

The thought of German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche has been influential in individualist anarchism, specifically in thinkers such as France’s Émile Armand,^[110] the Italian Renzo Novatore,^[111] and the Colombian Biofilo Panclasta. Robert C. Holub, author of “Nietzsche: Socialist, Anarchist, Feminist posits that “translations of Nietzsche’s writings in the United States very likely appeared first in *Liberty*, the anarchist journal edited by Benjamin Tucker^[112]”.

Anglo-American individualist anarchism

See also: **Anarchism in the United States** and **Individualist anarchism in the United States**



Stephen Pearl Andrews

American mutualism and individualist utopianism

For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster “It is apparent ... that Proudhonian Anarchism was to be found in the United States at least as early as 1848 and that it was not conscious of its affinity to the Individualist Anarchism of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews ... William B. Greene presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form.”^[113] William Batchelder Greene (1819–1878) is best known for the works *Mutual Banking* (1850), which proposed an interest-free banking system, and *Transcendentalism*, a critique of the New England philosophical school. He saw mutualism as the synthesis of “liberty and order.”^[113] His “associationism ... is checked by individualism ... “Mind your own business,” “Judge not that ye be not judged.” Over matters which are purely personal, as for example, moral conduct, the individual is sovereign, as well as over that which he himself produces. For this reason he demands “mutuality” in marriage – the equal right of a woman to her own personal freedom and property”^[113] and feminist and spiritualist tendencies.”^[114]

Contemporary American anarchist Hakim Bey reports that “Steven Pearl Andrews ... was not a fourierist (see Charles Fourier), but he lived through the brief craze for phalansteries in America & adopted a lot of fourierist principles & practices ... a maker of worlds out of words. He syncretized Abolitionism, Free Love, spiritual universalism, (Josiah) Warren, & (Charles) Fourier into a grand utopian scheme he called the Universal Pantarchy ... He was instrumental in founding several “intentional communities,” including the “Brownstone Utopia” on 14th St.

in New York, & “Modern Times” in Brentwood, Long Island. The latter became as famous as the best-known fourierist communes (Brook Farm in Massachusetts & the North American Phalanx in New Jersey) – in fact, Modern Times became downright notorious (for “Free Love”) & finally foundered under a wave of scandalous publicity. Andrews (& Victoria Woodhull) were members of the infamous Section 12 of the 1st International, expelled by Marx for its anarchist, feminist, & spiritualist tendencies.”^[114]



Lysander Spooner

The “Boston Anarchists” Another form of individualist anarchism was found in the United States, as advocated by the “Boston anarchists.”^[82] By default, American individualists had no difficulty accepting the concepts that “one man employ another” or that “he direct him,” in his labor but rather demanded that “all natural opportunities requisite to the production of wealth be accessible to all on equal terms and that monopolies arising from special privileges created by law be abolished.”^[115]

They believed state monopoly capitalism (defined as a state-sponsored monopoly)^[116] prevented labor from being fully rewarded. Voltairine de Cleyre, summed up the philosophy by saying that the anarchist individualists “are firm in the idea that the system of employer and employed, buying and selling, banking, and all the other essential institutions of Commercialism, centred upon private property, are in themselves good, and are rendered vicious merely by the interference of the State.”^[117]

Even among the 19th-century American individualists, there was not a monolithic doctrine, as they disagreed amongst each other on various issues including intellectual property rights and possession versus property in land.^{[118][119][120]} A major schism occurred later in the 19th century when Tucker and some others abandoned their traditional support of natural rights – as espoused by Lysander Spooner- and converted to an “egoism” modeled upon Stirner’s philosophy.^[119] Lysander Spooner besides his individualist anarchist activism was also an important anti-slavery activist and became a member of the First International.^[121]

Some “Boston anarchists”, including Benjamin Tucker, identified themselves as “socialists”, which in the 19th century was often used in the sense of a commitment to improving conditions of the working class (i.e. “the labor problem”).^[122] The “Boston Anarchists” such as Tucker and his followers are still considered socialists by anarchists and other socialists to this day due to their opposition to usury.^[123] They do so because as the modern economist Jim Stanford points out there are many different kinds of competitive markets such as market socialism and capitalism is only one type of a market economy.^[124]

By around the start of the 20th century, the heyday of individualist anarchism had passed,^[125]

American individualist anarchism and the labor movement George Woodcock reports that the American individualist anarchists Lysander Spooner and William B. Greene had been members of the socialist First International^[126]

Two individualist anarchists who wrote in Benjamin Tucker’s *Liberty* were also important labor organizers of the time. Joseph Labadie (April 18, 1850 – October 7, 1933) was an American labor organizer, individualist anarchist, social activist, printer, publisher, essayist, and poet. In 1883 Labadie embraced a non-violent version of individualist anarchism. Without the oppression of the state, Labadie believed, humans would choose to harmonize with “the great natural laws ... without robbing [their] fellows through interest, profit, rent and taxes.” However, he supported community cooperation, as he supported community control of water utilities, streets, and railroads.^[127] Although he did not support the militant anarchism of the Haymarket anarchists, he fought for the clemency of the accused because he did not believe they were the perpetrators. In 1888, Labadie organized the Michigan Federation of Labor, became its first president, and forged an alliance with Samuel Gompers.

A colleague of Labadie’s at *Liberty*, Dyer Lum was another important individualist anarchist labor activist and poet of the era.^[128] A leading anarcho-syndicalist and a prominent left-wing intellectual of the 1880s,^[129] he is remembered as the lover and mentor of early anarcho-feminist Voltairine de Cleyre.^[130] Lum was a



Dyer Lum

prolific writer who wrote a number of key anarchist texts, and contributed to publications including *Mother Earth*, *Twentieth Century*, and, *The Alarm* (the journal of the International Working People’s Association) and *The Open Court* among others. Lum’s political philosophy was a fusion of individualist anarchist economics – “a radicalized form of laissez-faire economics” inspired by the Boston anarchists – with radical labor organization similar to that of the Chicago anarchists of the time.^[131] Herbert Spencer and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon influenced Lum strongly in his individualist tendency.^[131] He developed a “mutualist” theory of unions and as such was active within the Knights of Labor and later promoted anti-political strategies in the American Federation of Labor.^[131] Frustration with abolitionism, spiritualism, and labor reform caused Lum to embrace anarchism and radicalize workers,^[131] as he came to believe that revolution would inevitably involve a violent struggle between the working class and the employing class. Convinced of the necessity of violence to enact social change he volunteered to fight in the American Civil War, hoping thereby to bring about the end of slavery.^[132] Kevin Carson has praised Lum’s fusion of individualist laissez-faire economics with radical labor activism as “creative” and described him as “more significant than any in the Boston group”.^[131]

American egoism Some of the American individualist anarchists later in this era, such as Benjamin Tucker, abandoned natural rights positions and converted to Max Stirner’s Egoist anarchism. Rejecting the idea of moral



Benjamin Tucker

rights, Tucker said that there were only two rights, “the right of might” and “the right of contract.” He also said, after converting to Egoist individualism, “In times past ... it was my habit to talk glibly of the right of man to land. It was a bad habit, and I long ago sloughed it off ... Man’s only right to land is his might over it.”^[133] In adopting Stirnerite egoism (1886), Tucker rejected natural rights which had long been considered the foundation of libertarianism. This rejection galvanized the movement into fierce debates, with the natural rights proponents accusing the egoists of destroying libertarianism itself. So bitter was the conflict that a number of natural rights proponents withdrew from the pages of *Liberty* in protest even though they had hitherto been among its frequent contributors. Thereafter, *Liberty* championed egoism although its general content did not change significantly.”^[134]

“Several periodicals were undoubtedly influenced by *Liberty*’s presentation of egoism. They included: *I* published by C.L. Swartz, edited by W.E. Gordak and J.W. Lloyd (all associates of *Liberty*); *The Ego* and *The Egoist*, both of which were edited by Edward H. Fulton. Among the egoist papers that Tucker followed were the German *Der Eigene*, edited by Adolf Brand, and *The Eagle* and *The Serpent*, issued from London. The latter, the most prominent English-language egoist journal, was published from 1898 to 1900 with the subtitle ‘A Journal of Egoistic Philosophy and Sociology’.”^[135]

American anarchists who adhered to egoism include Benjamin Tucker, John Beverley Robinson, Steven T. Byington, Hutchins Hapgood, James L. Walker and

Victor Yarros and E.H. Fulton.^[135] John Beverley Robinson wrote an essay called “Egoism” in which he states that “Modern egoism, as propounded by Stirner and Nietzsche, and expounded by Ibsen, Shaw and others, is all these; but it is more. It is the realization by the individual that they are an individual; that, as far as they are concerned, they are the only individual.”^[136] James L. Walker published the work *The Philosophy of Egoism* in which he argued that egosim “implies a rethinking of the self-other relationship, nothing less than “a complete revolution in the relations of mankind” that avoids both the “archist” principle that legitimates domination and the “moralist” notion that elevates self-renunciation to a virtue. Walker describes himself as an “egoistic anarchist” who believed in both contract and cooperation as practical principles to guide everyday interactions.”^[137] For Walker “what really defines egoism is not mere self-interest, pleasure, or greed; it is the sovereignty of the individual, the full expression of the subjectivity of the individual ego.”^[138]

Italian anti-organizationalist individualist anarchism was brought to the United States^[139] by Italian born individualists such as Giuseppe Ciancabilla and others who advocated for violent propaganda by the deed there. Anarchist historian George Woodcock reports the incident in which the important Italian social anarchist Errico Malatesta became involved “in a dispute with the individualist anarchists of Paterson, who insisted that anarchism implied no organization at all, and that every man must act solely on his impulses. At last, in one noisy debate, the individual impulse of a certain Ciancabilla directed him to shoot Malatesta, who was badly wounded but obstinately refused to name his assailant.”^[140]

Enrico Arrigoni (pseudonym: Frank Brand) was an Italian American individualist anarchist Lathe operator, house painter, bricklayer, dramatist and political activist influenced by the work of Max Stirner.^{[141][142]} He took the pseudonym “Brand” from a fictional character in one of Henrik Ibsen’s plays.^[142] In the 1910s he started becoming involved in anarchist and anti-war activism around Milan.^[142] From the 1910s until the 1920s he participated in anarchist activities and popular uprisings in various countries including Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, Argentina and Cuba.^[142] He lived from the 1920s onwards in New York City and there he edited the individualist anarchist eclectic journal *Eresia* in 1928. He also wrote for other American anarchist publications such as *L’Adunata dei refrattari*, *Cultura Obrera*, *Controcorrente* and *Intessa Libertaria*.^[142] During the Spanish Civil War, he went to fight with the anarchists but was imprisoned and was helped on his release by Emma Goldman.^{[141][142]} Afterwards Arrigoni became a long-time member of the Libertarian Book Club in New York City.^[142] His written works include *The totalitarian nightmare* (1975), *The lunacy of the Superman* (1977), *Adventures in the country of the monoliths* (1981) and *Freedom: my dream* (1986).^[142]

Anarcho-capitalism Main article: [Anarcho-capitalism](#)

19th century individualist anarchists espoused the labor theory of value. Many believe that the modern movement of anarcho-capitalism is the result of simply removing the labor theory of value from ideas of the 19th-century American individualist anarchists: “Their successors today, such as Murray Rothbard, having abandoned the labor theory of value, describe themselves as anarcho-capitalists.”^[143] As economic theory changed, the popularity of the labor theory of classical economics was superseded by the subjective theory of value of neo-classical economics. Murray Rothbard, a student of Ludwig von Mises, combined the Austrian school economics of his teacher with the absolutist views of human rights and rejection of the state he had absorbed from studying the individualist American anarchists of the 19th century such as Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker.^[144] In the mid-1950s Rothbard wrote an article under a pseudonym, saying that “we are not anarchists ... but not archists either ... Perhaps, then, we could call ourselves by a new name: nonarchist,” concerned with differentiating himself from communist and socialistic economic views of other anarchists (including the individualist anarchists of the 19th century).^[145] There is a strong current within anarchism which does not consider that anarcho-capitalism can be considered a part of the anarchist movement due to the fact that anarchism has historically been an anti-capitalist movement and for definitional reasons which see anarchism incompatible with capitalist forms.^{[146][147][148][149][150][151]}

Agorism Main article: [Agorism](#)

Agorism was developed from anarcho-capitalism in the late 20th century by Samuel Edward Konkin III (a.k.a. SEK3). The goal of agorists is a society in which all “relations between people are voluntary exchanges – a free market.”^[152] Agorists are market anarchists. Most Agorists consider that property rights are natural rights deriving from the primary right of self-ownership. Because of this they are not opposed in principle to collectively held property if individual owners of the property consent to collective ownership by contract or other voluntary mutual agreement. However, Agorists are divided on the question of intellectual property rights.^[8]

Though anarcho-capitalism has been regarded as a form of individualist anarchism,^{[153][154]} some writers deny that it is a form of anarchism,^[155] or that capitalism itself is compatible with anarchism.^[156]

Left-wing market anarchism Main article: [Left-wing market anarchism](#)

Left wing market anarchism, a form of left-libertarianism, individualist anarchism^[157] and libertarian socialism^{[158][159]} is associated with scholars such as Kevin Carson,^{[160][161]} Roderick T. Long,^{[162][163]} Charles Johnson,^[164] Brad Spangler,^[165] Samuel Edward Konkin III,^[166] Sheldon Richman,^{[167][168][169]} Chris Matthew Sciabarra,^[170] and Gary Chartier,^[171] who stress the value of radically free markets, termed *freed markets* to distinguish them from the common conception which these libertarians believe to be riddled with statist and capitalist privileges.^[172] Referred to as left-wing market anarchists^[173] or market-oriented left-libertarians,^[169] proponents of this approach strongly affirm the classical liberal ideas of self-ownership and free markets, while maintaining that, taken to their logical conclusions, these ideas support anti-capitalist,^{[174][175][176]} anti-corporatist, anti-hierarchical, pro-labor positions in economics; anti-imperialism in foreign policy; and thoroughly liberal or radical views regarding such cultural issues as gender, sexuality, and race.

The genealogy of contemporary market-oriented left-libertarianism – sometimes labeled “left-wing market anarchism”^[177] – overlaps to a significant degree with that of Steiner–Vallentyne left-libertarianism as the roots of that tradition are sketched in the book *The Origins of Left-Libertarianism*.^[178] Carson–Long-style left-libertarianism is rooted in 19th-century mutualism and in the work of figures such as Thomas Hodgskin and the individualist anarchists Benjamin Tucker and Lysander Spooner. While, with notable exceptions, market-oriented libertarians after Tucker tended to ally with the political right, relationships between such libertarians and the New Left thrived in the 1960s, laying the groundwork for modern left-wing market anarchism.^[179] Left wing market anarchism identifies with Left-libertarianism (or left-wing libertarianism)^[180] which names several related but distinct approaches to politics, society, culture, and political and social theory, which stress both individual freedom and social justice. Unlike right-libertarians, they believe that neither claiming nor mixing one’s labor with natural resources is enough to generate full private property rights,^{[181][182]} and maintain that natural resources (land, oil, gold, trees) ought to be held in some egalitarian manner, either unowned or owned collectively.^[182] Those left-libertarians who support private property do so under the condition that recompense is offered to the local community.

Post-left anarchy and insurrectionary anarchism

Main articles: [Lifestyle anarchism](#), [Post-left anarchy](#), and [Insurrectionary anarchism](#)

Murray Bookchin has identified post-left anarchy as a form of individualist anarchism in *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* where he identifies “a shift among Euro-American anarchists

away from social anarchism and toward individualist or lifestyle anarchism. Indeed, lifestyle anarchism today is finding its principal expression in spray-can graffiti, post-modernist nihilism, antirationalism, neo-primitivism, anti-technologism, neo-Situationist 'cultural terrorism', mysticism, and a 'practice' of staging Foucauldian 'personal insurrections'.^[183] Post-left anarchist Bob Black in his long critique of Bookchin's philosophy called *Anarchy after leftism* said about post-left anarchy that "It is, unlike Bookchinism, "individualistic" in the sense that if the freedom and happiness of the individual – i.e., each and every really existing person, every Tom, Dick and Murray – is not the measure of the good society, what is?"^[184]

A strong relationship does exist between post-left anarchism and the work of individualist anarchist Max Stirner. Jason McQuinn says that "when I (and other anti-ideological anarchists) criticize ideology, it is always from a specifically critical, anarchist perspective rooted in both the skeptical, individualist-anarchist philosophy of Max Stirner."^[185] Also Bob Black and Feral Faun/Wolff Landstreicher strongly adhere to stirnerist egoist anarchism. Bob Black has humorously suggested the idea of "marxist stirnerism".^[186]

Hakim Bey has said "From Stirner's "Union of Self-Owners" we proceed to Nietzsche's circle of "Free Spirits" and thence to Charles Fourier's "Passional Series", doubling and redoubling ourselves even as the Other multiplies itself in the eros of the group."^[187] Bey also wrote that "The Mackay Society, of which Mark & I are active members, is devoted to the anarchism of Max Stirner, Benj. Tucker & John Henry Mackay ... The Mackay Society, incidentally, represents a little-known current of individualist thought which never cut its ties with revolutionary labor. Dyer Lum, Ezra & Angela Haywood represent this school of thought; Jo Labadie, who wrote for Tucker's *Liberty*, made himself a link between the American "plumb-line" anarchists, the "philosophical" individualists, & the syndicalist or communist branch of the movement; his influence reached the Mackay Society through his son, Laurance. Like the Italian Stirnerites (who influenced us through our late friend Enrico Arigoni) we support all anti-authoritarian currents, despite their apparent contradictions."^[188]

As far as posterior individualist anarchists, Jason McQuinn for some time used the pseudonym Lev Chernyi in honor of the Russian individualist anarchist of the same name while Feral Faun has quoted Italian individualist anarchist Renzo Novatore^[189] and has translated both Novatore.^[190] and the young Italian individualist anarchist Bruno Filippi^[191]

Kevin Carson is a contemporary mutualist economist and author of *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*.^[192] Another important current mutualist is Joe Peacott. Contemporary mutualists are among those involved in the Alliance of the Libertarian Left and in the Voluntary Co-

operation Movement. A recent mutualist collective was the Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade.^[193]

Egoism has had a strong influence on insurrectionary anarchism, as can be seen in the work of Wolff Landstreicher. Feral Faun wrote in 1995 that:

In the game of insurgence – a lived guerilla war game – it is strategically necessary to use identities and roles. Unfortunately, the context of social relationships gives these roles and identities the power to define the individual who attempts to use them. So I, Feral Faun, became ... an anarchist ... a writer ... a Stirner-influenced, post-situationist, anti-civilization theorist ... if not in my own eyes, at least in the eyes of most people who've read my writings.^[194]

European individualist anarchism

Main article: European individualist anarchism

European individualist anarchism proceeded from the roots laid by William Godwin,^[36] Pierre Joseph Proudhon and Max Stirner. Proudhon was an early pioneer of anarchism as well as of the important individualist anarchist current of mutualism.^{[49][50]} Stirner became a central figure of individualist anarchism through the publication of his seminal work *The Ego and Its Own* which is considered to be "a founding text in the tradition of individualist anarchism."^[5] Another early figure was Anselme Bellegarrigue.^[195] IA expanded and diversified through Europe, incorporating influences from North American individualist anarchism.

European individualist anarchists include Albert Libertad, Bellegarrigue, Oscar Wilde, Émile Armand, Lev Chernyi, John Henry Mackay, Han Ryner, Adolf Brand, Miguel Gimenez Igualada, Renzo Novatore, and currently Michel Onfray.^[196] Important currents within it include free love,^[197] anarcho-naturism,^[197] and illegalism.^[198]

France Main article: Individualist anarchism in France

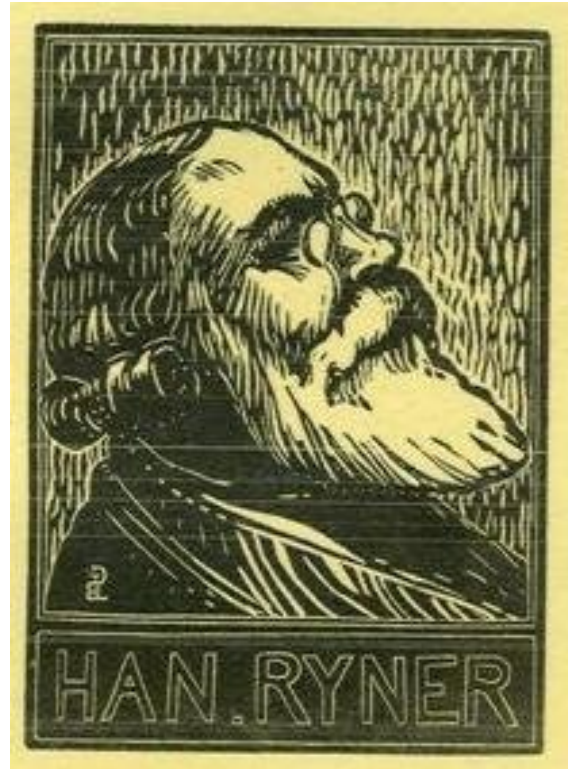
From the legacy of Proudhon and Stirner there emerged a strong tradition of French individualist anarchism. An early important individualist anarchist was Anselme Bellegarrigue. He participated in the French Revolution of 1848, was author and editor of 'Anarchie, Journal de l'Ordre and Au fait ! Au fait ! Interprétation de l'idée démocratique' and wrote the important early Anarchist Manifesto in 1850. Catalan historian of individualist anarchism Xavier Diez reports that during his travels in the United States "he at least contacted (Henry David) Thoreau and, probably (Josiah) Warren."^[199] *Autonomie Individuelle* was an individualist anarchist publication that ran from 1887 to 1888. It was edited by



Émile Armand

Jean-Baptiste Louiche, Charles Schæffer and Georges Deherme.^[200]

Later, this tradition continued with such intellectuals as Albert Libertad, André Lorulot, Émile Armand, Victor Serge, Zo d'Axa and Rirette Maitrejean, who developed theory in the main individualist anarchist journal in France, *L'Anarchie*^[201] in 1905. Outside this journal, Han Ryner wrote *Petit Manuel individualiste* (1903). Later appeared the journal *L'EnDehors* created by Zo d'Axa in 1891.



Han Ryner



Zo d'Axa

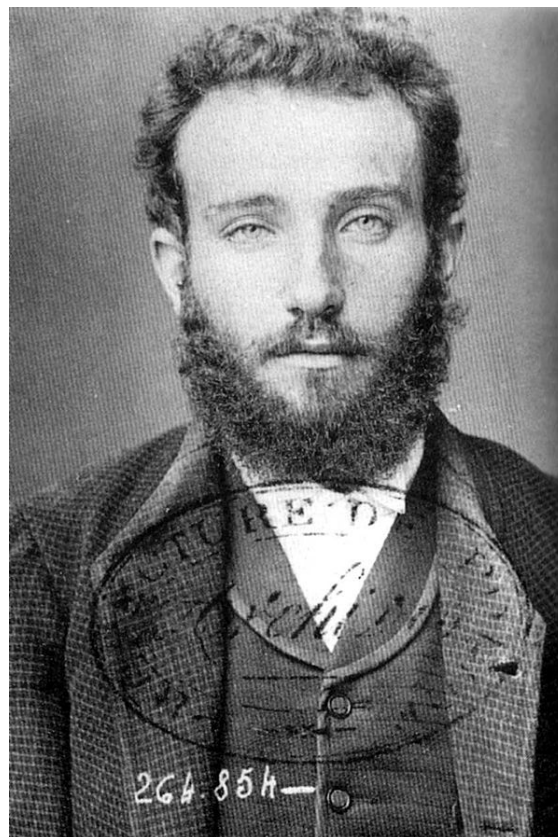
French individualist anarchists exposed a diversity of positions (per example, about violence and non-violence). For example, Émile Armand rejected violence and embraced mutualism while becoming an important propagandist for free love, while Albert Libertad and Zo

d'Axa were influential in violentists circles and championed violent propaganda by the deed while adhering to communitarianism or anarcho-communism^[202] and rejecting work. Han Ryner on the other side conciled anarchism with stoicism. Nevertheless, French individualist circles had a strong sense of personal libertarianism and experimentation. Naturism and free love contents started to have a strong influence in individualist anarchist circles and from there it expanded to the rest of anarchism also appearing in Spanish individualist anarchist groups.^[29] “Along with feverish activity against the social order, (Albert) Libertad was usually also organizing feasts, dances and country excursions, in consequence of his vision of anarchism as the “joy of living” and not as militant sacrifice and death instinct, seeking to reconcile the requirements of the individual (in his need for autonomy) with the need to destroy authoritarian society.”^[203]

Anarchist naturism was promoted by Henri Zisly, Emile Gravelle^[107] and Georges Butaud. Butaud was an individualist “partisan of the *milieux libres*, publisher of “Flambeau” (“an enemy of authority”) in 1901 in Vienna. Most of his energies were devoted to creating anarchist colonies (communautés expérimentales) in which he participated in several.^[204]

“In this sense, the theoretical positions and the vital experiences of french individualism are deeply iconoclastic and scandalous, even within libertarian circles. The call of nudist naturism, the strong defence of birth control methods, the idea of “unions of egoists” with the sole justification of sexual practices, that will try to put in practice, not without difficulties, will establish a way of thought and action, and will result in sympathy within some, and a strong rejection within others.”^[29]

French individualist anarchists grouped behind Émile Armand, published *L'Unique* after World War II. *L'Unique* went from 1945 to 1956 with a total of 110 numbers.^{[205][206]} Gérard de Lacaze-Duthiers was a French writer, art critic, pacifist and anarchist. Lacaze-Duthiers, an art critic for the Symbolist review journal *La Plume*, was influenced by Oscar Wilde, Nietzsche and Max Stirner. His (1906) *L'Ideal Humain de l'Art* helped found the 'Artistocracy' movement – a movement advocating life in the service of art.^[207] His ideal was an anti-elitist aestheticism: “All men should be artists”.^[208] Together with André Colomer and Manuel Devaldes, he founded *L'Action d'Art*, an anarchist literary journal, in 1913.^[209] After World War II he contributed to the journal *L'Unique*.^[210] Within the synthesist anarchist organization, the Fédération Anarchiste, there existed an individualist anarchist tendency alongside anarcho-communist and anarchosindicalist currents.^[211] Individualist anarchists participating inside the Fédération Anarchiste included Charles-Auguste Bontemps, Georges Vincey and André Arru.^[211] The new base principles of the francophone Anarchist Federation were written by the individualist anarchist Charles-Auguste Bontemps and the anarcho-communist Maurice Joyeux which es-



Albert Libertad

tablished an organization with a plurality of tendencies and autonomy of federated groups organized around synthesist principles.^[212] Charles-Auguste Bontemps was a prolific author mainly in the anarchist, freethinking, pacifist and naturist press of the time.^[212] His view on anarchism was based around his concept of “Social Individualism” on which he wrote extensively.^[212] He defended an anarchist perspective which consisted on “a collectivism of things and an individualism of persons.”^[213]

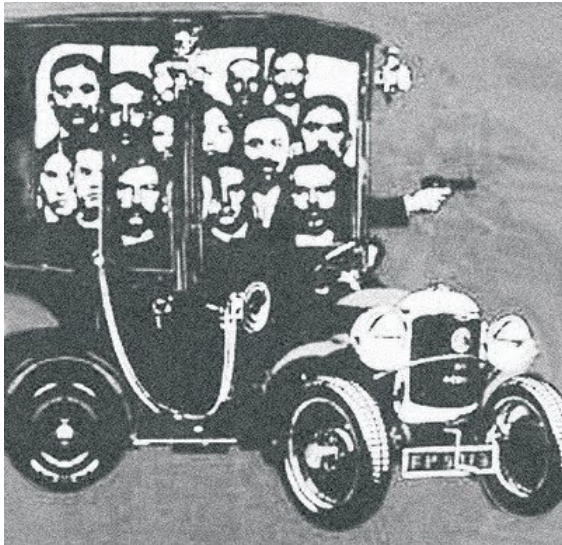
In 2002, an anarchist, Libertad organized a new version of the *L'EnDehors*, collaborating with *Green Anarchy* and including several contributors, such as Lawrence Jarach, Patrick Mignard, Thierry Lodé, Ron Sakolsky, and Thomas Slut. Numerous articles about capitalism, human rights, free love and social fights were published. *The EnDehors* continues now as a website, EnDehors.org.

The prolific contemporary French philosopher Michel Onfray has been writing from an individualist anarchist^{[196][214]} perspective influenced by Nietzsche, French post-structuralists thinkers such as Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze; and Greek classical schools of philosophy such as the Cynics and Cyrenaics. Among the books which best expose Onfray's individualist anarchist perspective include *La sculpture de soi : la morale esthétique* (The sculpture of oneself: aesthetic morality), *La philosophie féroce : exercices anarchistes*, *La puissance d'exister* and *Physiologie de Georges Palante, portrait d'un nietzschéen de gauche* which focuses

on French individualist philosopher **Georges Palante**.

Illegalism Main article: **Illegalism**

Illegalism^[23] is an anarchist philosophy that developed



Caricature of the Bonnot gang

primarily in France, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland during the early 1900s as an outgrowth of Stirner's individualist anarchism.^[198] Illegalists usually did not seek moral basis for their actions, recognizing only the reality of "might" rather than "right"; for the most part, illegal acts were done simply to satisfy personal desires, not for some greater ideal,^[24] although some committed crimes as a form of **propaganda of the deed**.^[23] The illegalists embraced **direct action** and **propaganda of the deed**.^[215]

Influenced by theorist Max Stirner's **egoism** as well as **Proudhon** (his view that **Property is theft!**), **Clément Duval** and **Marius Jacob** proposed the theory of *la reprise individuelle* (Eng: **individual reclamation**) which justified robbery on the rich and personal direct action against exploiters and the system.^[24]

Illegalism first rose to prominence among a generation of Europeans inspired by the unrest of the 1890s, during which **Ravachol**, **Émile Henry**, **Auguste Vaillant**, and **Caserio** committed daring crimes in the name of anarchism,^[216] in what is known as **propaganda of the deed**. France's **Bonnot Gang** was the most famous group to embrace illegalism.

Italy In Italy individualist anarchism had a strong tendency towards **illegalism** and violent propaganda by the deed similar to French individualist anarchism but perhaps more extreme^{[217][218]} which emphasized criticism of organization be it anarchist or of other type.^[219] In this respect we can consider notorious magnicides carried out or attempted by individualists **Giovanni Passannante**, **Sante Caserio**, **Michele Angiolillo**, **Luigi Luccheni**, **Gaetano Bresci** who murdered king **Umberto I**.



Renzo Novatore

Caserio lived in France and coexisted within French illegalism and later assassinated French president **Sadi Carnot**. The theoretical seeds of current **Insurrectionary anarchism** were already laid out at the end of 19th century Italy in a combination of individualist anarchism criticism of permanent groups and organization with a socialist class struggle worldview.^[220] During the rise of fascism this thought also motivated **Gino Lucetti**, **Michele Schirru** and **Angelo Sbardello** in attempting the assassination of **Benito Mussolini**.

During the early 20th century, the intellectual work of individualist anarchist **Renzo Novatore** came to importance; he was influenced by **Stirner**, **Friedrich Nietzsche**, **Georges Palante**, **Oscar Wilde**, **Henrik Ibsen**, **Arthur Schopenhauer** and **Charles Baudelaire**. He collaborated in numerous anarchist journals and participated in **futurism** avant-garde currents. In his thought, he adhered to Stirnerist disrespect for private property, only recognizing property of one's own spirit.^[111] Novatore collaborated in the individualist anarchist journal *Iconoclasta!* alongside the young stirnerist illegalist **Bruno Filippi**^[191]

The individualist philosopher and poet **Renzo Novatore** belonged to the leftist section of the avant-garde movement of **Futurism**^[221] alongside other individualist anarcho-futurists such as **Dante Carnesecchi**, **Leda Rafanelli**, **Auro d'Arcola**, and **Giovanni Governato**.

Also there was Pietro Bruzzi who published the journal *L'Individualista* in the 1920s alongside Ugo Fedeli and Francesco Ghezzi but who fell to fascist forces later.^{[222][223]} Pietro Bruzzi also collaborated with the Italian American individualist anarchist publication *Ere-sia* of New York City^[223] edited by Enrico Arrigoni.

In Italy in 1945, during the Founding Congress of the Italian Anarchist Federation, there was a group of individualist anarchists led by Cesare Zaccaria^[224] who was an important anarchist of the time.^[225] Later, during the IX Congress of the Italian Anarchist Federation in Carrara in 1965, a group decided to split off from this organization and created the *Gruppi di Iniziativa Anarchica*. In the seventies, it was mostly composed of “veteran individualist anarchists with an of pacifism orientation, naturism, etc. ...”^[226]

In the famous Italian insurrectionary anarchist essay written by an anonymous writer, “At Daggers Drawn with the Existent, its Defenders and its False Critics”, there reads “The workers who, during a wildcat strike, carried a banner saying, ‘We are not asking for anything’ understood that the defeat is in the claim itself (‘the claim against the enemy is eternal’). There is no alternative but to take everything. As Stirner said: ‘No matter how much you give them, they will always ask for more, because what they want is no less than the end of every concession’.”^[227] The contemporary imprisoned Italian insurrectionary anarchist philosopher Michele Fabiani writes from an explicit individualist anarchist perspective in such essays as “Critica individualista anarchica alla modernità” (Individualist anarchist critique of modernity)^[228] Horst Fantazzini (March 4, 1939 Altenkessel, Saarland, West Germany–December 24, 2001, Bologna, Italy),^[229] was an Italian-German individualist anarchist^[230] who pursued an illegalist lifestyle and practice until his death in 2001. He gained media notoriety mainly due to his many bank robberies through Italy and other countries.^[229] In 1999 the film *Ormai è fatta!* appeared based on his life.^[231]

Spain While Spain was influenced by American individualist anarchism, it was more closely related to the French currents. Around the start of the 20th century, individualism in Spain gathered force through the efforts of people such as Dorado Montero, Ricardo Mella, Federico Urales, Miguel Gimenez Igualada, Mariano Gallardo, and J. Elizalde who translated French and American individualists.^[29] Important in this respect were also magazines such as *La Idea Libre*, *La revista blanca*, *Ética*, *Iniciales*, *Al margen*, *Estudios* and *Nosotros*. The most influential thinkers there were Max Stirner, Émile Armand and Han Ryner. Just as in France, the spread of Esperanto and anationalism had importance just as naturism and free love currents.^[29] Later, Armand and Ryner themselves started writing in the Spanish individualist press. Armand’s concept of amorous camaraderie had an important role in motivating polyamory as realization of the individual.^[29]

Catalan historian Xavier Diez reports that the Spanish individualist anarchist press was widely read by members of anarcho-communist groups and by members of the anarcho-syndicalist trade union CNT. There were also the cases of prominent individualist anarchists such as Federico Urales and Miguel Gimenez Igualada who were members of the CNT and J. Elizalde who was a founding member and first secretary of the Iberian Anarchist Federation.^[232]

Spanish individualist anarchist Miguel Giménez Igualada wrote the lengthy theory book called *Anarchism* espousing his individualist anarchism.^[233] Between October 1937 and February 1938 he was editor of the individualist anarchist magazine *Nosotros*,^[197] in which many works of Han Ryner and Émile Armand appeared. He also participated in the publishing of another individualist anarchist magazine *Al Margen: Publicación quincenal individualista*.^[234] In his youth he engaged in illegalist activities.^[31] His thought was deeply influenced by Max Stirner, of which he was the main popularizer in Spain through his own writings. He published and wrote the preface^[197] to the fourth edition in Spanish of *The Ego and Its Own* from 1900. He proposed the creation of a *Union of Egoists*, to be a Federation of Individualist Anarchists in Spain, but did not succeed.^[234] In 1956 he published an extensive treatise on Stirner, dedicated to fellow individualist anarchist Émile Armand^[235] Afterwards he traveled and lived in Argentina, Uruguay and Mexico.^[31]

Federico Urales was an important individualist anarchist who edited *La Revista Blanca*.^[31] The individualist anarchism^[31] of Urales was influenced by Auguste Comte and Charles Darwin. He saw science and reason as a defense against blind servitude to authority. He was critical of influential individualist thinkers such as Nietzsche and Stirner for promoting an asocial egoist individualism and instead promoted an individualism with solidarity seen as a way to guarantee social equality and harmony.^[31] He was highly critical of anarcho-syndicalism, which he viewed as plagued by excessive bureaucracy, and thought that it tended towards reformism.^[31] Instead he favored small groups based on ideological alignment.^[31] He supported and participated in the establishment of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) in 1927.^[31]

In 1956, on exile escaping from Franco’s dictatorship Miguel Giménez Igualada published an extensive treatise on Stirner which he dedicated to fellow individualist anarchist Émile Armand^[235] On the subject of individualist anarchist theory, he published *Anarchism* in 1968, during his exile in Mexico from Franco’s dictatorship in Spain.^[236] He was present in the First Congress of the Mexican Anarchist Federation in 1945.^[237]

In 2000, in Spain Ateneo Libertario Ricardo Mella, Ateneo libertario Al Margen, Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular, Ateneo Libertario de Sant Boi, Ateneu Llibertari Poble Sec y Fundació D’Estudis Llibertaris i Anarcosindicalistes republished Émile Armand’s writings on Free Love

and individualist anarchism in a compilation titled *Individualist anarchism and Amorous camaraderie*.^[238] Recently Catalan historian Xavier Diez has dedicated extensive research on Spanish individualist anarchism as can be seen in his books *El anarquismo individualista en España: 1923–1938*^[239] and *Utopia sexual a la premsa anarquista de Catalunya. La revista Ética-Iniciales (1927–1937)* (which deals with free love thought as present in the Spanish individualist anarchist magazine *Iniciales*).^[240]



John Henry Mackay

John Henry Mackay

Germany In Germany, the Scottish-German John Henry McKay became the most important propagandist for individualist anarchist ideas. He fused Stirnerist egoism with the positions of Benjamin Tucker and actually translated Tucker into German. Two semi-fictional writings of his own, *Die Anarchisten* and *Der Freiheitsucher*, contributed to individualist theory through an updating of egoist themes within a consideration of the anarchist movement. English translations of these works arrived in the United Kingdom and in individualist American circles led by Tucker.^[241] McKay is also known as an important European early activist for Gay rights.

Using the pseudonym **Sagitta**, Mackay wrote a series of works for pederastic emancipation, titled *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe* (*Books of the Nameless Love*). This series was conceived in 1905 and completed in 1913 and included the *Fenny Skaller*, a story of a pederast.^[242] Un-

der the same pseudonym he also published fiction, such as *Holland* (1924) and a pederastic novel of the Berlin boy-bars, *Der Puppenjunge* (*The Hustler*) (1926).



Der Eigene stirnerist pioneer Gay activist publication

Adolf Brand (1874–1945) was a German writer, stirnerist anarchist and pioneering campaigner for the acceptance of male bisexuality and homosexuality. Brand published a German homosexual periodical, *Der Eigene* in 1896. This was the first ongoing homosexual publication in the world.^[243] The name was taken from writings of egoist philosopher Max Stirner, who had greatly influenced the young Brand, and refers to Stirner's concept of "self-ownership" of the individual. *Der Eigene* concentrated on cultural and scholarly material, and may have had an average of around 1500 subscribers per issue during its lifetime, although the exact numbers are uncertain. Contributors included Erich Mühsam, Kurt Hiller, John Henry Mackay (under the pseudonym Sagitta) and artists Wilhelm von Gloeden, Fidus and Sascha Schneider. Brand contributed many poems and articles himself. Benjamin Tucker followed this journal from the United States.^[244]

Der Einzige was a German individualist anarchist magazine. It appeared in 1919, as a weekly, then sporadically until 1925 and was edited by cousins Anselm Ruest (pseud. for Ernst Samuel) and Mynona (pseud. for Salomo Friedlaender). Its title was adopted from the book *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (engl. trans. *The Ego and Its Own*) by Max Stirner. Another influence was the thought of German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche.^[245] The publication was connected to the local expressionist artistic current and the transition from it to

wards dada.^[246]



Oscar Wilde, famous anarchist Irish writer of the decadent movement and famous dandy

United Kingdom and Ireland The English enlightenment political theorist William Godwin was an important influence as mentioned before.^[36] The Irish anarchist writer of the Decadent movement Oscar Wilde influenced individualist anarchists such as Renzo Novatore^[247] and gained the admiration of Benjamin Tucker.^[248] In his important essay *The Soul of Man under Socialism* from 1891 Wilde defended socialism as the way to guarantee individualism and so he saw that “With the abolition of private property, then, we shall have true, beautiful, healthy Individualism. Nobody will waste his life in accumulating things, and the symbols for things. One will live. To live is the rarest thing in the world. Most people exist, that is all.”^[249] For anarchist historian George Woodcock “Wilde’s aim in *The Soul of Man under Socialism* is to seek the society most favorable to the artist ... for Wilde art is the supreme end, containing within itself enlightenment and regeneration, to which all else in society must be subordinated ... Wilde represents the anarchist as aesthete.”^[250] Woodcock finds that “The most ambitious contribution to literary anarchism during the 1890s was undoubtedly Oscar Wilde *The Soul of Man under Socialism*” and finds that it is influenced mainly by the thought of William Godwin.^[250]

In the late 19th century in the United Kingdom, there ex-

isted individualist anarchists such as Wordsworth Donisthorpe, Joseph Hiam Levy, Joseph Greevz Fisher, John Badcock, Jr., Albert Tarn, and Henry Albert Seymour^[251] who were close to the United States group around Benjamin Tucker’s magazine *Liberty*. In the mid-1880s Seymour published a journal called *The Anarchist*.^[251] and also later took a special interest in free love as he participated in the journal *The Adult: A Journal for the Advancement of Freedom in Sexual Relationships*.^[251] “*The Serpent*, issued from London ... the most prominent English-language egoist journal, was published from 1898 to 1900 with the subtitle ‘A Journal of Egoistic Philosophy and Sociology’.”^[135] Henry Meulen was another British anarchist, he was notable for his support of free banking.

In the United Kingdom, Herbert Read was influenced highly by egoism as he later approached existentialism (see existentialist anarchism).^[252] Albert Camus devoted a section of *The Rebel* to Stirner. “Although throughout his book Camus is concerned to present “the rebel” as a preferred alternative to “the revolutionary” he nowhere acknowledges that this distinction is taken from the one that Stirner makes between “the revolutionary” and “the insurrectionist”.^[253] Sidney Parker is a British egoist individualist anarchist who wrote articles and edited anarchist journals from 1963 to 1993 such as *Minus One*, *Egoist*, and *Ego*.^[254] Donald Rooum is an English anarchist cartoonist and writer with a long association with Freedom Press. Rooum stated that for his thought “The most influential source is Max Stirner. I am happy to be called a Stirnerite anarchist, provided ‘Stirnerite’ means one who agrees with Stirner’s general drift, not one who agrees with Stirner’s every word.”^[255] *An Anarchist FAQ* reports that “From meeting anarchists in Glasgow during the Second World War, long-time anarchist activist and artist Donald Rooum likewise combined Stirner and anarcho-communism.”^[256]

In the hybrid of post-structuralism and anarchism called post-anarchism the British Saul Newman has written a lot on Stirner and his similarities to post-structuralism. He writes:

Max Stirner’s impact on contemporary political theory is often neglected. However in Stirner’s political thinking there can be found a surprising convergence with poststructuralist theory, particularly with regard to the function of power. Andrew Koch, for instance, sees Stirner as a thinker who transcends the Hegelian tradition he is usually placed in, arguing that his work is a precursor poststructuralist ideas about the foundations of knowledge and truth.^[257]

Newman has published several essays on Stirner. “War on the State: Stirner and Deleuze’s Anarchism”^[257] and “Empiricism, pluralism, and politics in Deleuze

and Stirner”^[258] discusses what he sees are similarities between Stirner’s thought and that of Gilles Deleuze. In “Spectres of Stirner: a Contemporary Critique of Ideology” he discusses the conception of ideology in Stirner.^[259] In “Stirner and Foucault: Toward a Post-Kantian Freedom” similarities between Stirner and Michel Foucault.^[260] Also he wrote “Politics of the ego: Stirner’s critique of liberalism”.^[261]

Russia Individualist anarchism was one of the three categories of anarchism in Russia, along with the more prominent anarchist communism and anarcho-syndicalism.^[262] The ranks of the Russian individualist anarchists were predominantly drawn from the intelligentsia and the working class.^[262] For anarchist historian Paul Avrich “The two leading exponents of individualist anarchism, both based in Moscow, were Aleksei Alekseevich Borovoi and Lev Chernyi (Pavel Dmitrievich Turchaninov). From Nietzsche, they inherited the desire for a complete overturn of all values accepted by bourgeois sociopolitical, moral, and cultural. Furthermore, strongly influenced by Max Stirner and Benjamin Tucker, the German and American theorists of individualist anarchism, they demanded the total liberation of the human personality from the fetters of organized society.”^[262]

Some Russian individualist anarchists “found the ultimate expression of their social alienation in violence and crime, others attached themselves to avant-garde literary and artistic circles, but the majority remained “philosophical” anarchists who conducted animated parlor discussions and elaborated their individualist theories in ponderous journals and books.”^[262]

Lev Chernyi was an important individualist anarchist involved in resistance against the rise to power of the Bolshevik Party. He adhered mainly to Stirner and the ideas of Benjamin Tucker. In 1907, he published a book entitled *Associational Anarchism*, in which he advocated the “free association of independent individuals.”^[263] On his return from Siberia in 1917 he enjoyed great popularity among Moscow workers as a lecturer. Chernyi was also Secretary of the Moscow Federation of Anarchist Groups, which was formed in March 1917.^[263] He was an advocate “for the seizure of private homes”,^[263] which was an activity seen by the anarchists after the October revolution as direct expropriation on the bourgeoisie. He died after being accused of participation in an episode in which this group bombed the headquarters of the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party. Although most likely not being really involved in the bombing, he might have died of torture.^[263]

Chernyi advocated a Nietzschean overthrow of the values of bourgeois Russian society, and rejected the voluntary communes of anarcho-communist Peter Kropotkin as a threat to the freedom of the individual.^{[264][265][266]} Scholars including Avrich and Allan Antliff have interpreted this vision of society to have been greatly influ-

enced by the individualist anarchists Max Stirner, and Benjamin Tucker.^[267] Subsequent to the book’s publication, Chernyi was imprisoned in Siberia under the Russian Czarist regime for his revolutionary activities.^[268]

On the other hand, Aleksei Borovoi (1876?–1936),^[269] was a professor of philosophy at Moscow University, “a gifted orator and the author of numerous books, pamphlets, and articles which attempted to reconcile individualist anarchism with the doctrines of syndicalism”.^[263] He wrote among other theoretical works, *Anarkhizm* in 1918 just after the October revolution^[263] and *Anarchism and Law*.^[269] For him “the chief importance is given not to Anarchism as the aim but to Anarchy as the continuous quest for the aim”.^[270] He manifests there that “No social ideal, from the point of view of anarchism, could be referred to as absolute in a sense that supposes it’s the crown of human wisdom, the end of social and ethical quest of man.”^[270]

Latin American individualist anarchism

Argentine anarchist historian Angel Cappelletti reports that in Argentina “Among the workers that came from Europe in the 2 first decades of the century, there was curiously some stirnerian individualists influenced by the philosophy of Nietzsche, that saw syndicalism as a potential enemy of anarchist ideology. They established ... affinity groups that in 1912 came to, according to Max Nettlau, to the number of 20. In 1911 there appeared, in Colón, the periodical *El Único*, that defined itself as ‘Publicación individualista’”.^[271]

Vicente Rojas Lizcano, whose pseudonym was Biófilo Panclasta, was a Colombian individualist anarchist writer and activist. In 1904 he began using the name Biofilo Panclasta. “Biofilo” in Spanish stands for “lover of life” and “Panclasta” for “enemy of all”.^[272] He visited more than fifty countries propagandizing for anarchism which in his case was highly influenced by the thought of Max Stirner and Friedrich Nietzsche. Among his written works there are *Siete años enterrado vivo en una de las mazmorras de Gomezuela: Horripilante relato de un resucitado* (1932) and *Mis prisiones, mis destierros y mi vida* (1929) which talk about his many adventures while living his life as an adventurer, activist and vagabond, as well as his thought and the many times he was imprisoned in different countries.

Maria Lacerda de Moura was a Brazilian teacher, journalist, anarcho-feminist, and individualist anarchist. Her ideas regarding education were largely influenced by Francisco Ferrer. She later moved to São Paulo and became involved in journalism for the anarchist and labor press. There she also lectured on topics including education, women’s rights, free love, and antimilitarism. Her writings and essays garnered her attention not only in Brazil, but also in Argentina and Uruguay. In February 1923, she launched *Renascença*, a periodical linked



Maria Lacerda de Moura individualist anarcho-feminist

with the anarchist, progressive, and freethinking circles of the period. Her thought was mainly influenced by individualist anarchists such as Han Ryner and Émile Armand.^[99] She maintained contact with Spanish individualist anarchist circles.^[29]

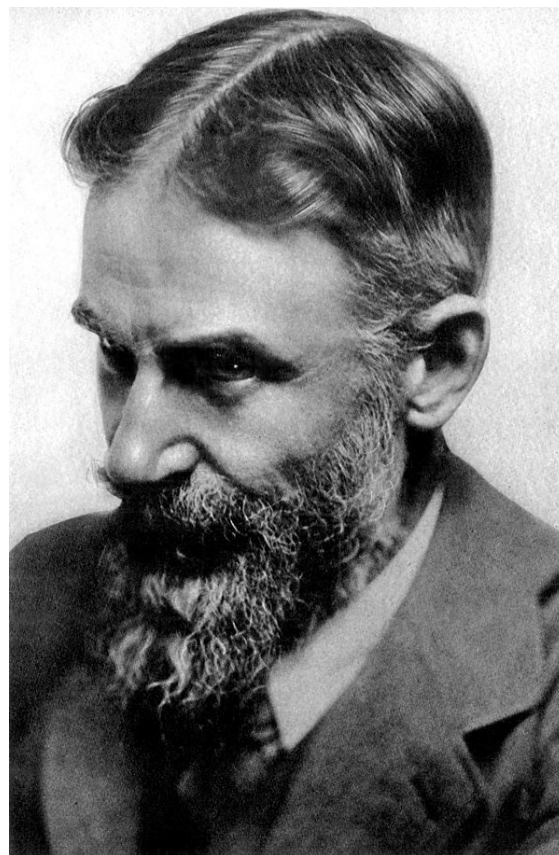
Horst Matthai Quelle was a Spanish language German anarchist philosopher influenced by Max Stirner.^[273] In 1938, at the beginning of the German economic crisis and the rise of Nazism and fascism in Europe, Quelle moved to Mexico. Quelle earned his undergraduate degree, master's and doctorate in philosophy at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, where he returned as a professor of philosophy in the 1980s. He argued that since the individual gives form to the world, he is those objects, the others and the whole universe.^[273] One of his main views was a "theory of infinite worlds" which for him was developed by pre-socratic philosophers.^[273]

During the 1990s in Argentina, there appeared a stirnerist publication called *El Único: publicación periódica de pensamiento individualista*.^{[274][275][276]}

1.5.4 Criticisms

See also: Criticisms of anarchism

Philosopher Murray Bookchin criticized individualist anarchism for its opposition to democracy and its embrace of "lifestylism" at the expense of class struggle.^[277] Bookchin claimed that individualist anarchism supports only negative liberty and rejects the idea of positive liberty.^[278] Philosopher Albert Meltzer proposed that individualist anarchism differs radically from revolutionary anarchism, and that it "is sometimes too readily con-



George Bernard Shaw expressed doubts about the distribution of wealth under individualist anarchism.

ceded 'that this is, after all, anarchism'." He claimed that Benjamin Tucker's acceptance of the use of a private police force (including to break up violent strikes to protect the "employer's 'freedom'") is contradictory to the definition of anarchism as "no government."^[279]

Philosopher George Bernard Shaw initially had flirtations with individualist anarchism before coming to the conclusion that it was "the negation of socialism, and is, in fact, unsocialism carried as near to its logical conclusion as any sane man dare carry it." Shaw's argument was that even if wealth was initially distributed equally, the degree of *laissez-faire* advocated by Tucker would result in the distribution of wealth becoming unequal because it would permit private appropriation and accumulation.^[280] According to academic Carlotta Anderson, American individualist anarchists accept that free competition results in unequal wealth distribution, but they "do not see that as an injustice."^[281] Tucker explained, "If I go through life free and rich, I shall not cry because my neighbor, equally free, is richer. Liberty will ultimately make all men rich; it will not make all men equally rich. Authority may (and may not) make all men equally rich in purse; it certainly will make them equally poor in all that makes life best worth living."^[282]

1.5.5 See also

- Individualist anarchism in Europe
- Individualist anarchism in France
- Existentialist anarchism
- Libertarian socialism

1.5.6 Footnotes

^α The term “individualist anarchism” is often used as a classificatory term, but in very different ways. Some sources, such as [An Anarchist FAQ](#) use the classification “social anarchism / individualist anarchism”. Some see individualist anarchism as distinctly non-socialist, and use the classification “socialist anarchism / individualist anarchism” accordingly.^[283] Other classifications include “mutualist/communal” anarchism.^[284]

^β Michael Freeden identifies four broad types of individualist anarchism. He says the first is the type associated with William Godwin that advocates self-government with a “progressive rationalism that included benevolence to others.” The second type is the amoral self-serving rationality of Egoism, as most associated with Max Stirner. The third type is “found in Herbert Spencer's early predictions, and in that of some of his disciples such as Donisthorpe, foreseeing the redundancy of the state in the source of social evolution.” The fourth type retains a moderated form of egoism and accounts for social cooperation through the advocacy of market relationships.^[7]

^γ See, for example, the Winter 2006 issue of the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, dedicated to reviews of Kevin Carson's *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*. Mutualists compose one bloc, along with agorists and geo-libertarians, in the recently formed Alliance of the Libertarian Left.

^δ Though this term is non-standard usage – by “left” – agorists mean “left” in the general sense used by left-libertarians, as defined by Roderick T. Long, as “... an integration, or I'd argue, a reintegration of libertarianism with concerns that are traditionally thought of as being concerns of the left. That includes concerns for worker empowerment, worry about plutocracy, concerns about feminism and various kinds of social equality.”^[285]

^ε Konkin wrote the article “Copywrongs” in opposition to the concept and Schulman countered SEK3's arguments in “Informational Property: Logorights.”

^ζ Individualist anarchism is also known by the terms “anarchist individualism”, “anarcho-individualism”, “individualistic anarchism”, “libertarian anarchism”,^{[286][287][288][289]} “anarcho-libertarianism”,^{[290][291]} “anarchist libertarianism”^[290] and “anarchistic libertarianism”.^[292]

1.5.7 References

- [1] “What do I mean by individualism? I mean by individualism the moral doctrine which, relying on no dogma, no tradition, no external determination, appeals only to the individual conscience.” *Mini-Manual of Individualism* by Han Ryner
- [2] “I do not admit anything except the existence of the individual, as a condition of his sovereignty. To say that the sovereignty of the individual is conditioned by Liberty is simply another way of saying that it is conditioned by itself. “Anarchism and the State” in *Individual Liberty*
- [3] Tucker, Benjamin R. (March 10, 1888). “State Socialism and Anarchism: How far they agree and wherein they differ”. *Liberty*. **5** (120): 2–3, 6.
- [4] Philip, Mark (2006-05-20). “William Godwin”. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.
- [5] Leopold, David (2006-08-04). “Max Stirner”. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.
- [6] “Paralelamente, al otro lado del atlántico, en el diferente contexto de una nación a medio hacer, los Estados Unidos, otros filósofos elaboraron un pensamiento individualista similar, aunque con sus propias especificidades. Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862), uno de los escritores próximos al movimiento de la filosofía trascendentalista, es uno de los más conocidos. Su obra más representativa es *Walden*, aparecida en 1854, aunque redactada entre 1845 y 1847, cuando Thoreau decide instalarse en el aislamiento de una cabaña en el bosque, y vivir en íntimo contacto con la naturaleza, en una vida de soledad y sobriedad. De esta experiencia, su filosofía trata de transmitirnos la idea que resulta necesario un retorno respetuoso a la naturaleza, y que la felicidad es sobre todo fruto de la riqueza interior y de la armonía de los individuos con el entorno natural. Muchos han visto en Thoreau a uno de los precursores del ecologismo y del anarquismo primitivista representado en la actualidad por Jonh Zerzan. Para George Woodcock, esta actitud puede estar también motivada por una cierta idea de resistencia al progreso y de rechazo al materialismo creciente que caracteriza la sociedad norteamericana de mediados de siglo XIX.” “Voluntary non-submission. Spanish individualist anarchism during dictatorship and the second republic (1923–1938)” Archived July 23, 2011, at the Wayback Machine.
- [7] Freeden, Michael. *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach*. Oxford University Press. ISBN 0-19-829414-X. pp. 313–314
- [8] George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. 1962
- [9] “En la vida de todo único, todo vínculo, independientemente de la forma en que éste se presente, supone una cadena que condiciona, y por tanto elimina la condición de persona libre. Ello supone dos consecuencias; la libertad se mantendrá al margen de toda categoría moral. Este último concepto quedará al margen del vocabulario stirneriano, puesto que tanto ética como moral serán dos conceptos absolutos que, como tales, no

- pueden situarse por encima de la voluntad individual. La libertad se vive siempre al margen de cualquier condicionamiento material o espiritual, “más allá del bien y del mal” como enunciará Nietzsche en una de sus principales obras. Las creencias colectivas, los prejuicios compartidos, los convencionalismos sociales serán, pues, objeto de destrucción.”“Voluntary non-submission. Spanish individualist anarchism during dictatorship and the second republic (1923–1938)” Archived July 23, 2011, at the Wayback Machine.
- [10] “Stirner himself, however, has no truck with “higher beings.” Indeed, with the aim of concerning himself purely with his own interests, he attacks all “higher beings,” regarding them as a variety of what he calls “spooks,” or ideas to which individuals sacrifice themselves and by which they are dominated. First amongst these is the abstraction “Man”, into which all unique individuals are submerged and lost. As he put it, “liberalism is a religion because it separates my essence from me and sets it above me, because it exalts ‘Man’ to the same extent as any other religion does to God . . . it sets me beneath Man.” Indeed, he “who is infatuated with Man leaves persons out of account so far as that infatuation extends, and floats in an ideal, sacred interest. Man, you see, is not a person, but an ideal, a spook.” [p. 176 and p. 79] Among the many “spooks” Stirner attacks are such notable aspects of capitalist life as private property, the division of labour, the state, religion, and (at times) society itself. We will discuss Stirner’s critique of capitalism before moving onto his vision of an egoist society and how it relates to social anarchism. “G.6 What are the ideas of Max Stirner” Archived November 23, 2010, at the Wayback Machine. in *An Anarchist FAQ*
- [11] “The first is in regard to the means of action in the here and now (and so the manner in which anarchy will come about). Individualists generally prefer education and the creation of alternative institutions, such as mutual banks, unions, communes, etc. Such activity, they argue, will ensure that present society will gradually develop out of government into an anarchist one. They are primarily evolutionists, not revolutionists, and dislike social anarchists’ use of direct action to create revolutionary situations.”“A.3.1 What are the differences between individualist and social anarchists?” Archived 2010-11-23 at the Wayback Machine. in *An Anarchist FAQ*
- [12] “Toda revolución, pues, hecha en nombre de principios abstractos como igualdad, fraternidad, libertad o humanidad, persigue el mismo fin; anular la voluntad y soberanía del individuo, para así poderlo dominar.”La insumisión voluntaria. El anarquismo individualista español durante la dictadura y la segunda república (1923–1938) Archived July 23, 2011, at the Wayback Machine.
- [13] “The wave of anarchist bombings and assassinations of the 1890s ... and the practice of illegalism from the mid-1880s to the start of the First World War ... were twin aspects of the same proletarian offensive, but were expressed in an individualist practice, one that complemented the great collective struggles against capital. The illegalist comrades were tired of waiting for the revolution. The acts of the anarchist bombers and assassins (“propaganda by the deed”) and the anarchist burglars (“individual reappropriation”) expressed their desperation and their personal, violent rejection of an intolerable society. Moreover, they were clearly meant to be exemplary, invitations to revolt.”THE “ILLEGALISTS” by Doug Imrie Archived September 8, 2015, at the Wayback Machine.
- [14] Finalmente, y este es un tema poco resuelto por el filósofo bávaro, resulta evidente que, a pesar de todo culto a la soberanía individual, es necesario y deseable que los individuos cooperen. Pero el peligro de la asociación conlleva la reproducción, an escala diferente, de una sociedad, y es evidente que en este contexto, los individuos deban renunciar a buena parte de su soberanía. Stirner propone “uniones de egoístas”, formadas por individuos libres que pueden unirse episódicamente para colaborar, pero evitando la estabilidad o la permanencia.”La insumisión voluntaria. El anarquismo individualista español durante la dictadura y la segunda república (1923–1938) Archived July 23, 2011, at the Wayback Machine.
- [15] “The unions Stirner desires would be based on free agreement, being spontaneous and voluntary associations drawn together out of the mutual interests of those involved, who would “care best for their welfare if they unite with others.” [p. 309] The unions, unlike the state, exist to ensure what Stirner calls “intercourse,” or “union” between individuals. To better understand the nature of these associations, which will replace the state, Stirner lists the relationships between friends, lovers, and children at play as examples. [No Gods, No Masters, vol. 1, p. 25] These illustrate the kinds of relationships that maximise an individual’s self-enjoyment, pleasure, freedom, and individuality, as well as ensuring that those involved sacrifice nothing while belonging to them. Such associations are based on mutuality and a free and spontaneous cooperation between equals. As Stirner puts it, “intercourse is mutuality, it is the action, the commercium, of individuals.” [p. 218] Its aim is “pleasure” and “self-enjoyment.” Thus Stirner sought a broad egoism, one which appreciated others and their uniqueness, and so criticised the narrow egoism of people who forgot the wealth others are:
- “But that would be a man who does not know and cannot appreciate any of the delights emanating from an interest taken in others, from the consideration shown to others. That would be a man bereft of innumerable pleasures, a wretched character ... would he not be a wretched egoist, rather than a genuine Egoist? ... The person who loves a human being is, by virtue of that love, a wealthier man than someone else who loves no one.” [No Gods, No Masters, vol. 1, p. 23]“What are the differences between individualist and social anarchists?”
- [16] Miller, David (1987). *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*. Blackwell Publishing. p. 11. ISBN 0631227814.
- [17] “What my might reaches is my property; and let me claim as property everything I feel myself strong enough to attain, and let me extend my actual property as far as I entitle, that is, empower myself to take...” From *The Ego and Its Own*, quoted in Ossar, Michael (1980). *Anarchism in*

- the Dramas of Ernst Toller*. State University of New York Press. p. 27. ISBN 0873953932.
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- [19] *NATIVE AMERICAN ANARCHISM A Study of Left-Wing American Individualism* by Eunice Minette Schuster Archived February 13, 2016, at the Wayback Machine.
- [20] "G.1.4 Why is the social context important in evaluating Individualist Anarchism?" in *An Anarchist FAQ*
- [21] Kevin Carson. *Organization Theory: A Libertarian Perspective*. BOOKSURGE. 2008. p. 1
- [22] Richard Parry. *The Bonnot Gang: The Story of the French Illegalists*
- [23] The "Illegalists" Archived September 8, 2015, at the Wayback Machine., by Doug Imrie (published by Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed)
- [24] Parry, Richard. *The Bonnot Gang*. Rebel Press, 1987. p. 15
- [25] "Anarchist historian George Woodcock reports the incident in which the important Italian social anarchist Errico Malatesta became involved "in a dispute with the individualist anarchists of Paterson, who insisted that anarchism implied no organization at all, and that every man must act solely on his impulses. At last, in one noisy debate, the individual impulse of a certain Ciancabilla directed him to shoot Malatesta, who was badly wounded but obstinately refused to name his assailant." Woodcock, George. *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. 1962
- [26] Murray Bookchin. *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm*
- [27] "2. Individualist Anarchism and Reaction" in *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism – An Unbridgeable Chasm*
- [28] *The Free Love Movement and Radical Individualism* By Wendy McElroy
- [29] "La insumisión voluntaria. El anarquismo individualista español durante la dictadura y la Segunda República" by Xavier Díez Archived July 23, 2011, at the Wayback Machine.
- [30] "Proliferarán así diversos grupos que practicarán el excursionismo, el naturismo, el nudismo, la emancipación sexual o el esperantismo, alrededor de asociaciones informales vinculadas de una manera o de otra al anarquismo. Precisamente las limitaciones a las asociaciones obreras impuestas desde la legislación especial de la Dictadura potenciarán indirectamente esta especie de asociacionismo informal en que confluirá el movimiento anarquista con esta heterogeneidad de prácticas y tendencias. Uno de los grupos más destacados, que será el impulsor de la revista individualista *Ética* será el Ateneo Naturista Ecléctico, con sede en Barcelona, con sus diferentes secciones la más destacada de las cuales será el grupo excursionista Sol y Vida."["Archived copy". Archived from the original on 2012-03-20. Retrieved 2014-06-03. "Archived copy" (PDF). Archived from the original (PDF) on July 23, 2011. Retrieved May 6, 2011. "La insumisión voluntaria: El anarquismo individualista español durante la Dictadura y la Segunda República (1923–1938)" by Xavier Díez
- [31] Xavier Díez. *L'anarquisme Individualista a Espanya 1923–1938*
- [32] "revolution is the fire of our will and a need of our solitary minds; it is an obligation of the libertarian aristocracy. To create new ethical values. To create new aesthetic values. To communalize material wealth. To individualize spiritual wealth." *Towards the creative nothing* by Renzo Novatore
- [33] George Woodcock. *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. 1962
- [34] "Selon l'historien Vladimir Muñoz, son véritable nom aurait été Miguel Ramos Giménez et il aurait participé au début du 20^e siècle aux groupes illégalistes." "GIMÉNEZ IGUALADA, Miguel" at *Diccionario Internacional des Militants Anarchistes*
- [35] Igualada argued for an anarchism that was "pacifist, poetic, which creates goodness, harmony and beauty, which cultivates a healthy sense of living in peace, sign of power and fertility ... from there anyone which is un-harmonious (violent-warrior), everyone that will pretend, in any form, to dominate anyone of his similars, is not an anarchist, since the anarchist respects in such a way personal integrity, so that he could not make anyone a slave of his thoughts so as to turn him into an instrument of his, a man-tool." *Anarquismo* by Miguel Gimenez Igualada
- [36] Woodcock, George. 2004. *Anarchism: A History Of Libertarian Ideas And Movements*. Broadview Press. p. 20
- [37] "Anarchism", *Encarta Online Encyclopedia* 2006 (UK version)
- [38] Peter Kropotkin, "Anarchism", *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1910
- [39] Godwin himself attributed the first anarchist writing to Edmund Burke's *A Vindication of Natural Society*. "Most of the above arguments may be found much more at large in Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society*; a treatise in which the evils of the existing political institutions are displayed with incomparable force of reasoning and lustre of eloquence..." – footnote, Ch. 2 *Political Justice* by William Godwin.
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- [56] Tucker, Benjamin R., "On Picket Duty", *Liberty (Not the Daughter but the Mother of Order)* (1881–1908); 5 January 1889; 6, 10; APS Online p. 1
- [57] Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph. *The Philosophy of Misery: The Evolution of Capitalism*. BiblioBazaar, LLC (2006). ISBN 1-4264-0908-7 p. 217
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Carson, Kevin, 2004, *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*, chapter 2 (after Meek & Oppenheimer).
- [62] Tandy, Francis D., 1896, *Voluntary Socialism*, chapter 6, paragraph 19.
Carson, Kevin, 2004, *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*, chapter 2 (after Ricardo, Dobb & Oppenheimer).
- [63] *Solution of the Social Problem*, 1848–49.
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- [66] *General Idea of the Revolution*, Pluto Press, pp. 215–16, 277
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- [86] Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, p. 50.
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- [99] <http://www.nodo50.org/insurgentes/textos/mulher/09marialacerda.htm> "Maria Lacerda de Moura – Uma Anarquista Individualista Brasileira" by
- [100] "Entre los redactores y colaboradores de Al Margen, que trasladará su redacción a Elda, en Alicante, encontraremos a Miguel Giménez Igualada, al escritor Gonzalo Vidal, u otros habituales de la prensa individualista como Costa Iscar, Mariano Gallardo o la periodista brasileña Maria Lacerda de Moura."
- [101] Wendy McElroy "The culture of individualist anarchist in Late-nineteenth century America"
- [102] Xavier Díez. *El anarquismo individualista en España (1923–1939)* Virus Editorial. 2007. p. 143
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- [109] “Anarchism – Nudism, Naturism” by Carlos Ortega at Asociacion para el Desarrollo Naturista de la Comunidad de Madrid. Published on Revista ADN. Winter 2003
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- [184] *Anarchy after Leftism* by Bob Black
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- [186] [<http://sniggle.net/Manifesti/groucho.php>] "Theses on Groucho Marxism" by Bob Black
- [187] *Immediatism* by Hakim Bey. AK Press. 1994. p. 4 Archived December 5, 2009, at the Wayback Machine.
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- [189] Anti-politics.net, "Whither now? Some thoughts on cre-ating anarchy" by Feral Faun
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- [191] "The rebel's dark laughter: the writings of Bruno Filippi".
- [192] *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*. Kevin Carson
- [193] "Contemporary Individualist Anarchism: The Broad-sides of the Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade 1988–2000" by Joe Peacott, Jim Baker, & Others
- [194] "The Last Word" by Feral Faun
- [195] Biography of Anselme Bellegarrigue by Max Nettlau.
- [196] Onfray says in an interview "L'individualisme anarchiste part de cette logique. Il célèbre les individualités ... Dans cette période de libéralisme comme horizon indépassable, je persiste donc à plaider pour l'individu." Interview des lecteurs : Michel Onfray Par Marion Roussetl 1er avril 2005
- [197] "Voluntary non-submission. Spanish individualist anar-chism during dictatorship and the second republic (1923–1938)" by Xavier Diez Archived July 23, 2011, at the Wayback Machine.
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- [199] Xavier Diez. *El anarquismo individualista en España (1923–1938)*. Virus editorial. Barcelona. 2007. p. 60
- [200] Autonomie Individuelle (1887–1888)
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- [203] "Machete" #1. "Bonnot and the Evangelists"
- [204] "1926 – France: Georges Butaud (1868–1926) dies, in Ermont."
- [205] Émile Armand in A las barricadas.com
- [206] Unique, L' (1945–1956)
- [207] Joseph W. Peterson, Gérard de Lacaze-Duthiersm Charles Peguy, and Edward Carpenter: an examination of neo-Romantic radicalism before the Great War, MA thesis, Clemson University, 2010, pp. 8, 15–30
- [208] Lacaze-Duthiers, *L'Idéal Humain de l'Art*, pp. 57–8.

- [209] Richard David Sonn (2010). *Sex, Violence, and the Avant-Garde: Anarchism in Interwar France*. Penn State Press. p. 199. ISBN 978-0-271-03663-2. Retrieved 27 January 2013.
- [210] L'Unique (1945-1956)
- [211] "Pensée et action des anarchistes en France : 1950–1970" by Cédric GUÉRIN
- [212] "Charles-Auguste Bontemps" at Ephemeride Anarchiste
- [213] "BONTEMPS Auguste, Charles, Marcel dit « Charles-Auguste » ; « CHAB » ; « MINXIT »" at *Dictionnaire International des Militants Anarchistes*
- [214] "Au-delà, l'éthique et la politique de Michel Onfray font signe vers l'anarchisme individualiste de la Belle Epoque qui est d'ailleurs une de ses références explicites." "Individualité et rapports à l'engagement militant Individualite et rapports a l'engagement" .. par : Pereira Irène
- [215] The Illegalists Archived September 8, 2015, at the Wayback Machine. – by Doug Imrie. Recollection-books.com (1954-08-28). Retrieved on 2013-07-12.
- [216] "Pre-WWI France was the setting for the only documented anarchist revolutionary movement to embrace all illegal activity as revolutionary practice. Pick-pocketing, theft from the workplace, robbery, confidence scams, desertion from the armed forces, you name it, illegalist activity was praised as a justifiable and necessary aspect of class struggle." "Illegalism" by Rob los Ricos
- [217] "anarco-individualismo" in italian anarchopedia
- [218] "At this point, encouraged by the disillusionment that followed the breakdown of the general strike, the terrorist individualists who had always – despite Malatesta's influence – survived as a small minority among Italian anarchists, intervened frightfully and tragically." George Woodcock. *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. 1962.
- [219] "in a dispute with the individualist anarchists of Paterson, who insisted that anarchism implied no organization at all, and that every man must act solely on his impulses. At last, in one noisy debate, the individual impulse of a certain Ciancabilla directed him to shoot Malatesta, who was badly wounded but obstinately refused to name his assailant." George Woodcock. *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. 1962
- [220] "Essa trova soprattutto in America del Nord un notevole seguito per opera del Galleani che esprime una sintesi fra l'istanza puramente individualista di stampo anglosassone e americano (ben espressa negli scritti di Tucker) e quella profondamente socialista del movimento anarchico di lingua italiana. Questa commistione di elementi individualisti e comunisti – che caratterizza bene la corrente antiorganizzatrice – rappresenta lo sforzo di quanti avvertirono in modo estremamente sensibile l'invasione del burocratismo che pervadeva il movimento operaio e socialista." "anarchismo insurrezionale" in italian anarchopedia
- [221] Novatore: una biografia
- [222] "L'Indivi-dualista" Archived August 19, 2011, at the Wayback Machine.
- [223] "Pietro Bruzzi" at italian anarchopedia
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- [225] <http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/73n6nh> Cesare Zaccaria (19 August 1897 – October 1961) Pier Carlo Masini and Paul Sharkey
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- [234] "Entre los redactores y colaboradores de Al Margen, que trasladará su redacción a Elda, en Alicante, encontraremos a Miguel Giménez Igualada ..." "La insumisión voluntaria: El anarquismo individualista español durante la dictadura y la segunda república (1923–1938) por Xavier Diez Archived July 23, 2011, at the Wayback Machine.
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- [237] Miguel Gimenez Igualada. *Anarquismo*
- [238] *Individualismo anarquista y camaradería amorosa* by Émile Armand

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- [247] “We must kill the christian philosophy in the most radical sense of the word. How much mostly goes sneaking inside the democratic civilization (this most cynically ferocious form of christian depravity) and it goes more towards the categorical negation of human Individuality. “Democracy! By now we have comprised it that it means all that says Oscar Wilde Democracy is the people who govern the people with blows of the club for love of the people”. “Towards the Hurricane” by Renzo Novatore
- [248] “When Oscar Wilde’s plea for penal reform, The Ballad of Reading Gaol, was widely criticized, Tucker enthusiastically endorsed the poem, urging all of his subscribers to read it. Tucker, in fact, published an American edition. From its early championing of Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass* to a series of short stories by Francis du Bosque in its last issues, *Liberty* was a vehicle of controversial, avant-garde literature.” “Benjamin Tucker, Individualism, & Liberty: Not the Daughter but the Mother of Order” by Wendy McElroy
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1.5.9 External links

- **Enemies of Society** – An anthology of individualist and egoist thought
- *The Bonnot Gang: The Story of the French Illegalists* by Richard Parry
- A.3.1 What are the differences between individualist and social anarchists?, An Anarchist FAQ
- I-studies: a journal of Stirner studies and personalist philosophy
- *Les en-dehors: Anarchistes individualistes et illégalistes à la « Belle époque »* by Anne Steiner. L'Echappée. 2008 in French
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1.6 Social anarchism

For the journal, see [Social Anarchism \(journal\)](#).

Social anarchism (sometimes referred to as **socialist anarchism**^[1]) is a non-state form of socialism^[2] and is considered to be the branch of **anarchism** which sees individual freedom as being dependent upon mutual aid.^[3] Social anarchist thought emphasizes **community** and **social equality** as complementary to **autonomy** and **personal freedom**.^[3]

Social anarchists advocate the conversion of present-day private property into social property or the commons, while retaining respect for personal property.^[4] The term is used to describe those who—contra anarchist individualism—place an emphasis on the communitarian and cooperative aspects of anarchist theory; while also opposing authoritarian forms of communitarianism associated with groupthink and collective conformity, instead favouring a reconciliation between individuality and sociality.

It is considered an **umbrella term** which includes (but is not limited to) the post-capitalist economic models of **anarchist communism**, **collectivist anarchism**, and (sometimes) **mutualism**; as well as the trade union approach of **anarcho-syndicalism**, the social struggle strategies of **platformism** and **specifism**, and the environmental philosophy of **social ecology**.

The term “social anarchism” is often used interchangeably with **libertarian socialism**,^[1] **left-libertarianism**,^[5] or **left anarchism**.^[6] It emerged in the late 19th century as a distinction from individualist anarchism.^[7]

1.6.1 Historical currents

Mutualism



Proudhon and his children, by Gustave Courbet, 1865

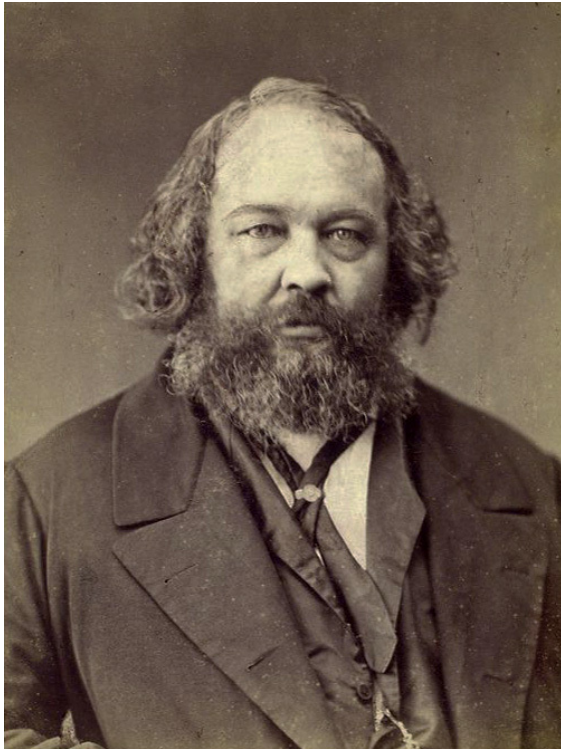
Main article: [Mutualism \(economic theory\)](#)

Mutualism, originally developed by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, emerged from early nineteenth-century socialism, and is generally considered a market-oriented strand within the libertarian socialist tradition. Mutualists typically accept property rights, but with brief abandonment time periods. In a community in which mutuality property rules were upheld, a landowner would need to make (more or less) continuous use of his/her land; if he/she failed to do so, his/her ownership rights would be extinguished and the land could be homesteaded by someone else. A mutualist property regime is often described as one rooted in “**possession**,” “**occupancy-and-use**,” or “**usufruct**.”^[8] Nevertheless, Mutualism is also associated with the economic views of 19th century US individualist anarchists such as Benjamin Tucker and William Batchelder Greene^[9] and today Kevin Carson is a contemporary mutualist and author of *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy* who describes this work as “an attempt to revive individualist anarchist political economy, to incorporate the useful developments of the last hundred years, and to make it relevant to the problems of the twenty-first century.”^[10]

Collectivist anarchism

Main article: [Collectivist anarchism](#)

Collectivist anarchism (also known as anarcho-



Mikhail Bakunin

collectivism)^{[11][12]} is a revolutionary form of anarchism, commonly associated with [Mikhail Bakunin](#) and [Johann Most](#).^{[13][14]} It is a specific tendency, not to be confused with the broad category sometimes called [collectivist](#) or [communitarian](#) anarchism.^[15] Unlike mutualists, collectivist anarchists oppose all private ownership of the means of production, instead advocating that ownership be collectivized.

This was to be achieved through violent revolution, first starting with a small cohesive group through acts of violence, or "[propaganda by the deed](#)," which would inspire the workers as a whole to revolt and forcibly collectivize the means of production.^[13] However, collectivization was not to be extended to the distribution of income, as workers would be paid according to time worked, rather than receiving goods being distributed "according to need" as in [anarcho-communism](#). This position was criticised by later anarcho-communists as effectively "uphold[ing] the wages system".^[16]

Anarchist communist and collectivist ideas were not mutually exclusive; although the collectivist anarchists advocated compensation for labor, some held out the possibility of a post-revolutionary transition to a communist system of distribution according to need.^[17] Collectivist anarchism arose contemporaneously with [Marxism](#) but opposed the Marxist dictatorship of the proletariat,

despite the stated Marxist goal of a collectivist stateless society.^[18]

Anarchist communism

Main article: [Anarchist communism](#)

Anarchist communism (also known as anarcho-



Anarcho-communist Peter Kropotkin believed that in anarchy, workers would spontaneously self-organize to produce goods for all of society.

communism and occasionally as free communism) is a theory of [anarchism](#) which advocates the abolition of the state, [markets](#), [money](#), [capitalism](#) and [private property](#).

Politically, anarchist communists advocate replacing the nation-state and representative government with a voluntary confederation of *free communes* (self-governing localities), with the commune replacing the nation as the core unit of social-political administration. Economically, anarchist communists believe in converting [private property](#) into the commons or public goods, while retaining respect for [personal property](#)). In practice, this means [common ownership](#) of the means of production,^{[19][20]} [direct democracy](#) with production organised through a horizontal network of [voluntary associations](#) and consumption based on the guiding principle: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need".^{[21][22]}

Some forms of anarchist communism such as [insurrectionary anarchism](#) are strongly influenced by [egoism](#) and radical [individualism](#), believing anarcho-communism is the best social system for the realization of individual freedom.^{[23][24][25][26]} Most anarcho-communists view anarcho-communism as a way of reconciling the opposition between the individual and society.^{[27][28][29]}

Anarcho-communism developed out of radical social-

ist currents after the French revolution,^{[30][31]} but was first formulated as such in the Italian section of the First International.^[32] The theoretical work of Peter Kropotkin took importance later as it expanded and developed pro-organizationalist and insurrectionary anti-organizationalist sections.^[33]

In terms of its vision for a post-capitalist economy, it differs from anarcho-syndicalism in seeing the centre of political-economic organisation as the commune, rather than the workplace, with economic issues being administered primarily on a communal (territorial), rather than unionist (industrial), basis. Through most anarcho-syndicalists agree with the communist method of distribution – “from each according to ability, to each according to need” – they disagree with the commune-based method of organising production and structuring society; making them communists in one sense, but not the other.

To date, the best known examples of an anarchist communist society (i.e., established around the ideas as they exist today and achieving worldwide attention and knowledge in the historical canon), are the anarchist territories during the Spanish Revolution^[34] and the Free Territory during the Russian Revolution. Through the efforts and influence of the Spanish Anarchists during the Spanish Revolution within the Spanish Civil War, starting in 1936 anarchist communism existed in most of Aragon, parts of the Levante and Andalusia, as well as in the stronghold of Anarchist Catalonia before being crushed by the combined forces of the regime that won the war, Hitler, Mussolini, Spanish Communist Party repression (backed by the USSR) as well as economic and armaments blockades from the capitalist countries and the Spanish Republic itself.^[35] During the Russian Revolution, anarchists such as Nestor Makhno worked to create and defend—through the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine—anarchist communism in the Free Territory of the Ukraine from 1919 before being conquered by the Bolsheviks in 1921.

Anarcho-syndicalism

Main articles: Syndicalism and Anarcho-syndicalism

In the early 20th century, anarcho-syndicalism arose as a distinct strategic school of thought within anarchism.^[36] With greater focus on the labour movement than previous forms of anarchism, syndicalism posits radical trade unions as a potential force for revolutionary social change, replacing capitalism and the state with a new society, democratically self-managed by the workers.

Like anarchist-communists, anarcho-syndicalists seek to abolish the wage system and private ownership of the means of production, which they believe lead to class divisions. Important principles include workers' solidarity, direct action (such as general strikes and workplace recuperations), and workers' self-management of enterprises and the economy as a whole.



A common Anarcho-Syndicalist flag.

In terms of post-capitalist vision, anarcho-syndicalists most often subscribe to communist or collectivist anarchist economic systems on the issue of distributing goods.^[37] The aim is to use a radical trade union movement to achieve either a collectivist or communist (moneyless) mode of distribution; or first the former, then the latter, once a certain degree of technical-productive capacity has enabled production to outstrip consumption, making a moneyless economy more viable. However, anarcho-syndicalists differ from anarcho-communists on wanting federations of (trade-based) workers' syndicates as the locus of organising the economy, rather than confederations of (territory-based) free communes.

Its advocates propose labour organization as a means to create the foundations of a trade union centered anarchist society within the current system and bring about social revolution. An early leading anarcho-syndicalist thinker was Rudolf Rocker, whose 1938 pamphlet *Anarchosyndicalism* outlined a view of the movement's origin, aims and importance to the future of labour.^{[37][38]}

Although more often associated with labor struggles of the early 20th century (particularly in France and Spain), many syndicalist organizations are active today, united across national borders by membership in the International Workers Association, including the Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden (SAC) in Sweden, the *Unione Sindacale Italiana* (USI) in Italy, the CNT and the CGT in Spain, the Workers' Solidarity Movement (WSM) of Ireland, and the Industrial Workers of the World in the United States.

Platformism

Main article: Platformism

Platformism is a tendency (or organized school of thought) within the anarchist movement. It stresses the need for tightly organized anarchist organizations, that are able to influence working class and peasant movements. It is in many ways identical to especificismo, and has an antecedent in the work of Mikhail Bakunin.

“Platformist” groups reject the model of Leninist vanguardism. They aim, instead, to “make anarchist ideas the leading ideas within the **class struggle**”.^[39] The four main principles by which an anarchist organisation should operate, according to *Platformists*, are ideological unity, tactical unity, **collective responsibility**, and **federalism**. In general, platformist groups aim to win the widest possible influence for anarchist ideas and methods in the working class and peasantry—like *especifismo* groups, platformists orient towards “ordinary” people, rather than to the extreme left milieu. This usually entailing a willingness to work in single-issue campaigns, trade unionism and community groups, and to fight for immediate reforms while linking this to a project of building popular consciousness and organisation. They therefore reject approaches that they believe will prevent this, such as **insurrectionist anarchism**, as well as “views that dismiss activity in the unions” or that dismiss anti-imperialist movements.^[40]

The name “Platformist” derives from the 1926 *Organisational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)*.^[41] This was published by the Group of Russian Anarchists Abroad, in their journal *Dielo Truda* (“Workers’ Cause” in Russian). The group, which consisted of exiled **Russian anarchist** veterans of the 1917 **October Revolution** (notably Nestor Makhno who played a leading role in the anarchist revolution in the Ukraine of 1918–1921), based the *Platform* on their experiences of the revolution, and the eventual victory of the **Bolsheviks** over the anarchists and other groups. The *Platform* attempted to address and explain the anarchist movement’s failures during the **Russian Revolution** outside of the Ukraine.

The document drew both praise and criticism from anarchists worldwide and sparked a major debate within the anarchist movement.^[42] Today “Platformism” is an important current in international anarchism. Around thirty platformist and *especifista* organisations are linked together in the **Anarkismo.net** project, including groups from Africa, Latin America, North America and Europe.^[40]

1.6.2 Contemporary currents

More recent developments within social anarchism are the post-capitalist economic models of **inclusive democracy**, and **participatory economics**, both of which could be regarded as updated forms of the collectivist anarchism of Mikhail Bakunin, as well as the environmental philosophy of social ecology, and its associated politics of Post-Scarcity Anarchism and Communalism.

Inclusive Democracy

Main article: **Inclusive Democracy**

Inclusive Democracy is a political theory and political

project that aim for **direct democracy**, **economic democracy** in a **stateless**, moneyless and marketless economy, **self-management** (democracy in the social realm) and ecological democracy. The theoretical project of Inclusive Democracy (ID; as distinguished from the political project which is part of the democratic and autonomy traditions) emerged from the work of political philosopher, former academic and activist Takis Fotopoulos in *Towards An Inclusive Democracy* and was further developed by him and other writers in the journal *Democracy & Nature* and its successor *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*, an **electronic journal** freely available and published by the International Network for Inclusive Democracy.

According to Arran Gare, *Towards an Inclusive Democracy* “offers a powerful new interpretation of the history and destructive dynamics of the market and provides an inspiring new vision of the future in place of both neo-liberalism and existing forms of socialism”.^[43] Also, as David Freeman points out, although Fotopoulos’ approach “is not openly anarchism, yet anarchism seems the formal category within which he works, given his commitment to direct democracy, municipalism and abolition of state, money and market economy”.^[44]

Participism

Main article: **Participism**

Participism is a twenty-first century form of libertarian



Michael Albert.

socialism. It comprises two related economic and political systems called **Participatory economics** or “Parecon” and **Participatory politics** or “Parpolity”.

Parecon is an economic system proposed primarily by activist and political theorist **Michael Albert** and radical economist **Robin Hahnel**, among others. It uses participatory decision making as an economic mechanism to guide the production, consumption and allocation of resources in a given society. Proposed as an alternative to contemporary capitalist market economies and also an alternative to centrally planned socialism or coordinatorism, it is described as “an anarchistic economic vision”, and it could be considered a form of socialism as under Parecon, the means of production are owned by the workers. The underlying values that Parecon seeks to implement are equity, solidarity, diversity, workers’ self-management and efficiency. (Efficiency here means accomplishing goals without wasting valued assets.) It proposes to attain these ends mainly through the following principles and institutions: Workers’ and consumers’ councils utilizing self-managerial methods for decision making, balanced job complexes, remuneration according to effort and sacrifice, and Participatory Planning.

Under Parecon, the current monetary system would be replaced with a system of non-transferable “credit” which would cease to exist upon purchase of a commodity.

Parpolity is a theoretical political system proposed by **Stephen R. Shalom**. It was developed as a political vision to accompany Parecon. The values on which Parpolity is based are: Freedom, self-management, justice, solidarity and tolerance. The goal, according to Shalom, is to create a political system that will allow people to participate, as much as possible in a face to face manner. Participism as a whole is critical of aspects of modern **representative democracies** and **capitalism** arguing that the level of political control by the people isn’t sufficient. To address this problem Parpolity suggests a system of “Nested Councils”, which would include every adult member of a given society. With five levels of nested councils it is thought, could represent the population of the United States.

Under **Participism**, the state as such would dissolve into a mere coordinating body made up of **delegates** which would be recallable at any time by the nested council below them.

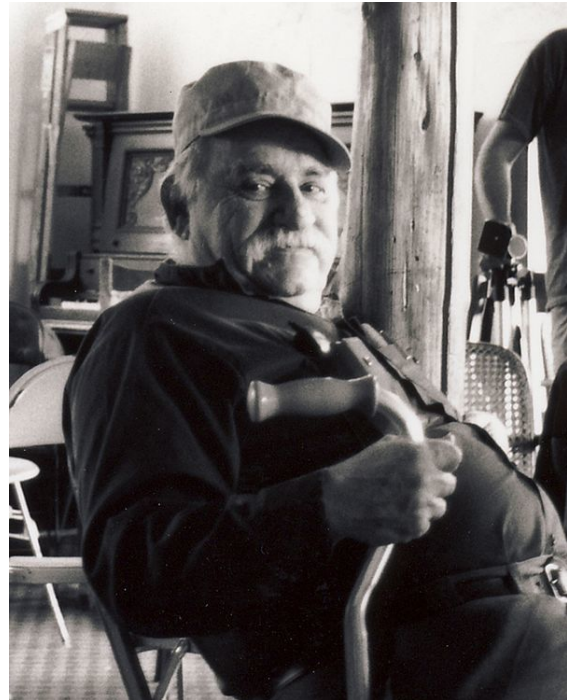
Social ecology and Communalism

Main article: **Social ecology**

Main article: **Communalism (Political Philosophy)**

Social ecology is closely related to the work and ideas of **Murray Bookchin** and influenced by anarchist **Peter Kropotkin**. Social ecologists assert that the present ecological crisis has its roots in human social problems, and that the domination of human-over-nature stems from the domination of human-over-human.^[45]

Bookchin later developed a political philosophy to complement social ecology which he called “**Communalism**” (spelled with a capital “C” to differentiate it from other forms of communalism). While originally conceived as a



Murray Bookchin.

form of Social anarchism, he later developed Communalism into a separate ideology which incorporates what he saw as the most beneficial elements of Anarchism, Marxism, syndicalism, and radical ecology.

Politically, Communalists advocate a network of directly democratic citizens’ assemblies in individual communities/cities organized in a confederal fashion. This method used to achieve this is called **Libertarian Municipalism** which involves the establishment of face-to-face democratic institutions which are to grow and expand confederally with the goal of eventually replacing the nation-state. Unlike anarchists, Communalists are not opposed to taking part in parliamentary politics—especially municipal elections—as long as candidates are **libertarian socialist** and anti-statist in outlook.

Economically, **Communalism** favours the abolition of markets and money and the transition to an economy similar to **libertarian communism** and according to the principle “from each according to ability, to each according to need.”

1.6.3 References

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- [2] Busky, Donald F. (2000-01-01). *Democratic Socialism: A Global Survey*. Greenwood Publishing Group. p. 2. ISBN 9780275968861. The same may be said of anarchism: social anarchism—a nonstate form of socialism—may be distinguished from the nonsocialist, and, in some cases,

- procapitalist school of individualist anarchism.
- [3] Suissa, Judith (2001) "Anarchism, Utopias and Philosophy of Education" *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 35 (4), 627–46. doi:10.1111/1467-9752.00249
 - [4] "The revolution abolishes private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and with it goes capitalistic business. Personal possession remains only in the things you use. Thus, your watch is your own, but the watch factory belongs to the people." Alexander Berkman. "What Is Communist Anarchism?"
 - [5] Bookchin, Murray (1995). *Social Anarchism Or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm*. AK Press.
 - [6] Thagard, Paul. 2002. *Coherence in Thought and Action*. MIT Press. p. 153
 - [7] "No, far from it. Most anarchists in the late nineteenth century recognised communist-anarchism as a genuine form of anarchism and it quickly replaced collectivist anarchism as the dominant tendency. So few anarchists found the individualist solution to the social question or the attempts of some of them to excommunicate social anarchism from the movement convincing." *An anarchist FAQ by Various Authors*
 - [8] On mutualism, see, e.g., Pierre-Joseph. Proudhon, *What Is Property?*, trans. Benjamin R. Tucker (New York: Humboldt 1890).
 - [9] For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster "It is apparent ... that Proudhonian Anarchism was to be found in the United States at least as early as 1848 and that it was not conscious of its affinity to the Individualist Anarchism of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews ... William B. Greene presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form." *Native American Anarchism: A Study of Left-Wing American Individualism* by Eunice Minette Schuster
 - [10] Kevin Carson. *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*.
 - [11] Morris, Brian. Bakunin: The Philosophy of Freedom. Black Rose Books Ltd., 1993. p. 76.
 - [12] Rae, John. Contemporary Socialism. C. Scribner's sons, 1901, Original from Harvard University. p. 261.
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 - [15] Morris, Christopher W. 1998. *An Essay on the Modern State*. Cambridge University Press. p. 50. The collectivist category is also sometimes known as social, socialist, or communitarian anarchism category.
 - [16] Kropotkin, Peter (2007). "13". *The Conquest of Bread*. Edinburgh: AK Press. ISBN 978-1-904859-10-9.
 - [17] Guillaume, James (1876). "Ideas on Social Organization".
 - [18] Bakunin, Mikhail (1990). *Statism and Anarchy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0-521-36182-6. They [the Marxists] maintain that only a dictatorship—their dictatorship, of course—can create the will of the people, while our answer to this is: No dictatorship can have any other aim but that of self-perpetuation, and it can beget only slavery in the people tolerating it; freedom can be created only by freedom, that is, by a universal rebellion on the part of the people and free organization of the toiling masses from the bottom up.
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 - [23] Christopher Gray, *Leaving the Twentieth Century*, p. 88.
 - [24] "Towards the creative Nothing" by Renzo Novatore
 - [25] Post-left anarcho-communist Bob Black after analysing insurrectionary anarcho-communist Luigi Galleani's view on anarcho-communism went as far as saying that "communism is the final fulfillment of individualism...The apparent contradiction between individualism and communism rests on a misunderstanding of both...Subjectivity is also objective: the individual really is subjective. It is nonsense to speak of "emphatically prioritizing the social over the individual,"...You may as well speak of prioritizing the chicken over the egg. Anarchy is a "method of individualization." It aims to combine the greatest individual development with the greatest communal unity." Bob Black. *Nightmares of Reason*.
 - [26] "Modern Communists are more individualistic than Stirner. To them, not merely religion, morality, family and State are spooks, but property also is no more than a spook, in whose name the individual is enslaved—and how enslaved!...Communism thus creates a basis for the liberty and Eigenheit of the individual. I am a Communist because I am an Individualist. Fully as heartily the Communists concur with Stirner when he puts the word take in place of demand—that leads to the dissolution of property, to expropriation. Individualism and Communism go hand in hand." Max Baginski. "Stirner: The Ego and His Own" on *Mother Earth*. Vol. 2. No. 3 May 1907
 - [27] "Communism is the one which guarantees the greatest amount of individual liberty—provided that the idea that begets the community be Liberty, Anarchy...Communism guarantees economic freedom better than any other form of association, because it can guarantee wellbeing, even

- luxury, in return for a few hours of work instead of a day's work." "Communism and Anarchy" by Peter Kropotkin
- [28] This other society will be libertarian communism, in which social solidarity and free individuality find their full expression, and in which these two ideas develop in perfect harmony. *Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists* by Dielo Truda (Workers' Cause)
- [29] "I see the dichotomies made between individualism and communism, individual revolt and class struggle, the struggle against human exploitation and the exploitation of nature as false dichotomies and feel that those who accept them are impoverishing their own critique and struggle." "My Perspectives" by Willful Disobedience Vol. 2, No. 12
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- [31] "Chapter 41: The "Anarchists"" in *The Great French Revolution 1789–1793* by Peter Kropotkin
- [32] Nunzio Pernicone, "Italian Anarchism 1864–1892", pp. 111–13, AK Press 2009.
- [33] "Anarchist-Communism" by Alain Pengam
- [34] "This process of education and class organization, more than any single factor in Spain, produced the collectives. And to the degree that the CNT-FAI (for the two organizations became fatally coupled after July 1936) exercised the major influence in an area, the collectives proved to be generally more durable, communist and resistant to Stalinist counterrevolution than other republican-held areas of Spain." Murray Bookchin. *To Remember Spain: The Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936*
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- [36] Berry, David, *A History of the French Anarchist Movement, 1917–1945* p. 134.
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1.7 Green anarchism

Green anarchism (or **eco-anarchism**) is a school of thought within anarchism which puts a particular emphasis on environmental issues. A green anarchist theory is normally one that extends anarchist ideology beyond a critique of human interactions, and includes a critique of the interactions between humans and non-humans as well.^[1] This often culminates in an anarchist revolutionary praxis that is not merely dedicated to human liberation, but also to some form of nonhuman liberation,^[2] and that aims to bring about an environmentally sustainable anarchist society.

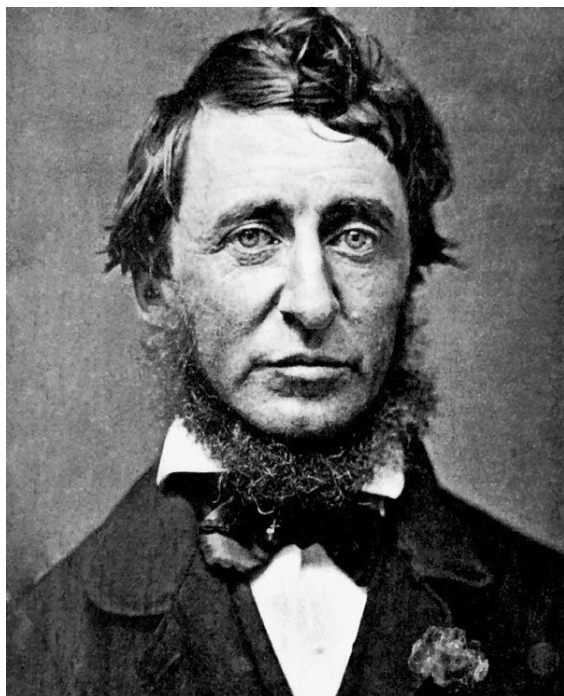
Important early influences were Henry David Thoreau, Leo Tolstoy^[3] and Élisée Reclus.^[4] In the late 19th century there emerged anarcho-naturism as the fusion of anarchism and naturist philosophies within individualist anarchist circles in France, Spain, Cuba,^[5] and Portugal.^{[3][6]} Important contemporary currents (some of which may be mutually exclusive) include anarcho-primitivism, which offers a critique of technology and argues that anarchism is best suited to pre-"civilised" ways of life; veganarchism, which argues that human liberation and animal liberation are inseparable;^[7] and social ecology, which argues that the hierarchical domination of nature by human stems from the hierarchical domination of human by human.^[8]

1.7.1 Early ecoanarchism

Henry David Thoreau

Main article: Henry David Thoreau

Anarchism started to have an ecological view mainly in the writings of American anarchist and transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau. In his book *Walden* he advocates simple living and self-sufficiency among natural surroundings in resistance to the advancement of industrial civilization.^[9] The work is part personal declaration of independence, social experiment, voyage of spiritual discovery, satire, and manual for self-reliance.^[10] First published in 1854, it details Thoreau's experiences over



*Henry David Thoreau, influential early green-anarchist who wrote *Walden**

the course of two years, two months, and two days in a cabin he built near **Walden Pond**, amidst woodland owned by his friend and mentor **Ralph Waldo Emerson**, near **Concord**, Massachusetts. The book compresses the time into a single calendar year and uses passages of four seasons to symbolize human development. By immersing himself in nature, Thoreau hoped to gain a more objective understanding of society through personal introspection. **Simple living** and **self-sufficiency** were Thoreau's other goals, and the whole project was inspired by **transcendentalist** philosophy, a central theme of the American Romantic Period. As Thoreau made clear in his book, his cabin was not in wilderness but at the edge of town, about two miles (3 km) from his family home.

As such “Many have seen in Thoreau one of the precursors of ecologism and **anarcho-primitivism** represented today in **John Zerzan**. For **George Woodcock** this attitude can be also motivated by certain idea of resistance to progress and of rejection of the growing materialism which is the nature of American society in the mid XIX century.”^[9] **John Zerzan** himself included the text “Excursions” (1863) by Thoreau in his edited compilation of writings called *Against civilization: Readings and reflections* from 1999.^[11]

Élisée Reclus

Main article: **Élisée Reclus**

Élisée Reclus (15 March 1830 – 4 July 1905), also known as Jacques Élisée Reclus, was a renowned **French geographer**, writer and **anarchist**. He produced his 19-



Élisée Reclus, French anarchist geographer and early environmentalist

volume masterwork *La Nouvelle Géographie universelle, la terre et les hommes* (“Universal Geography”), over a period of nearly 20 years (1875–1894). In 1892 he was awarded the prestigious Gold Medal of the **Paris Geographical Society** for this work, despite his having been banished from France because of his political activism. According to **Kirkpatrick Sale**:^[12]

His geographical work, thoroughly researched and unflinchingly scientific, laid out a picture of human-nature interaction that we today would call **bioregionalism**. It showed, with more detail than anyone but a dedicated geographer could possibly absorb, how the ecology of a place determined the kinds of lives and livelihoods its denizens would have and thus how people could properly live in self-regarding and self-determined bioregions without the interference of large and centralized governments that always try to homogenize diverse geographical areas.

For the authors of *An Anarchist FAQ* Reclus “argued that a “secret harmony exists between the earth and the people whom it nourishes, and when imprudent societies let themselves violate this harmony, they always end up regretting it.” Similarly, no contemporary ecologist would disagree with his comments that the “truly civilised man

[and women] understands that his [or her] nature is bound up with the interest of all and with that of nature. He [or she] repairs the damage caused by his predecessors and works to improve his domain.”^[13]

Reclus advocated **nature conservation** and opposed meat-eating and cruelty to animals. He was a **vegetarian**.^[14] As a result, his ideas are seen by some historians as anticipating the modern **social ecology** and **animal rights** movements.^[15] Shortly before his death, Reclus completed *L'Homme et la terre* (1905).^[16] In it, he added to his previous greater works by considering humanity's development relative to its geographical environment. Reclus was also an early proponent of **naturism**.^[4]

Anarcho-naturism

Main article: **Anarcho-naturism**

In the late 19th century Anarchist naturism appeared as the union of **anarchist** and **naturist** philosophies.^{[3][17][18][19]} Mainly it had importance within **individualist anarchist** circles^{[6][20]} in Spain,^{[3][6][18]} France,^{[6][21]} Portugal,^[22] and Cuba.^[23]

Anarcho-naturism advocated **vegetarianism**, **free love**, **nudism** and an ecological world view within anarchist groups and outside them.^{[3][20]} Anarcho-naturism promoted an ecological worldview, small **ecovillages**, and most prominently nudism as a way to avoid the artificiality of the industrial mass society of modernity.^[24] Naturist individualist anarchists saw the individual in his biological, physical and psychological aspects and tried to eliminate social determinations.^[25] Important promoters of this were **Henri Zisly** and **Emile Gravelle** who collaborated in *La Nouvelle Humanité* followed by *Le Naturien*, *Le Sauvage*, *L'Ordre Naturel*, & *La Vie Naturelle*.^[26]

France Richard D. Sonn comments on the influence of naturist views in the wider French anarchist movement:

Henri Zisly Main article: **Henri Zisly**

Henri Zisly (born in Paris, November 2, 1872; died in 1945)^[28] was a **French individualist anarchist** and **naturist**.^[29] He participated alongside **Henri Beylie** and **Émile Gravelle** in many journals such as *La Nouvelle Humanité* and *La Vie Naturelle*, which promoted **anarchist-naturism**. In 1902, he was one of the main initiators, alongside Georges Butaud and Sophie Zaïkowska, of the cooperative *Colonie de Vaux* established in Essômes-sur-Marne, in l'Aisne.

Zisly's political activity, “primarily aimed at supporting a return to 'natural life' through writing and practical involvement, stimulated lively confrontations within and outside the anarchist environment. Zisly vividly criticized

progress and civilization, which he regarded as 'absurd, ignoble, and filthy.' He openly opposed industrialization, arguing that machines were inherently authoritarian, defended nudism, advocated a non-dogmatic and non-religious adherence to the 'laws of nature,' recommended a lifestyle based on limited needs and self-sufficiency, and disagreed with vegetarianism, which he considered 'anti-scientific.'”^[30]

Cuba The historian Kirwin R. Schaffer in his study of **Cuban anarchism** reports anarcho-naturism as “A third strand within the island's anarchist movement” alongside **anarcho-communism** and **anarcho-syndicalism**.^[5] Naturism was a global alternative health and lifestyle movement. Naturists focused on redefining one's life to live simply, eat cheap but nutritious vegetarian diets, and raise one's own food if possible. The countryside was posited as a romantic alternative to urban living, and some naturists even promoted what they saw as the healthful benefits of nudism. Globally, the naturist movement counted anarchists, liberals, and socialists as its followers. However, in Cuba a particular “anarchist” dimension evolved led by people like Adrián del Valle, who spearheaded the Cuban effort to shift naturism's focus away from only individual health to naturism having a “social emancipatory” function.”^[5]

Schaffer reports the influence that anarcho-naturism had outside naturists circles. So “For instance, nothing inherently prevented an anarcho-syndicalist in the Havana restaurant workers' union from supporting the alternative health care programs of the anarcho-naturists and seeing those alternative practices as “revolutionary.””^[5] “Anarcho-naturists promoted a rural ideal, simple living, and being in harmony with Nature as ways to save the laborers from the increasingly industrialized character of Cuba. Besides promoting an early twentieth-century “back-to-the-land” movement, they used these romantic images of Nature to illustrate how far removed a capitalist industrialized Cuba had departed from an anarchist view of natural harmony.”^[5] The main propagandizer in Cuba of anarcho-naturism was the **Catalonia** born “Adrián del Valle (aka Palmiro de Lidia)...Over the following decades, Del Valle became a constant presence in not only the anarchist press that proliferated in Cuba but also mainstream literary publications...From 1912 to 1913 he edited the **freethinking** journal *El Audaz*. Then he began his largest publishing job by helping to found and edit the monthly alternative health magazine that followed the anarcho-naturist line *Pro-Vida*.”^[5]

Spain Anarcho-naturism was quite important at the end of the 1920s in the **spanish anarchist movement**.^[31] In **France**, later important propagandists of anarcho-naturism include **Henri Zisly**^[32] and **Émile Gravelle** whose ideas were important in individualist anarchist circles in Spain, where **Federico Urales** (pseudonym of Joan



Isaac Puente, spanish anarchist naturist and anarcho-communist

Montseny) promoted the ideas of Gravelle and Zisly in *La Revista Blanca* (1898–1905).^[33]

The “relation between Anarchism and Naturism gives way to the Naturist Federation, in July 1928, and to the IV Spanish Naturist Congress, in September 1929, both supported by the Libertarian Movement. However, in the short term, the Naturist and Libertarian movements grew apart in their conceptions of everyday life. The Naturist movement felt closer to the Libertarian individualism of some French theoreticians such as Henri Ner (real name of **Han Ryner**) than to the revolutionary goals proposed by some Anarchist organisations such as the FAI, (*Federación Anarquista Ibérica*)”.^[31] This ecological tendency in Spanish anarchism was strong enough as to call the attention of the CNT–FAI in Spain. **Daniel Guérin** in *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* reports:

Isaac Puente Main article: **Isaac Puente**

Isaac Puente was an influential Spanish anarchist during the 1920s and 1930s and an important propagandist of anarcho-naturism,^{[35][36]} was a militant of both the CNT anarcho-syndicalist trade union and Iberian Anarchist Federation. He published the book *El Comunismo Libertario y otras proclamas insurreccionales y naturistas* (en: *Libertarian Communism and other insurrectionary and naturist proclamations*) in 1933, which sold around 100,000 copies,^[37] and wrote the final document for the

Extraordinary Confederal Congress of Zaragoza of 1936 which established the main political line for the CNT for that year.^[38] Puente was a doctor who approached his medical practice from a naturist point of view.^[35] He saw naturism as an integral solution for the working classes, alongside **Neo-Malthusianism**, and believed it concerned the living being while anarchism addressed the social being.^[39] He believed capitalist societies endangered the well-being of humans from both a socio-economic and sanitary viewpoint, and promoted **anarcho-communism** alongside naturism as a solution.^[35]

Other countries Naturism also met **anarchism** in the **United Kingdom**. “In many of the alternative communities established in Britain in the early 1900s nudism, anarchism, vegetarianism and free love were accepted as part of a politically radical way of life. In the 1920s the inhabitants of the anarchist community at Whiteway, near Stroud in Gloucestershire, shocked the conservative residents of the area with their shameless nudity.”^[40] In Italy, during the IX Congress of the **Italian Anarchist Federation** in Carrara in 1965, a group decided to split off from this organization and created the *Gruppi di Iniziativa Anarchica*. In the seventies, it was mostly composed of “veteran individualist anarchists with an orientation of **pacifism**, **naturism**, etc.,...”.^[41] American anarcho-syndicalist **Sam Dolgoff** shows some of the criticism that some people on the other anarchist currents at the time had for anarcho-naturist tendencies. “Speaking of life at the Stelton Colony of New York in the 1930s, noted with disdain that it, “like other colonies, was infested by vegetarians, naturists, nudists, and other cultists, who side-tracked true anarchist goals.” One resident “always went barefoot, ate raw food, mostly nuts and raisins, and refused to use a tractor, being opposed to machinery, and he didn’t want to abuse horses, so he dug the earth himself.” Such self-proclaimed anarchists were in reality “ox-cart anarchists,” Dolgoff said, “who opposed organization and wanted to return to a simpler life.” In an interview with **Paul Avrich** before his death, Dolgoff also grumbled, “I am sick and tired of these half-assed artists and poets who object to organization and want only to play with their belly buttons.””^[42]

Leo Tolstoy and tolstoyanism

Main articles: **Leo Tolstoy** and **tolstoyanism**

Russian **christian anarchist** and **anarcho-pacifist** Leo Tolstoy is also recognized as an early influence in green anarchism.^[3] The novelist was struck by the description of Christian, **Buddhist**, and **Hindu** ascetic renunciation as being the path to holiness. After reading passages such as the following, which abound in Schopenhauer’s ethical chapters, the Russian nobleman chose poverty and formal denial of the will:

But this very necessity of involuntary suf-



Tolstoy dressed in peasant clothing, by Ilya Repin (1901)

fering (by poor people) for eternal salvation is also expressed by that utterance of the Savior (Matthew 19:24): "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Therefore

those who were greatly in earnest about their eternal salvation, chose *voluntary poverty* when fate had denied this to them and they had been born in wealth. Thus *Buddha Sakyamuni* was born a prince, but voluntarily took to the mendicant's staff; and *Francis of Assisi*, the founder of the *mendicant orders* who, as a youngster at a ball, where the daughters of all the notabilities were sitting together, was asked: "Now Francis, will you not soon make your choice from these beauties?" and who replied: "I have made a far more beautiful choice!" "Whom?" "La povertà (poverty)": whereupon he abandoned every thing shortly afterwards and wandered through the land as a mendicant.^[43]

Despite his misgivings about *anarchist violence*, Tolstoy took risks to circulate the prohibited publications of *anarchist thinkers in Russia*, and corrected the proofs of Kropotkin's "Words of a Rebel", illegally published in St Petersburg in 1906.^[44] Tolstoy was enthused by the economic thinking of *Henry George*, incorporating it approvingly into later works such as *Resurrection*, the book that played a major factor in his excommunication.^[45] Tolstoyans identify themselves as *Christians*, but do not generally belong to an institutional *Church*. They attempt to live an *ascetic and simple life*, preferring to be *vegetarian, non-smoking, teetotal and chaste*. Tolstoyans are considered *Christian pacifists* and advocate *nonresistance* in all circumstances.^[46] They do not support or participate in the *government* which they consider immoral, violent and corrupt. Tolstoy rejected the state (as it only exists on the basis of physical force) and all institutions that are derived from it - the police, law courts and army.^[47] Tolstoy influenced *Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi* who set up a cooperative colony called Tolstoy Farm near *Johannesburg, South Africa*, having been inspired by Tolstoy's ideas. The colony comprising 1,100 acres (4.5 km²) was funded by the Gandhian *Herman Kallenbach* and placed at the disposal of the *satyagrahis* from 1910.^[48] He also inspired similar communal experiments in the United States^[49] where the residents were also influenced by the views of *Henry George* and *Edward Bellamy*,^[50] as well as in *Russia*,^[51] *England*^[52] and the *Netherlands*.^[53]

1.7.2 Mid twentieth century

Several anarchists from the mid twentieth century, including *Herbert Read*, *Ethel Mannin*, *Leopold Kohr*,^[54] and *Paul Goodman*,^[55] also held proto-environmental views linked to their anarchism. Mannin's 1944 book *Bread and Roses: A Utopian Survey and Blue-Print* has been described by anarchist historian *Robert Graham* as setting forth "an ecological vision in opposition to the prevailing and destructive industrial organization of society".^[55]

Leopold Kohr

Main article: Leopold Kohr

Leopold Kohr (5 October 1909 in Oberndorf bei Salzburg, Austria – 26 February 1994 in Gloucester, England) was an economist, philosopher and political scientist known both for his opposition to the “cult of bigness” in social organization and as one of those who initiated the *small is beautiful* movement. For almost twenty years he was Professor of Economics and Public Administration at the University of Puerto Rico. He described himself as a “philosophical anarchist.” In 1937, Kohr became a freelance correspondent during the Spanish Civil War, where he was impressed by the limited, self-contained governments of the separatist states of Catalonia and Aragon, as well as the small Spanish anarchist city states of Alcoy and Caspe. In his first published essay “Disunion Now: A Plea for a Society based upon Small Autonomous Units”, published in *Commonweal* in 1941, Kohr wrote about a Europe at war: “We have ridiculed the many little states, now we are terrorized by their few successors.” He called for the breakup of Europe into hundreds of city states.^[54] Kohr developed his ideas in a series of books, including *The Breakdown of Nations* (1957), *Development without Aid* (1973) and *The Overdeveloped Nations* (1977).^[56] From Leopold Kohr’s most popular work *The Breakdown of Nations*:

[...] there seems to be only one cause behind all forms of social misery: bigness. Oversimplified as this may seem, we shall find the idea more easily acceptable if we consider that bigness, or oversize, is really much more than just a social problem. It appears to be the one and only problem permeating all creation. Whenever something is wrong, something is too big. [...] And if the body of a people becomes diseased with the fever of aggression, brutality, collectivism, or massive idiocy, it is not because it has fallen victim to bad leadership or mental derangement. It is because human beings, so charming as individuals or in small aggregations, have been welded into overconcentrated social units.

Later in his academic and writing career he protested the “cult of bigness” and economic growth and promoted the concept of human scale and small community life. He argued that massive external aid to poorer nations stifled local initiatives and participation. His vision called for a dissolution of centralized political and economic structures in favor of local control.^[56] Kohr was an important inspiration to the Green, bioregional, Fourth World, decentralist, and anarchist movements, Kohr contributed often to John Papworth’s ‘Journal for the Fourth World’, *Resurgence*. One of Kohr’s students was economist E. F.

Schumacher, another prominent influence on these movements, whose best selling book *Small Is Beautiful* took its title from one of Kohr’s core principles.^[57] Similarly, his ideas inspired Kirkpatrick Sale’s books *Human Scale* (1980) and *Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision* (1985). Sale arranged the first American publication of *The Breakdown of Nations* in 1978 and wrote the foreword.^[54]

Murray Bookchin

Main article: Murray Bookchin

Murray Bookchin (January 14, 1921 – July 30, 2006)^[58] was an American libertarian socialist author, orator, and philosopher. In 1958, Murray Bookchin defined himself as an anarchist,^[59] seeing parallels between anarchism and ecology. His first book, *Our Synthetic Environment*, was published under the pseudonym Lewis Herber in 1962, a few months before Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring*.^[60] The book described a broad range of environmental ills but received little attention because of its political radicalism. His groundbreaking essay “Ecology and Revolutionary Thought” introduced ecology as a concept in radical politics.^[61] In 1968 he founded another group that published the influential *Anarchos* magazine, which published that and other innovative essays on post-scarcity and on ecological technologies such as solar and wind energy, and on decentralization and miniaturization. Lecturing throughout the United States, he helped popularize the concept of ecology to the counterculture.

Post-Scarcity Anarchism is a collection of essays written by Murray Bookchin and first published in 1971 by Ramparts Press.^[62] It outlines the possible form anarchism might take under conditions of post-scarcity. It is one of Bookchin’s major works,^[63] and its radical thesis provoked controversy for being utopian and messianic in its faith in the liberatory potential of technology.^[64] Bookchin argues that post-industrial societies are also post-scarcity societies, and can thus imagine “the fulfillment of the social and cultural potentialities latent in a technology of abundance”.^[64] The self-administration of society is now made possible by technological advancement and, when technology is used in an ecologically sensitive manner, the revolutionary potential of society will be much changed.^[65] In 1982, his book *The Ecology of Freedom* had a profound impact on the emerging ecology movement, both in the United States and abroad. He was a principal figure in the Burlington Greens in 1986-90, an ecology group that ran candidates for city council on a program to create neighborhood democracy. In *From Urbanization to Cities* (originally published in 1987 as *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship*), Bookchin traced the democratic traditions that influenced his political philosophy and defined the implementation of the libertarian municipalism concept. A few years later *The Politics of Social Ecology*, written by his

partner of 20 years, Janet Biehl, briefly summarized these ideas.

Jacques Ellul

Main article: Jacques Ellul

Jacques Ellul (January 6, 1912 – May 19, 1994) was a French philosopher, law professor, sociologist, lay theologian, and Christian anarchist. He wrote several books about Christianity, the technological society, propaganda, and the interaction between religion and politics. Professor of History and the Sociology of Institutions on the Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences at the University of Bordeaux, he authored 58 books and more than a thousand articles over his lifetime in all, the dominant theme of which has been the threat to human freedom and religion created by modern technique. The Ellulian concept of technique is briefly defined within the “Notes to Reader” section of *The Technological Society* (1964). What many consider to be Ellul’s most important work, *The Technological Society* (1964) was originally titled: *La Technique: L'enjeu du siècle* (literally, “The Stake of the Century”).^[66] In it, Ellul set forth seven characteristics of modern technology that make efficiency a necessity: rationality, artificiality, automatism of technical choice, self-augmentation, monism, universalism, and autonomy.^[67]

For Ellul the rationality of technique enforces logical and mechanical organization through division of labor, the setting of production standards, etc. And it creates an artificial system which “eliminates or subordinates the natural world.” Today, he argues, the technological society is generally held sacred (cf. Saint Steve Jobs^[68]). Since he defines technique as “the totality of methods rationally arrived at, and having absolute efficiency (for a given stage of development) in every field of human activity”,^[69] it is clear that his sociological analysis focuses not on the society of machines as such, but on the society of “efficient techniques”.

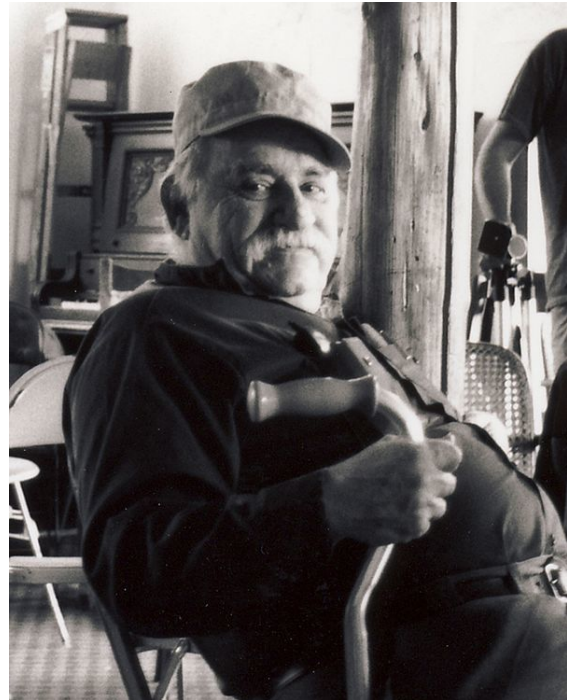
1.7.3 Contemporary developments

Notable contemporary writers espousing green anarchism include Layla AbdelRahim, Derrick Jensen, Jaime Semprun, George Draffan, John Zerzan, Starhawk and Alan Carter.^[70]

Social ecology and communalism

Main articles: Social ecology and Communalism (Political Philosophy)

Social ecology is closely related to the work and ideas of Murray Bookchin and influenced by anarchist Peter Kropotkin. Social ecologists assert that the present



Murray Bookchin

ecological crisis has its roots in human social problems, and that the domination of human-over-nature stems from the domination of human-over-human.^[71]

Bookchin later developed a political philosophy to complement social ecology which he called “Communalism” (spelled with a capital “C” to differentiate it from other forms of communalism). While originally conceived as a form of Social anarchism, he later developed Communalism into a separate ideology which incorporates what he saw as the most beneficial elements of Anarchism, Marxism, syndicalism, and radical ecology.

Politically, Communalists advocate a network of directly democratic citizens’ assemblies in individual communities/cities organized in a confederal fashion. This method used to achieve this is called Libertarian Municipalism which involves the establishment of face-to-face democratic institutions which are to grow and expand confederally with the goal of eventually replacing the nation-state.

Janet Biehl (born 1953) is a writer associated with social ecology, the body of ideas developed and publicized by Murray Bookchin. In 1986, she attended the Institute for Social Ecology and there, began a collaborative relationship with Bookchin, working intensively with him over the next two decades in the explication of social ecology from their shared home in Burlington, Vermont.^[72]

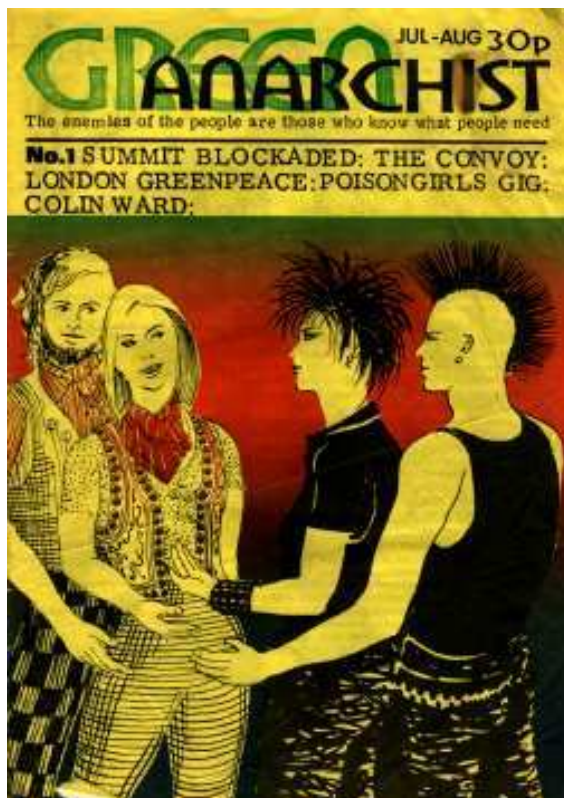
From 1987 to 2000, she and Bookchin co-wrote and co-published the theoretical newsletter *Green Perspectives*, later renamed *Left Green Perspectives*.^[73] She is the editor and compiler of *The Murray Bookchin Reader* (1997);^[74] the author of *The Politics of Social Ecology: Libertarian Municipalism* (1998) and *Rethinking Ecofeminist Politics*

(1991); and coauthor (with Peter Staudenmaier) of *Eco-fascism: Lessons from the German Experience* (1995).

Green Anarchist

Main article: Green Anarchist

The magazine *Green Anarchist* was for a while the prin-



Cover of the first issue of 'Green Anarchist' magazine (Summer 1984), featuring artwork by then editor Richard Hunt

cipal voice in the UK advocating green anarchism, an explicit fusion of libertarian socialist and ecological thinking. Founded after the 1984 Stop the City protests, the magazine was launched in the summer of that year by an editorial collective consisting of Alan Albon, Richard Hunt and Marcus Christo. Early issues featured a range of broadly anarchist and ecological ideas, bringing together groups and individuals as varied as Class War, veteran anarchist writer Colin Ward, anarcho-punk band Crass, as well as the Peace Convoy, anti-nuclear campaigners, animal rights activists and so on. However the diversity that many saw as the publication's greatest strength quickly led to irreconcilable arguments between the essentially pacifist approach of Albon and Christo, and the advocacy of violent confrontation with the State favoured by Hunt. During the 1990s *Green Anarchist* came under the helm of an editorial collective that included Paul Rogers, Steve Booth and others, during which period the publication became increasingly aligned with primitivism, an anti-civilization philosophy advocated by writers such as John Zerzan and Fredy Perlman. Starting

in 1995, Hampshire Police began a series of at least 56 raids, code named 'Operation Washington', that eventually resulted in the August to November 1997 Portsmouth trial of Green Anarchist editors Booth, Saxon Wood, Noel Molland and Paul Rogers, as well as Animal Liberation Front (ALF) Press Officer Robin Webb and Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group (ALFSG) newsletter editor Simon Russell. The defendants organised the GANDALF Defence campaign. Three of the editors of Green Anarchist, Noel Molland, Saxon Wood and Booth were jailed for 'conspiracy to incite'. However, all three were shortly afterwards released on appeal.

Fredy Perlman

Main article: Fredy Perlman

Fredy Perlman (August 20, 1934 – July 26, 1985) was a Czech-born, naturalised American author, publisher and militant. His most popular work, the book *Against His-Story, Against Leviathan!*, details the rise of state domination with a retelling of history through the Hobbesian metaphor of the Leviathan. The book remains a major source of inspiration for anti-civilization perspectives in contemporary anarchism, most notably on the thought of philosopher John Zerzan.^[75]

Anarcho-primitivism

Main article: Anarcho-primitivism

Anarcho-primitivism is an anarchist critique of the origins and progress of civilization. According to anarcho-primitivism, the shift from hunter-gatherer to agricultural subsistence gave rise to social stratification, coercion, and alienation. Anarcho-primitivists advocate a return to non-"civilized" ways of life through deindustrialisation, abolition of the division of labour or specialization, and abandonment of large-scale organization technologies. There are other non-anarchist forms of primitivism, and not all primitivists point to the same phenomenon as the source of modern, civilized problems. Anarcho-primitivists are often distinguished by their focus on the praxis of achieving a feral state of being through "rewilding".

John Zerzan Main article: John Zerzan

John Zerzan is an American anarchist and primitivist philosopher and author. His works criticize agricultural civilization as inherently oppressive, and advocate drawing upon the ways of life of hunter gatherers as an inspiration for what a free society should look like. Some subjects of his criticism include domestication, language, symbolic thought (such as mathematics and art) and the concept of time.

His five major books are *Elements of Refusal* (1988),



John Zerzan, anarcho-primitivism theorist

Future Primitive and Other Essays (1994), *Running on Emptiness* (2002), *Against Civilization: Readings and Reflections* (2005) and *Twilight of the Machines* (2008). Zerzan was one of the editors of *Green Anarchy*, a controversial journal of anarcho-primitivist and insurrectionary anarchist thought. He is also the host of *Anarchy Radio* in Eugene on the University of Oregon's radio station KWVA. He has also served as a contributing editor at *Anarchy Magazine* and has been published in magazines such as *AdBusters*. He does extensive speaking tours around the world, and is married to an independent consultant to museums and other nonprofit organizations. In 1974, Black and Red Press published *Unions Against Revolution* by Spanish ultra-left theorist Grandizo Munis that included an essay by Zerzan which previously appeared in the journal *Telos*. Over the next 20 years, Zerzan became intimately involved with the *Fifth Estate*, *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*, *Demolition Derby* and other anarchist periodicals. He began to question civilization in the early 80's, after having sought to confront issues around the neutrality of technology and division of labour, at the time when Fredy Perlman was making similar conclusions.^[76]

Green Anarchy Main article: Green Anarchy

Green Anarchy was a magazine published by a collective located in Eugene, Oregon. The magazine's focus was primitivism, post-left anarchy, radical environmentalism, African American struggles, anarchist resistance,

indigenous resistance, earth and animal liberation, anti-capitalism and supporting political prisoners. It had a circulation of 8,000, partly in prisons, the prison subscribers given free copies of each issue as stated in the magazine.^[77] *Green Anarchy* was started in 2000 and in 2009 the *Green Anarchy* website shut down, leaving a final, brief message about the cessation of the magazine's publication. The subtitle of the magazine is "An Anti-Civilization Journal of Theory and Action". Author John Zerzan was one of the publication's editors.^[78]

Species Traitor Main article: Species Traitor

Species Traitor is a sporadically published journal of insurrectionary anarcho-primitivism. It is printed as a project of Black and Green Network and edited by anarcho-primitivist writer, Kevin Tucker.^[79] ST was initially labeled as a project of the Coalition Against Civilization (CAC) and the Black and Green Network (BAG). The CAC was started towards the end of 1999 in the aftermath of the massive street protests in Eugene (Reclaim the Streets) and in Seattle (WTO) of that year. That aftermath gave a new voice and standing for green anarchist and anarcho-primitivist writers and viewpoints within both the anarchist milieu and the culture at large. The first issue came out in winter of 2000-2001 (currently out of print) and contained a mix of reprints and some original articles from Derrick Jensen and John Zerzan among others. Issue two came in the following year in the wake of Sept. 11 and took a major step from the first issue in becoming something of its own rather than another mouthpiece of green anarchist rhetoric. The articles took a more in depth direction opening a more analytical and critical draw between anarchy and anthropology, attacks on Reason and the Progress/linear views of human history and Future that stand at the base of the ideology of civilization.

Vegan anarchism

Main article: Veganarchism

Veganarchism or vegan anarchism, is the political philosophy of veganism (more specifically animal liberation and earth liberation) and anarchism,^{[80][81]} creating a combined praxis that is designed to be a means for social revolution.^{[82][83]} This encompasses viewing the state as unnecessary and harmful to animals, both human and non-human, whilst practising a vegan lifestyle. It is either perceived as a combined theory, or that both philosophies are essentially the same.^[84] It is further described as an anti-speciesist perspective on green anarchism, or an anarchist perspective on animal liberation.^[83]

Veganarchists typically view oppressive dynamics within society to be interconnected, from statism, racism and sexism to human supremacy^[85] and redefine veganism

as a **radical** philosophy that sees the state as harmful to animals.^[86] Those who believe in veganarchy can be either against reform for animals or for it, although do not limit goals to changes within the law.^{[87][88]}

Total liberation

Main article: **Total liberation**

Total liberationism is a form of green anarchism that combines an opposition to all forms of human oppression with a commitment to animal and earth liberation.^[89] Whilst more conventional approaches to anarchist politics typically maintain a tacit assumption of anthropocentrism, proponents of total liberation espouse a holistic revolutionary strategy aimed at identifying the intersections between all forms of domination and social hierarchy, and building alliances between individual political movements in order to integrate them into a single movement aimed at abolishing a range of social structures such as the state, capitalism, patriarchy, racism, heterosexism, cissexism, disablism, ageism, speciesism, and ecological domination.^[90] As David Pellow summarises:

The concept of total liberation stems from a determination to understand and combat all forms of inequality and oppression. I propose that it comprises four pillars: (1) an ethic of justice and anti-oppression inclusive of humans, nonhuman animals, and ecosystems; (2) anarchism; (3) anti-capitalism; and (4) an embrace of direct action tactics.^[91]

Derrick Jensen

Main article: **Derrick Jensen**

Derrick Jensen is an **American** author and **environmental activist** (and critic of mainstream environmentalism) living in **Crescent City, California**.^[92] Jensen's work is sometimes characterized as **anarcho-primitivist**,^{[93][94]} although he has categorically rejected that label, describing primitivist as a "racist way to describe indigenous peoples." He prefers to be called "indigenist" or an "ally to the indigenous," because "indigenous peoples have had the only sustainable human social organizations, and... we need to recognize that we [colonizers] are all living on stolen land."^[95]

A Language Older Than Words uses the lens of domestic violence to look at the larger violence of western culture. *The Culture of Make Believe* begins by exploring racism and misogyny and moves to examine how this culture's economic system leads inevitably to hatred and atrocity. *Strangely Like War* is about deforestation. *Walking on Water* is about education (It begins: "As is true for most people I know, I've always loved learning.

As is also true for most people I know, I always hated school. Why is that?").^[96] *Welcome to the Machine* is about **surveillance**, and more broadly about science and what he perceives to be a Western obsession with control. *Resistance Against Empire* consists of interviews with **J. W. Smith** (on poverty), **Kevin Bales** (on slavery), **Anuradha Mittal** (on hunger), **Juliet Schor** ('globalization' and environmental degradation), **Ramsey Clark** (on US 'defense'), **Stephen Schwartz** (editor of *The Non-proliferation Review*, on nukes), **Alfred McCoy** (politics and heroin), **Christian Parenti** (the US prison system), **Katherine Albrecht** (on RFID), and **Robert McChesney** (on (freedom of) the media) conducted between 1999 and 2004. *Endgame* is about what he describes as the inherent **unsustainability** of civilization. In this book he asks: "Do you believe that this culture will undergo a voluntary transformation to a sane and sustainable way of living?" Nearly everyone he talks to says no. His next question is: "How would this understanding — that this culture will not voluntarily stop destroying the natural world, eliminating indigenous cultures, exploiting the poor, and killing those who resist — shift our strategy and tactics? The answer? Nobody knows, because we never talk about it: we're too busy pretending the culture will undergo a magical transformation." *Endgame*, he says, is "about that shift in strategy, and in tactics."^[97] Jensen co-wrote the book *Deep Green Resistance: Strategy to Save the Planet* with **Lierre Keith** and **Aric McBay**

CrimethInc.

Main article: **CrimethInc.**

CrimethInc. is a decentralized **anarchist** collective of autonomous cells.^[98] **CrimethInc.** emerged in the mid-1990s,^[99] initially as the hardcore **zine** *Inside Front*, and began operating as a collective in 1996.^[100] It has since published widely read articles and zines for the anarchist movement and distributed posters and books of its own publication.^[101] Individuals adopting the **Crime-thInc.** *nom de guerre* have included convicted **ELF** arsonists,^[102] as well as **hacktivists** who successfully attacked the websites of **DARE**, **Republican National Committee** and sites related to U.S. President **George W. Bush's 2004 re-election campaign**.^{[103][104]} The creation of propaganda has been described as the collectives' core function.^[105] Among their best-known publications are the books *Days of War, Nights of Love, Expect Resistance*, *Evasion, Recipes for Disaster: An Anarchist Cookbook* and the pamphlet *Fighting For Our Lives* (of which, to date, they claim to have printed 600,000 copies),^[106] the hardcore punk/political zine *Inside Front*, and the music of hardcore punk bands. As well as the traditional anarchist opposition to the state and capitalism, agents have, at times, advocated a straight edge lifestyle, the total supersession of gender roles,^[107] violent insurrection against the state,^[108] and the refusal of work.^[109]

Direct action

Main articles: [Radical environmental movement](#), [Animal liberation movement](#), and [Anarchism and animal liberation](#)

Some Green Anarchists engage in [direct action](#), (not to be confused with [ecoterrorism](#)). Organizing themselves through groups like [Earth First!](#), [Root Force](#), or more drastically, the [Earth Liberation Front \(ELF\)](#), [Earth Liberation Army \(ELA\)](#) and [Animal Liberation Front \(ALF\)](#). They may take direct action against what they see as systems of oppression, such as the logging industry, the meat and dairy industries, animal testing laboratories, genetic engineering facilities and, more rarely, government institutions.

Such actions are usually, though not always, [non-violent](#), with groups such as [The Olga Cell](#) attempting assassinations of nuclear scientists, and other related groups sending letterbombs to nano tech and nuclear tech-related targets.^[110] Though not necessarily Green anarchists, activists have used the names [Animal Rights Militia](#), [Justice Department](#) and [Revolutionary Cells](#) among others, to claim responsibility for openly violent attacks.

Convictions Main articles: [GANDALF trial](#), [SHAC 7](#), and [Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty § Operation Achilles](#)

[Rod Coronado](#) is an eco-anarchist and is an unofficial spokesperson for the [Animal Liberation Front](#) and [Earth Liberation Front](#). On February 28, 1992, Coronado carried out an [arson](#) attack on research facilities at [Michigan State University \(MSU\)](#), and released [mink](#) from a nearby research farm on campus, an action claimed by the ALF, and for which Coronado was subsequently convicted.

In 1997, the editors of *Green Anarchist* magazine and two British supporters of the [Animal Liberation Front](#) were tried in connection with conspiracy to incite violence, in what came to be known as the [GANDALF trial](#).

Green anarchist [Tre Arrow](#)^{[111][112]} was sought by the FBI in connection with an ELF arson on April 15, 2001 at [Ross Island Sand and Gravel](#) in [Portland](#), torching three trucks amounting of \$200,000 in damage. Another arson occurred a month later at [Ray Schoppert Logging Company](#) in [Estacada, Oregon](#), on June 1, 2001 against logging trucks and a front loader, resulting in \$50,000 damage.^[113] Arrow was indicted by a federal grand jury in [Oregon](#) and charged with four felonies for this crime on October 18, 2002.^[114] On March 13, 2004, after fleeing to [British Columbia](#), he was arrested in [Victoria](#) for stealing bolt cutters and was also charged with being in [Canada](#) illegally.^[115] He was then sentenced on August 12, 2008 to 78 months in federal prison for his part in the arson and conspiracy ELF attacks in 2001.^{[116][117]}

In January 2006, [Eric McDavid](#), a green anarchist,^{[118][119]} was convicted of conspiring to use fire or explosives to damage corporate and government property.^[120] On March 8, he formally declared a [hunger strike](#) due to the jail refusing to provide him with [vegan food](#). He has been given [vegan food](#) off and on since.^[121] In September 2007, he was convicted on all counts after the two activists he conspired with pleaded guilty testified against him.^{[120][122][123]} An FBI confidential source named “Anna” was revealed as a fourth participant, in what McDavid’s defense argued was [entrapment](#).^[124] In May 2008, he was sentenced to nearly 20 years in prison.^{[125][126]}

On March 3, 2006, a federal jury in [Trenton, New Jersey](#) convicted six members of [SHAC](#), including green-anarchist [Joshua Harper](#),^{[127][128][129]} for “terrorism and Internet stalking”, according to the *New York Times*, finding them guilty of using their website to “incite attacks” on those who did business with [Huntingdon Life Sciences HLS](#).^[130] In September 2006, the [SHAC 7](#) received jail sentences of 3 to 6 years.

Other prisoners

- [Marco Camenisch](#); Swiss green anarchist accused of arson against electricity pylon.^{[131][132]}
- [Nicole Vosper](#); green anarchist who pleaded guilty to charges against [HLS](#).^{[133][134]}
- [Marius Mason](#), (born [Marie Jeanette Mason](#)) #04672-061, [FMC Carswell, Federal Medical Center](#), P.O. Box 27137, [Fort Worth, TX 76127, USA](#). Serving 21 years and 10 months for his involvement in an ELF arson against a University building carrying out Genetically Modified crop tests. Marius also pleaded guilty to conspiring to carry out ELF actions and admitted involvement in 12 other ELF actions. (vegan).^[135]

1.7.4 See also

- [Green Scare](#)
- [Intentional community](#)
- [Left-libertarianism](#)
- [Operation Backfire \(FBI\)](#)
- [Permaculture](#)

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1.7.7 External links

- [The Institute for Social Ecology](#)
- [Articles tagged with "green" and "ecology" at The Anarchist Library](#)
- [Green Anarchy](#)
- [REWILD.info](#)
- [Primitivism](#)

- Tiamat Publications
- The News from Nowhere Practical Green Anarchist ideas and theory

1.8 Collectivist anarchism

Collectivist anarchism (also known as **anarcho-collectivism**) is a revolutionary^[1] anarchist doctrine that advocates the abolition of both the **state** and **private ownership** of the **means of production**. It instead envisions the means of production being owned collectively and controlled and managed by the producers themselves.

For the **collectivization** of the means of production, it was originally envisaged that workers will revolt and forcibly collectivize the means of production.^[1] Once collectivization takes place, money would be abolished to be replaced with **labour notes** and **workers'** salaries would be determined, in democratic organizations of voluntary membership, based on job difficulty and the amount of time they contributed to production. These salaries would be used to purchase goods in a communal market.^[2] This contrasts with **anarcho-communism** where wages would be abolished, and where individuals would take freely from a storehouse of goods “to each according to his need.” Thus, Bakunin’s “Collectivist Anarchism,” not with standing the title, is seen as a blend of **individualism** and **collectivism**.^[3]

Collectivist anarchism is most commonly associated with Mikhail Bakunin, the anti-authoritarian sections of the First International, and the early Spanish anarchist movement.

1.8.1 The First International

Giuseppe Fanelli met Bakunin at Ischia in 1866.^[4] In October 1868 Bakunin sponsored Fanelli to travel to Barcelona to share his libertarian visions and recruit revolutionists to the **International Workingmen’s Association**.^[5] Fanelli’s trip and the meeting he organised during his travels provided the catalyst for the **Spanish exiles**, the largest workers’ and peasants’ movement in modern Spain and the largest Anarchist movement in modern Europe.^[6] Fanelli’s tour took him first to Barcelona, where he met and stayed with Elie Recluse.^[6] Recluse and Fanelli were at odds over Recluse’s friendships with Spanish republicans, and Fanelli soon left Barcelona for Madrid.^[6] Fanelli stayed in Madrid until the end of January 1869, conducting meetings to introduce Spanish workers, including **Anselmo Lorenzo**, to the First National.^[7] In February 1869 Fanelli left Madrid, journeying home via Barcelona.^[4] While in Barcelona again, he met with painter **Josep Lluís Pellicer** and his cousin **Rafael Farga Pellicer** along with others who were to play an important role establishing the International in Barcelona,^[4] as well as the **Alliance** section.



Collectivist anarchist *Mikhail Bakunin*

In 1870 Bakunin led a failed uprising in **Lyon** on the principles later exemplified by the **Paris Commune**, calling for a general uprising in response to the collapse of the French government during the **Franco-Prussian War**, seeking to transform an imperialist conflict into social revolution. In his *Letters to A Frenchman on the Present Crisis*, he argued for a revolutionary alliance between the working class and the peasantry, advocated a system of militias with elected officers as part of a system of self-governing communes and workplaces, and argued the time was ripe for revolutionary action:

we must spread our principles, not with words but with deeds, for this is the most popular, the most potent, and the most irresistible form of propaganda.^[8]

These ideas and corresponded strikingly closely with the program of the **Paris Commune** of 1871, much of which was developed by followers of **Pierre-Joseph Proudhon**; Marxists were almost entirely absent from the Commune. Bakunin was a strong supporter of the Commune, which was brutally suppressed by the French government. He saw the Commune as above all a “rebellion against the State,” and commended the Communards for rejecting not only the State but also revolutionary dictatorship.^[9] In a series of powerful pamphlets, he defended the Commune and the First International against the Italian nationalist **Giuseppe Mazzini**, thereby winning over many Italian republicans to the International and the cause of

revolutionary socialism. The collectivist anarchists at first used the term “collectivism” to distinguish themselves from the **mutualism** of the followers of **Proudhon** and the state socialists associated with **Karl Marx**. Bakunin wrote, “we shall always protest against anything that may in any way resemble communism or state socialism,” which Bakunin regarded as fundamentally authoritarian (“Federalism, Socialism, and Anti-Theologism,” 1867).^[10]

Bakunin’s disagreements with Marx, which led to the attempt by the **Marx party** to expel him at the Hague Congress (see below), illustrated the growing divergence between the “**anti-authoritarian**” sections of the International, which advocated the direct revolutionary action and organization of the workers and peasants in order to abolish the state and capitalism, and the sections allied with Marx, which advocated the conquest of political power by the working class. Bakunin was “Marx’s flamboyant chief opponent”, and “presciently warned against the emergence of a communist authoritarianism that would take power over working people.”^[11]

The **anti-authoritarian** majority, which included most sections of the International, created their own First International at the **St. Imier Congress**, adopted a revolutionary anarchist program, and repudiated the Hague resolutions, rescinding Bakunin’s alleged expulsion.^[12] Although Bakunin accepted elements of Marx’s class analysis and theories regarding capitalism, acknowledging “Marx’s genius”, he thought Marx’s analysis was one-sided, and that Marx’s methods would compromise the social revolution. More importantly, Bakunin criticized “**authoritarian socialism**” (which he associated with Marxism) and the concept of **dictatorship of the proletariat** which he adamantly refused.

If you took the most ardent revolutionary, vested him in absolute power, within a year he would be worse than the Tsar himself.^[13]

The anti-authoritarian sections of the First International proclaimed at the St. Imier Congress (1872) that “the aspirations of the proletariat can have no purpose other than the establishment of an absolutely free economic organization and federation, founded upon the labour and equality of all and absolutely independent of all political government,” in which each worker will have the “right to the enjoyment of the gross product of his labours and thereby the means of developing his full intellectual, material and moral powers in a collective setting.” This revolutionary transformation could “only be the outcome of the spontaneous action of the proletariat itself, its trades bodies and the autonomous communes.”^[14] A similar position was adopted by the Workers’ Federation of the Spanish Region in 1882, as articulated by an anarchist veteran of the First International, Jose Llunas Pujols, in his essay “Collectivism.”^[14]

By the early 1880s, most of the European anarchist move-

ment had adopted an anarchist communist position, advocating the abolition of wage labour and distribution according to need. Ironically, the “collectivist” label then became more commonly associated with Marxist state socialists who advocated the retention of some sort of wage system during the transition to full **communism**. The anarchist communist **Peter Kropotkin** attacked this position in his essay “The Collectivist Wages System”, which was reprinted in his book *The Conquest of Bread* in 1892.

1.8.2 Theory



Bakunin speaking to members of the IWA at the Basel Congress in 1869

Bakunin’s socialism was known as “collectivist anarchism”, where “socially: it seeks the confirmation of political equality by economic equality. This is not the removal of natural individual differences, but equality in the social rights of every individual from birth; in particular, equal means of subsistence, support, education, and opportunity for every child, boy or girl, until maturity, and equal resources and facilities in adulthood to create his own well-being by his own labor.”^[15]

Collectivist anarchism advocates the abolition of both the **state** and **private ownership** of the **means of production**. It instead envisions the means of production being owned collectively and controlled and managed by the producers themselves. For the **collectivization** of the means of production, it was originally envisaged that workers will revolt and forcibly collectivize the means of production.^[1] Once collectivization takes place, money

would be abolished to be replaced with **labour notes** and **workers'** salaries would be determined in democratic organizations based on job difficulty and the amount of time they contributed to production. These salaries would be used to purchase goods in a communal market.^[2]

Critique of Marxism

The dispute between Mikhail Bakunin and Karl Marx highlighted the differences between **anarchism** and **Marxism**. Bakunin argued—against certain ideas of a number of Marxists—that not all revolutions need be violent. He also strongly rejected Marx's concept of the "**dictatorship of the proletariat**", a concept that vanguardist socialism including Marxist–Leninism would use to justify one-party rule from above by a party 'representing' the proletariat.^[16] Bakunin insisted that revolutions must be led by the people directly while any "enlightened elite" must only exert influence by remaining "**invisible...not imposed on anyone...[and] deprived of all official rights and significance**".^[17] He held that the state should be immediately abolished because all forms of government eventually lead to oppression.^[16] Libertarian Marxists argue Marx used the phrase to mean the worker control at the point of production, not a party, would still be a state until society is reorganized according to socialist principles.

They [the Marxists] maintain that only a dictatorship—their dictatorship, of course—can create the will of the people, while our answer to this is: No dictatorship can have any other aim but that of self-perpetuation, and it can beget only slavery in the people tolerating it; freedom can be created only by freedom, that is, by a universal rebellion on the part of the people and free organization of the toiling masses from the bottom up.

— Mikhail Bakunin, *Statism and Anarchism*^[18]

While both social anarchists and Marxists share the same final goal, the creation of a free, **egalitarian** society **without social classes** and government, they strongly disagree on how to achieve this goal. Anarchists believe that the classless, stateless society should be established by the **direct action** of the masses, culminating in **social revolution**, and refuse any intermediate stage such as the **dictatorship of the proletariat**, on the basis that such a dictatorship will become a self-perpetuating fundament. For Bakunin, the fundamental contradiction is that for the Marxists, "anarchism or freedom is the aim, while the state and dictatorship is the means, and so, in order to free the masses, they have first to be enslaved."^[19]

However, Bakunin also wrote of meeting Marx in 1844 that:

As far as learning was concerned, Marx was, and still is, incomparably more advanced than I. I knew nothing at that time of political economy, I had not yet rid myself of my metaphysical observations... He called me a sentimental idealist and he was right; I called him a vain man, perfidious and crafty, and I also was right.^[20]

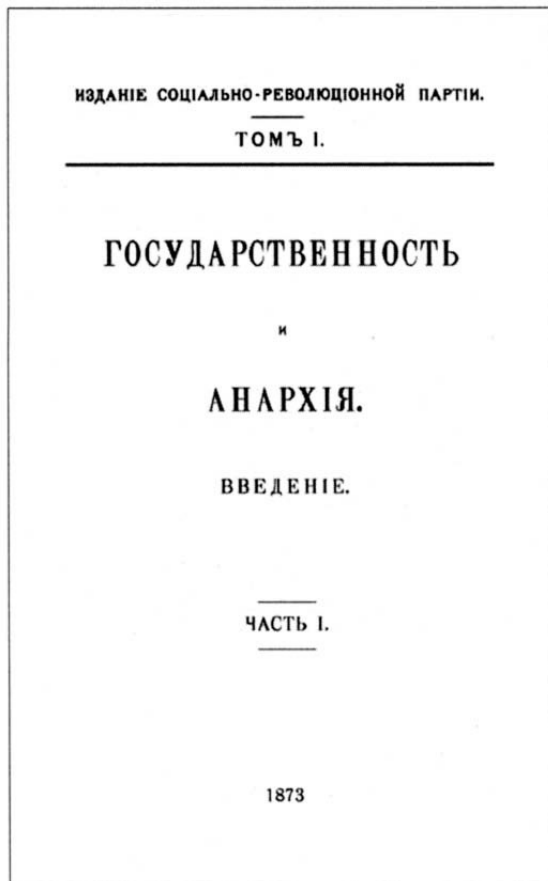
Bakunin found Marx's economic analysis very useful and began the job of translating *Das Kapital* into Russian. In turn Marx wrote of the rebels in the Dresden insurrection of 1848 that "In the Russian refugee Michael Bakunin they found a capable and cool headed leader."^[21] Marx wrote to Engels of meeting Bakunin in 1864 after his escape to Siberia saying "On the whole he is one of the few people whom I find not to have retrogressed after 16 years, but to have developed further."^[22]

Bakunin has sometimes been called the first theorist of the "**new class**", meaning that a 'class' of intellectuals and bureaucrats running the state in the name of the people or the proletariat—but in reality in their own interests alone. Bakunin argued that the "State has always been the patrimony of some privileged class: a priestly class, an aristocratic class, a bourgeois class. And finally, when all the other classes have exhausted themselves, the State then becomes the patrimony of the bureaucratic class and then falls—or, if you will, rises—to the position of a machine."

Also Bakunin had a different view as compared to Marx's on the revolutionary potential of the **lumpenproletariat** and the **proletariat**. As such "Both agreed that the proletariat would play a key role, but for Marx the proletariat was the exclusive, leading revolutionary agent while Bakunin entertained the possibility that the **peasants** and even the lumpenproletariat (the unemployed, common criminals, etc.) could rise to the occasion."^[23] Bakunin "considers workers' integration in capital as destructive of more primary revolutionary forces. For Bakunin, the revolutionary archetype is found in a peasant milieu (which is presented as having longstanding insurrectionary traditions, as well as a communist archetype in its current social form—the peasant commune) and amongst educated unemployed youth, assorted marginals from all classes, brigands, robbers, the impoverished masses, and those on the margins of society who have escaped, been excluded from, or not yet subsumed in the discipline of emerging industrial work...in short, all those whom Marx sought to include in the category of the lumpenproletariat."^[24]

Comparison with communist anarchism

The difference between collectivist anarchism and **anarchist communism** is that under the former, a wage system is retained based on the amount of labor performed. Anarchist communism, like collectivist anarchism, also advocates for the socialization of production,



Statism and Anarchy by Bakunin, Russian first print 1873

but the distribution of goods as well. Instead of 'to each according to his labor', in anarcho-communism the community would supply the subsistence requirements to each member free of charge according to the maxim 'to each according to his needs'.^[25]

The difference between collectivist anarchism and anarchist communism is that collectivist anarchism stresses collective ownership of productive, subsistence and tributary property, while communist anarchism negates the concept of ownership in favor of usage or possession with productive means being a possession not owned by any individual or particular group.^{[26][27]} Communist Anarchists believe that subsistence, productive and distributive property should be common or social possessions while personal property should be private possessions.^[28] Collectivist anarchists agree with this, however, disagree on the subject of remuneration; some collectivist anarchists, such as Mikhail Bakunin, believe in the remuneration of labor, while communist anarchists, such as Peter Kropotkin, believe that such remuneration would lead to the recreation of currency and that this would need a State.^[29] Thus, it could be said that collectivist anarchists believe in freedom through collective ownership of production and a communal market of sorts to distribute goods and services and compensate workers in the form of remuneration. Thus, collectivist anarchism could be

seen as a combination of communism and mutualism.

Collectivist anarchists are not necessarily opposed to the use of currency, but some while opposing the retaining of money propose the adoption of *labour vouchers* or "personal credit" (such as *Participatory Economists*). Most collectivist anarchists see their philosophy as a carryover to communist anarchism, but some see the system and the use of a *labour voucher* system as permanent rather than a transition. Collectivist anarchist James Guillaume argued that such a society would "guarantee the mutual use of the tools of production which are the property of each of these groups and which will by a reciprocal contract become the collective property of the whole ... federation. In this way, the federation of groups will be able to ... regulate the rate of production to meet the fluctuating needs of society."^[30] They argue for *workplace autonomy* and self-management "the workers in the various factories have not the slightest intention of handing over their hard-won control of the tools of production to a superior power calling itself the 'corporation.'"^[31]

The Anarchist FAQ compares and contrasts collectivist anarchism with communist anarchism this way:

1.8.3 Performance

Application of many collectivist anarchists projects have been successful,^[34] sources during the *Spanish Revolution* noted that in the Catalan region,

Tom Wetzel describes another collectivization...

1.8.4 People

- Michael Albert
- Mikhail Bakunin
- Giuseppe Fanelli
- Sam Dolgoff
- Luce Fabbri
- Luigi Fabbri
- Mick Farren
- Frank Fernández (writer)
- James Guillaume
- Ricardo Mella
- Robin Hahnel
- Gustav Landauer
- Anselmo Lorenzo
- César De Paepe

1.8.5 See also

- Direct democracy
- Participatory Economics
- Workers' council
- Workers' self-management

1.8.6 References

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 - [4] Bookchin 1998, p. 14.
 - [5] Bookchin 1998, pp. 12–15.
 - [6] Bookchin 1998, p. 12.
 - [7] Bookchin 1998, p. 13.
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 - [24] Nicholas Thoburn. "The lumpenproletariat and the proletarian unnameable" in *Deleuze, Marx and Politics*
 - [25] This paragraph sourced by Shatz, Marshall; Guess, Raymond; Skinner, Quentin. *The Conquest of Bread and Other Writings*. Cambridge University Press. p. xvi
 - [26] Proudhon. *What is Property*, pp. 395–96
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 - [28] *What is Anarchism?*, p. 217
 - [29] Kropotkin. *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 162
 - [30] James Guillaume, *Bakunin on Anarchism*, p. 376
 - [31] Guillaume, *Bakunin on Anarchism*, p. 364
 - [32] [Anarchism, p. 295]
 - [33] A.3 What types of anarchism are there?
 - [34] "Workers Power and the Spanish Revolution," by Tom Wetzel, <http://libcom.org/library/workers-power-and-the-spanish-revolution-tom-wetzel>
 - [35] *The Anarchist Collectives*, p. 114

1.8.7 External links

- "The Collectivist Wages System." entry at the Anarchy Archives – Anarcho-communist Peter Kropotkin's criticism of collectivist anarchism, from *The Conquest of Bread*

1.9 Christian anarchism

Christian anarchism is a movement in political theology that claims anarchism is inherent in Christianity and the Gospels.^{[1][2]} It is grounded in the belief that there is only one source of authority to which Christians are ultimately answerable, the authority of God as embodied in the teachings of Jesus, and thus rejects the idea that human governments have ultimate authority over human societies. Christian anarchists denounce the state as they claim it is violent, deceitful and, when glorified, idolatrous.^{[3][4]} Christian anarchists hold that the proper relationship between God and people is the "Reign of



Symbol of Christian Anarchism

God” in which human relationships would be characterized by divided authority, **servant leadership**, and universal compassion rather than the hierarchical, authoritarian structures normally attributed to religion.^[5]

More than any other Bible source, the **Sermon on the Mount** is used as the basis for Christian anarchism.^[6] Most Christian anarchists are **pacifists** and reject the use of violence, such as war.^[3] **Leo Tolstoy's** *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* is often regarded as a key text for modern Christian anarchism.^{[3][7]}

1.9.1 Origins

Old Testament

Jacques Ellul, a French philosopher and Christian anarchist, notes that the final verse of the **Book of Judges** (Judges 21:25) states that there was no king in Israel and that “everyone did as they saw fit”.^{[8][9][10]} Subsequently, as recorded in the first **Book of Samuel** (1 Samuel 8) the **people of Israel** wanted a king “so as to be like other nations”.^{[11][12]} God declared that the people had rejected him as their king. He warned that a human king would lead to **militarism**, **conscription** and **taxation**, and that their pleas for mercy from the king’s demands would go unanswered. **Samuel** passed on God’s warning to the Israelites but they still demanded a king, and **Saul** became their ruler.^{[13][14]} Much of the subsequent **Old Testament** chronicles the Israelites trying to live with this decision.^[15]

New Testament

More than any other Bible source, the **Sermon on the Mount** is used as the basis for Christian anarchism.^[6]



Carl Heinrich Bloch's depiction of the Sermon on the Mount

Alexandre Christoyannopoulos explains that the Sermon perfectly illustrates Jesus’s central teaching of love and forgiveness. Christian anarchists claim that the state, founded on violence, contravenes the Sermon and Jesus’ call to love our enemies.^[6]

The gospels tell of Jesus’s **temptation in the desert**. For the final temptation, Jesus is taken up to a high mountain by Satan and told that if he bows down to Satan he will give him all the kingdoms of the world.^[16] Christian anarchists use this as evidence that all Earthly kingdoms and governments are ruled by Satan, otherwise they would not be Satan’s to give.^[17] Jesus refuses the temptation, choosing to serve God instead, implying that Jesus is aware of the corrupting nature of Earthly power.^[18]

Christian eschatology and various Christian anarchists, such as Jacques Ellul, have identified the state and **political power** as the **Beast** in the **Book of Revelation**.^{[19][20]}

Whether or not Christianity is compatible with anarchism is a point of contention, as some hold that one cannot consistently be a Christian and anarchist simultaneously. Critics include Christians and anarchists as well as those who reject both categories. For example, **anarcho-syndicalists** often cite the phrase “no gods, no masters” and Christians often cite Romans 13 (see **State authority** below). Others, such as **Friedrich Nietzsche** and Frank Seaver Billings, criticize Christianity and anarchism by arguing that they are the same thing.^{[21][22]}

Early Church

See also: **Early Christianity**

According to Alexandre Christoyannopoulos, several of the Church Fathers' writings suggest anarchism as God's ideal.^[23] The first Christians opposed the primacy of the State: "We must obey God as ruler rather than men" (Acts 4:19, 5:29, 1 Corinthians 6:1-6); "Stripping the governments and the authorities bare, he exhibited them in open public as conquered, leading them in a triumphal procession by means of it." (Colossians 2:15). Also some early Christian communities appear to have practised anarchist communism, such as the Jerusalem group described in Acts, who shared their money and labor equally and fairly among the members.^[24] Christian anarchists, such as Keven Craig, insist that these communities were centred on true love and care for one another rather than liturgy. They also allege that the reason the early Christians were persecuted was not because they worshipped Jesus Christ, but because they refused to worship human idols claiming divine status (see Imperial cult). Given that they refused to worship the Roman Emperor they refused to swear any oath of allegiance to the Empire.^[25] For example, when requested that he swear by the emperor, Speratus, spokesperson of the Scillitan Martyrs, said in 180ce, "I recognize not the empire of this world"^[25] ... because I know my Lord, the King of kings and Emperor of all nations.^[26]

Thomas Merton in his introduction to a translation of the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* describes the early monastics as "Truly in certain sense 'anarchists,' and it will do no harm to think of them as such."^[27]

Conversion of the Roman Empire

See also: Constantine I and Christianity and State church of the Roman Empire

For Christian anarchists the moment which epitomises the degeneration of Christianity is the conversion of Emperor Constantine after his victory at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312.^[28] Following this event Christianity was legalised under the Edict of Milan in 313, hastening the Church's transformation from a humble bottom-up sect to an authoritarian top-down organization. Christian anarchists point out that this marked the beginning of the "Constantinian shift", in which Christianity gradually came to be identified with the will of the ruling elite, becoming the State church of the Roman Empire, and in some cases (such as the Crusades, Inquisition and Wars of Religion) a religious justification for violence.^[28]

Middle Ages

Following Constantine's conversion, Alexandre Christoyannopoulos recounts that Christian pacifism and anarchism were submerged for nearly a millennium until the emergence of thinkers such as Francis of Assisi and Petr Chelčický.^[29] Francis of Assisi (c.1181–1226) was an

ascetic preacher, pacifist and nature lover. As the son of a wealthy family cloth merchant he led a privileged life and fought as a soldier, but radically changed his beliefs and practices after a spiritual awakening. Francis became a pacifist and eschewed material goods, attempting to follow in the footsteps of Jesus.^[30] Peter Maurin, co-founder of the Catholic Worker Movement, was heavily influenced by Francis of Assisi.^[31] Petr Chelčický's (c.1390–c.1460) work, specifically *The Net of Faith*, influenced Leo Tolstoy and is referenced in his book *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*.^[32]

Peasant revolts in the post-reformation era

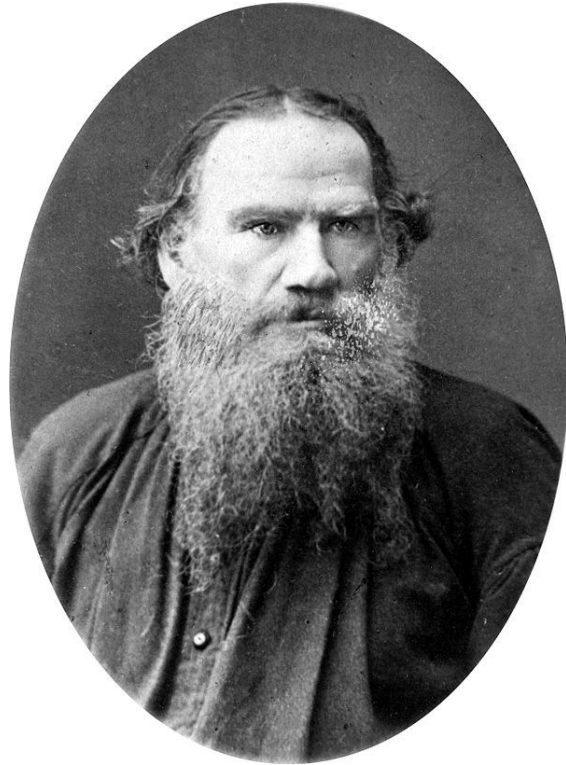


Woodcut from a Diggers document by William Everard.

Various libertarian socialist authors have identified the written work of English Protestant social reformer Gerrard Winstanley and the social activism of his group, the Diggers, as anticipating this line of thought.^{[33][34]} For anarchist historian George Woodcock "Although (Pierre Joseph) Proudhon was the first writer to call himself an anarchist, at least two predecessors outlined systems that contain all the basic elements of anarchism. The first was Gerrard Winstanley (1609–c. 1660), a linen draper who led the small movement of the Diggers during the Commonwealth. Winstanley and his followers protested in the name of a radical Christianity against the economic distress that followed the Civil War and against the inequality that the grantees of the New Model Army seemed intent on preserving.

In 1649–1650 the Diggers squatted on stretches of common land in southern England and attempted to set up communities based on work on the land and the sharing of goods. The communities failed following a crack-

down by the English authorities, but a series of pamphlets by Winstanley survived, of which *The New Law of Righteousness* (1649) was the most important. Advocating a rational Christianity, Winstanley equated Christ with “the universal liberty” and declared the universally corrupting nature of authority. He saw “an equal privilege to share in the blessing of liberty” and detected an intimate link between the institution of property and the lack of freedom.”^[35] For **Murray Bookchin** “In the modern world, anarchism first appeared as a movement of the peasantry and yeomanry against declining feudal institutions. In Germany its foremost spokesman during the Peasant Wars was **Thomas Müntzer**; in England, Gerrard Winstanley, a leading participant in the Digger movement. The concepts held by Müntzer and Winstanley were superbly attuned to the needs of their time — a historical period when the majority of the population lived in the countryside and when the most militant revolutionary forces came from an agrarian world. It would be painfully academic to argue whether Müntzer and Winstanley could have achieved their ideals. What is of real importance is that they spoke to their time; their anarchist concepts followed naturally from the rural society that furnished the bands of the peasant armies in Germany and the New Model in England.”^[36]



Leo Tolstoy wrote extensively about Christian pacifism and anarchism.

Modern era

Adin Ballou Adin Ballou (1803–1890) was founder of the **Hopedale Community** in Massachusetts, and a prominent 19th century exponent of pacifism, socialism and abolitionism. Through his long career as a **Universalist** (and then **Unitarian**) minister, he tirelessly sought social reform through his radical Christian and socialist views. Although he rejected anarchism both as a label and as a theory, he was extremely critical of “human government”.^[37] Tolstoy was heavily influenced by his writings.

William B. Greene William B. Greene (1819–1878), an **individualist anarchist** based in the **United States**, was a Unitarian minister, and the originator of a Christian Mutualism, which he considered a new dispensation, beyond God’s covenant with Abraham. His 1850 *Mutual Banking* begins with a discussion (drawn from the work of **Pierre Leroux**) of the Christian rite of communion as a model for a society based in equality, and ends with a prophetic invocation of the new Mutualist dispensation. His better-known scheme for mutual banking, and his criticisms of usury should be understood in this specifically religious context. Unlike his contemporaries among the **nonresistants**, Greene was not a pacifist, and served as a Union Army colonel in the American Civil War.

Leo Tolstoy Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) wrote extensively on his anarchist principles, which he arrived

at via his Christian faith, in his books *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, *What I Believe* (aka *My Religion*), *The Law of Love and the Law of Violence*, and *Christianity and Patriotism* which criticised government and the Church in general. *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* is regarded as a key Christian anarchist text.^[7] Tolstoy sought to separate **Russian Orthodox Christianity** — which was merged with **the state** — from what he believed was the true message of Jesus as contained in the Gospels, specifically in the **Sermon on the Mount**.^[38] Tolstoy takes the viewpoint that all governments who wage war, and churches who in turn support those governments, are an affront to the Christian principles of **nonviolence** and **nonresistance**. Although Tolstoy never actually used the term “Christian anarchism” in *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, reviews of this book following its publication in 1894 appear to have coined the term.^{[39][40]} He called for a society based on compassion, nonviolent principles and freedom. Tolstoy was a **pacifist** and a **vegetarian**. His vision for an equitable society was an anarchist version of **Georgism**, which he mentions specifically in his novel *Resurrection*.

Charles Erskine Scott Wood Charles Erskine Scott Wood (1852–1944) was the author of a satirical bestseller, *Heavenly Discourse*, which portrayed God and Jesus as anarchists opposed to churches, governments, war, and capitalism.

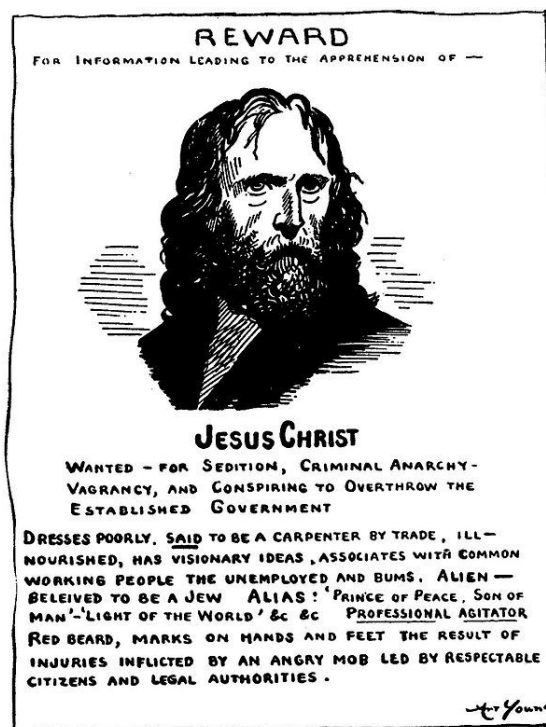
Thomas J. Hagerty Thomas J. Hagerty (c.1862–?) was a Catholic priest from New Mexico, USA, and one of the founding members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Hagerty is credited with writing the IWW Preamble, assisting in the composition of the Industrial Union Manifesto and drawing up the first chart of industrial organization. He was ordained in 1892 but his formal association with the church ended when he was suspended by his archbishop for urging miners in Colorado to revolt during his tour of mining camps in 1903. Hagerty is not commonly regarded as a Christian anarchist in the Tolstoyan tradition but rather an anarcho-syndicalist. Christian anarchists like Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy have been members of the Industrial Workers of the World and found common cause with the axiom “an injury to one is an injury to all.”

Nikolai Berdyaev Nikolai Berdyaev (1874–1948), the Orthodox Christian philosopher has been called the philosopher of freedom and is known as a Christian existentialist. Known for writing “the Kingdom of God is anarchy” he believed that freedom ultimately comes from God, in direct opposition to atheist anarchists such as Mikhail Bakunin, who saw God as the (symbolic) enslaver of humanity.

Peter Maurin Peter Maurin (1877–1949) was a French social activist and co-founder of the Catholic Worker Movement. Maurin’s vision to transform the social order consisted of establishing urban houses of hospitality to care for the destitute; rural farming communities to teach city dwellers agrarianism and encourage a movement back-to-the-land; and roundtable discussions in community centres to clarify thought and initiate action.^[41]

Léonce Crenier Léonce Crenier (1888–1963) first rejected religion, becoming an anarcho-communist when he moved to Paris from rural France in 1911. In 1913 he visited his sister in Portugal where he stayed for several years. During this period he suffered a debilitating and agonising illness. Receiving the attentions of a particularly caring nurse, he survived, despite the gloomy predictions of the doctors. Converting to Catholicism, he became a monk. He is particularly known for his concept of Precarity, and was influential on Dorothy Day.

Ammon Hennacy Ammon Hennacy (1893–1970) wrote extensively on his work with the Catholic Workers, the IWW, and at the Joe Hill House of Hospitality. He was an Irish American Christian anarchist, draft dodger, vegetarian, and tax resister. He also tried to reduce his tax liability by taking up a lifestyle of simple living. His autobiography



Cartoon by Art Young, first published in *The Masses* in 1917 and later reprinted in Ammon Hennacy’s autobiography.^[42]

The Book of Ammon originally released as *The Autobiography of a Catholic Anarchist*, describes his work in nonviolent, anarchist, social action, and provides insight into the lives of Christian anarchists in the United States of the 20th century. His other book is *The One-Man Revolution in America*.

Dorothy Day Dorothy Day (1897–1980) was a journalist turned social activist. She was a member of the IWW and devout member of the Roman Catholic Church. She became known for her social justice campaigns in defense of the poor, forsaken, hungry and homeless. Alongside Peter Maurin, she founded the Catholic Worker Movement in 1933, espousing nonviolence, and hospitality for the impoverished and downtrodden. Dorothy Day was declared Servant of God when a cause for sainthood was opened for her by Pope John Paul II. Among books she authored was her autobiography *The Long Loneliness*.

Jacques Ellul Jacques Ellul (1912–1994) was a French thinker, sociologist, theologian and Christian anarchist. He wrote several books against the “technological society”, and some about Christianity and politics, like *Anarchy and Christianity*. Similar to the theology of one of his main influences, Karl Barth, Ellul’s works and ideas are considered dialectic.^[43]

Philip Berrigan Philip Berrigan (1923–2002) was an

internationally renowned peace activist and Roman Catholic priest. He and his brother Daniel Berrigan were on the FBI Ten Most Wanted Fugitives list for illegal nonviolent actions against war.

Ivan Illich Ivan Illich (1926–2002) was a libertarian-socialist social thinker, with roots in the Catholic Church, who wrote critiques of technology, energy use and compulsory education. In 1961 Illich founded the *Centro Intercultural de Documentación* (CIDOC) at Cuernavaca in Mexico, in order to “counterfoil” the Vatican’s participation in the “modern development” of the so-called Third World. Illich’s books *Energy and Equity* and *Tools for Conviviality* are considered classics for social ecologists interested in appropriate technology, while his book *Deschooling Society* is still revered by activists seeking alternatives to compulsory schooling. Ivan’s views on Jesus as an anarchist are highlighted in a speech he made at a chapel in Chicago.^[44]

Vernard Eller Vernard Eller (1927–2007) was a minister in the Church of the Brethren and author of *Christian Anarchy: Jesus’ Primacy Over the Powers*.^[45]

1.9.2 Anarchist biblical views and practices

Church authority

With some notable exceptions, such as the Catholic Worker Movement, many Christian anarchists are critical of Church dogma and rituals. Christian anarchists tend to wish that Christians were less preoccupied with performing rituals and preaching dogmatic theology, and more with following Jesus’ teaching and practices.^[46] Jacques Ellul and Dave Andrews claim that Jesus did not intend to be the founder of an institutional religion, while Michael Elliot believes one of Jesus’ intentions was to bypass human intermediaries and do away with priests.^{[47][48][49]}

Pacifism and nonviolence

Main articles: Christian pacifism and Anarcho-pacifism
Christian anarchists, such as Leo Tolstoy, Ammon Hennacy, Jacques Ellul, and Dave Andrews, follow Jesus’ call to not resist evil but turn the other cheek. They argue that this teaching can only imply a condemnation of the state, as the police and army hold a monopoly over the legitimate use of force.^[3] They believe freedom will only be guided by the grace of God if they show compassion to others and turn the other cheek when confronted with violence. Christian anarchists believe violence begets violence and the ends never justify the means.^[50]



The Deserter (1916) by Boardman Robinson.

Many Christian anarchists practice the principles of nonviolence, nonresistance, and turning the other cheek. To illustrate how nonresistance works in practice, Alexandre Christoyannopoulos offers the following Christian anarchist response to terrorism:

The path shown by Jesus is a difficult one that can only be trod by true martyrs. A “martyr,” etymologically, is he who makes himself a witness to his faith. And it is the ultimate testimony to one’s faith to be ready to put it to practice even when one’s very life is threatened. But the life to be sacrificed, it should be noted, is not the enemy’s life, but the martyr’s own life — killing others is not a testimony of love, but of anger, fear, or hatred. For Tolstoy, therefore, a true martyr to Jesus’ message would neither punish nor resist (or at least not use violence to resist), but would strive to act from love, however hard, whatever the likelihood of being crucified. He would patiently learn to forgive and turn the other cheek, even at the risk of death. Such would be the only way to eventually win the hearts and minds of the other camp and open up the possibilities for reconciliation in the “war on terror.”^[51]

Simple living

Main article: Simple living

Christian anarchists, such as Ammon Hennacy, Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day, often advocate voluntary poverty. This can be for a variety of reasons, such as withdrawing support for government by reducing taxable income or following Jesus’ teachings.^[52] Jesus appears to teach voluntary poverty when he told his disciples, “It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God” (Mark 10:25) and “You cannot serve both God and Mammon” (Luke 16:13).^[53]

State authority

The most common challenge for anarchist theologians is interpreting Paul's *Epistle to the Romans* 13:1–7, in which Paul demanded obedience to governing authorities and described them as God's servants exacting punishment on wrongdoers.^{[54][55]} Romans 13:1–7 holds the most explicit reference to the state in the New Testament but other parallel texts include *Titus* 3:1, *Hebrews* 13:17 and *1 Peter* 2:13–17.^{[56][57][58][59]}



Blessed are the Peacemakers (1917) by George Bellows

Established theologians, such as C.E.B. Cranfield, have interpreted Romans 13:1–7 to mean the Church should support the state, as God has sanctified the state to be his main tool to preserve social order.^{[60][61]} In the case of the state being involved in a "just war", theologians also argue that it's permissible for Christians to serve the state and wield the sword.^{[54][62]} Christian anarchists do not share this interpretation of Romans 13 but still recognize it as "a very embarrassing passage."^{[63][64]}

Christian anarchists and pacifists, such as Jacques Ellul and Vernard Eller, do not attempt to overthrow the state given Romans 13 and Jesus' command to turn the other cheek.^{[63][65]} As wrath and vengeance are contrary to the Christian values of kindness and forgiveness, Ellul neither supports, nor participates in, the state.^[63] Eller articulates this position by restating the passage this way:

Be clear, any of those human [authorities] are where they are only because God is allowing them to be there. They exist only at his sufferance. And if God is willing to put up with...the Roman Empire, you ought to be willing to put up with it, too. There is no indication

God has called *you* to clear it out of the way or get it converted for him. You can't fight an Empire without becoming *like* the Roman Empire; so you had better leave such matters in God's hands where they belong.^[66]

Christians who interpret Romans 13 as advocating support for governing authorities are left with the difficulty of how to act under tyrants or dictators.^[61] Ernst Käsemann, in his *Commentary on Romans*, challenged the mainstream Christian interpretation of the passage in light of German Lutheran Churches using this passage to justify the Holocaust.^[67]

Paul's letter to Roman Christians declares "For rulers hold no terror for those who do right, but for those who do wrong." However Christian anarchists point out an inconsistency if this text were to be taken literally and in isolation as Jesus and Paul were both executed by the governing authorities or "rulers" even though they did "right."^[61]

There are also Christians anarchists, such as Tolstoy and Hennacy, who do not see the need to integrate Paul's teachings into their subversive way of life. Tolstoy believed Paul was instrumental in the church's "deviation" from Jesus' teaching and practices, whilst Hennacy believed "Paul spoiled the message of Christ" (see *Jesuisism*).^{[68][69]} Hennacy and Ciaran O'Reilly, in contrast to Eller, advocate nonviolent civil disobedience to confront state oppression.^[70]

Swearing of oaths

In the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:33–37) Jesus tells his followers to not swear oaths in the name of God or Man. Tolstoy, Adin Ballou and Petr Chelčický understand this to mean that Christians should never bind themselves to any oath as they may not be able to fulfil the will of God if they are bound to the will of a fellow-man. Tolstoy takes the view that all oaths are evil, but especially an oath of allegiance.^[71]

Tax

Some Christian anarchists resist taxes in the belief that their government is engaged in immoral, unethical or destructive activities such as war, and paying taxes inevitably funds these activities, whilst others submit to taxation.^{[72][73]} Adin Ballou wrote that if the act of resisting taxes requires physical force to withhold what a government tries to take, then it is important to submit to taxation. Ammon Hennacy, who, like Ballou also believed in nonresistance, eased his conscience by simply living below the income tax threshold.^[74]

Christian anarchists do not interpret the injunction in Matthew 22:21 to "give to Caesar what is Caesar's" as advocating support for taxes, but as further advice to free oneself from material attachment. For example, Dorothy

Day said if we were to give everything to God there will be nothing left for Caesar,^[75] and Jacques Ellul believed the passage showed that Caesar may have rights over fiat money but not things that are made by God, as he explained:^[72]

“Render unto Caesar...” in no way divides the exercise of authority into two realms....They were said in response to another matter: the payment of taxes, and the coin. The mark on the coin is that of Caesar; it is the mark of his property. Therefore give Caesar this money; it is his. It is not a question of legitimizing taxes! It means that Caesar, having created money, is its master. That’s all. Let us not forget that money, for Jesus, is the domain of Mammon, a satanic domain!^[76]

Vegetarianism

See also: Christian vegetarianism and Anarchism and animal rights

Vegetarianism in the Christian tradition has a long history commencing in the first centuries of Church with the Desert Fathers and Desert Mothers who abandoned the “world of men” for intimacy with the God of Jesus Christ. Vegetarianism amongst hermits and Christian monastics in the Eastern Christian and Roman Catholic traditions remains common to this day as a means of simplifying one’s life, and as a practice of asceticism. Leo Tolstoy, Ammon Hennacy, and Théodore Monod extended their belief in nonviolence and compassion to all living beings through vegetarianism.^{[77][78][79][80]}

1.9.3 Present-day Christian anarchist groups

Brotherhood Church

The Brotherhood Church is a Christian anarchist and pacifist community. The Brotherhood Church can be traced back to 1887 when a Congregationalist minister called John Bruce Wallace started a magazine called “The Brotherhood” in Limavady, Northern Ireland. An intentional community with Quaker origins has been located at Stapleton, near Pontefract, Yorkshire, since 1921.^{[81][82]}

Catholic Worker Movement

Established by Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day in the early 1930s, the Catholic Worker Movement is a Christian movement dedicated to nonviolence, personalism and



Dorothy Day, co-founder of the Catholic Workers.

voluntary poverty.^[83] Over 130 Catholic Worker communities exist in the United States where “houses of hospitality” care for the homeless. The Joe Hill House of hospitality (which closed in 1968) in Salt Lake City, Utah featured an enormous twelve feet by fifteen foot mural of Jesus Christ and Joe Hill. Present-day Catholic Workers include Ciaran O’Reilly, an Irish-Australian civil rights and anti-war activist.^[84]

Anne Klejment, professor of history at University of St. Thomas, wrote of the Catholic Worker Movement:

The Catholic Worker considered itself a Christian anarchist movement. All authority came from God; and the state, having by choice distanced itself from Christian perfectionism, forfeited its ultimate authority over the citizen...Catholic Worker anarchism followed Christ as a model of nonviolent revolutionary behavior...He respected individual conscience. But he also preached a prophetic message, difficult for many of his contemporaries to embrace.^[85]

The Catholic Worker Movement has consistently protested against war and violence for over seven decades. Many of the leading figures in the movement have been both anarchists and pacifists, as Ammon Hennacy explains:

Christian Anarchism is based upon the answer of Jesus to the Pharisees when Jesus said that he without sin should be the first to cast

the stone, and upon the **Sermon on the Mount** which advises the return of good for evil and the turning of the other cheek. Therefore, when we take any part in government by voting for legislative, judicial, and executive officials, we make these men our arm by which we cast a stone and deny the Sermon on the Mount.

The dictionary definition of a Christian is one who follows Christ; kind, kindly, Christ-like. Anarchism is voluntary cooperation for good, with the right of secession. A Christian anarchist is therefore one who turns the other cheek, overturns the tables of the moneychangers, and does not need a cop to tell him how to behave. A Christian anarchist does not depend upon bullets or ballots to achieve his ideal; he achieves that ideal daily by the One-Man Revolution with which he faces a decadent, confused, and dying world.^[86]

Maurin and Day were both baptized and confirmed in the Catholic Church and believed in the institution, thus showing it is possible to be a Christian anarchist and still choose to remain within a church. After her death, Day was proposed for sainthood by the **Claretian Missionaries** in 1983. **Pope John Paul II** granted the **Archdiocese of New York** permission to open Day's cause for sainthood in March 2000, calling her a **Servant of God**.

In literature, in **Michael Paraskos's** 2017 novel, *Rabbitman*, a political satire prompted by **Donald Trump's** presidency, the heroine, called Angela Witney, is a member of an imagined Catholic Worker commune located in the southern English village of **Ditchling**, where the artist **Eric Gill** once lived.^[87]

Online communities

Numerous Christian anarchist websites, social networking sites, forums, electronic mailing lists and blogs have emerged on the internet over the last few years. These include: The Libertarian Christian Institute, started by Norman Horn, *A Pinch of Salt*, a 1980s Christian anarchist magazine, revived in 2006 by Keith Hebden as a blog and bi-annual magazine;^{[88][89]} *Vine & Fig Tree* founded by Kevin Craig in 1982;^{[88][90]} *Jesus Radicals* founded by **Mennonites** Nekeisha and Andy Alexis-Baker in 2000 and currently organized by Nekeisha Alexis-Baker, Joanna Shenk, and Mark Van Steenwyk^{[88][91]} *Lost Religion of Jesus* created by Adam Clark in 2005;^{[88][92]} *Christian Anarchists* created by Jason Barr in 2006;^{[88][93]} *The Mormon Worker*, a blog and newspaper, founded in 2007 by William Van Wagenen to promote **Mormonism**, anarchism and pacifism;^{[88][94][95]} *Academics and Students Interested in Religious Anarchism* (ASIRA) founded by **Alexandre Christoyannopoulos** in 2008;^{[88][96]} *Christian Anarchists Meeting Prayerfully to Understand Scripture* (C.A.M.P.U.S.) founded in Utah by

Shawn McCraney.^{[97][98]}

1.9.4 Criticism

Critics of Christian anarchism include both Christians and anarchists. Christians often cite **Romans 13** as evidence that the **State should be obeyed**,^[99] while secular anarchists do not believe in any authority including God as per the slogan "**no gods, no masters**".^[100] Christian anarchists often believe **Romans 13** is taken out of context,^[101] emphasizing that **Revelation 13** and **Isaiah 13**, among other passages, are needed to fully understand **Romans 13** text.^[102]

1.9.5 See also

- **Anarchism and Islam**
- **Anarchism and Orthodox Judaism**
- **Anarchism and religion**
- **Anarcho-pacifism**
- **Christianity and politics**
- **Christian libertarianism**
- **Christian pacifism**
- **Christian socialism**
- **Jesuitism**
- **Liberation theology**
- **New Monasticism**
- **Plowshares Movement**
- **Political theology**
- **Postmodern Christianity**
- **Render unto Caesar**
- **Statolatry**
- **Theonomy**
- **Tolstoyan movement**

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- [13] "1 Samuel 9 (New International Version)". *Bible Gateway*. HarperCollins Christian Publishing. Retrieved 2014-05-11. Now the day before Saul came, the Lord had revealed this to Samuel: 'About this time tomorrow I will send you a man from the land of Benjamin. Anoint him ruler over my people Israel; he will deliver them from the hand of the Philistines. I have looked on my people, for their cry has reached me.'
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- Mary Segers (1977) *Equality and Christian Anarchism: The Political and Social Ideas of the Catholic Worker Movement*.
- Vernard Eller (1987) *Christian Anarchy: Jesus' Primacy Over the Powers*. ISBN 978-1579102227
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- Patrick Coy, et al. (1988) *A Revolution of the Heart: Essays on the Catholic Worker*. ISBN 978-0865712621
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- George Tarleton (1993) *Birth of a Christian Anarchist*.
- Dave Andrews (1999) *Christi-Anarchy: Discovering a Radical Spirituality of Compassion*. ISBN 978-1610978521

21st century

- Frederick G. Boehrer (2001) *Christian Anarchism and the Catholic Worker Movement: Roman Catholic Authority and Identity in the United States*.
- Jonathan Bartley (2006) *Faith and Politics After Christendom: The Church as a Movement for Anarchy*. ISBN 978-1842273487
- Ted Lewis ed. (2008) *Electing Not to Vote: Christian Reflections on Reasons for Not Voting* ISBN 978-1556352270
- Shane Claiborne (2008) *Jesus for President: Politics for Ordinary Radicals*. ISBN 978-0310278429
- Tripp York (2009) *Living on Hope While Living in Babylon: The Christian Anarchists of the 20th Century*. ISBN 978-1556356858
- David Alan Black (2009) *Christian Archy*. ISBN 978-1893729773
- Alexandre Christoyannopoulos (2010) *Christian Anarchism: A Political Commentary on the Gospel*. ISBN 978-1845402471
- Ronald E. Osborn (2010) *Anarchy and Apocalypse: Essays on Faith, Violence, and Theodicy*. ISBN 978-1606089620

1.9.7 Further reading

19th century

- Ernest Renan (1863) *The Life of Jesus*.
- Leo Tolstoy (1886–94) *What I Believe*; and *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*.

20th century

- Elbert Hubbard (1910) *Jesus Was An Anarchist* (originally titled *The Better Part*).
- Ammon Hennacy (1954) *The Autobiography of a Catholic Anarchist* (reprinted in 1965 as *The Book of Ammon*). ISBN 978-1608990535
- Archie Penner (1959) *The Christian, The State, and the New Testament* (reprinted in 2000 as *The New Testament, the Christian, and the State*).
- Ruth Gilmore (1970) *The Christian Anarchists: Ruskin and Tolstoy, and a Consideration of Their Influence on Gandhi*.

- Keith Hebden (2011–13) *Dalit Theology and Christian Anarchism*. ISBN 978-1409424390 and *Seeking Justice: The Radical Compassion of Jesus*. ISBN 978-1-78099-688-2
- Tom O'Golo (2011) *Christ? No! Jesus? Yes!: A Radical Reappraisal of a Very Important Life*. ISBN 978-0953252008
- Jacques de Guillebon and Falk van Gaver (2012) *L'anarchisme chrétien* (translated as *Christian anarchism*). ISBN 978-2356310613
- Mark Van Steenwyk (2012–13) *That Holy Anarchist: Reflections on Christianity & Anarchism*. ISBN 978-0615659817 and *The unKingdom of God: Embracing the Subversive Power of Repentance*. ISBN 978-0830836550
- Noel Moules (2012) *Fingerprints of Fire, Footprints of Peace: A Spiritual Manifesto from a Jesus Perspective*. ISBN 978-1-84694-612-7
- Davor Džalto (2016) *Anarchism and Orthodoxy*.

1.9.8 External links

- Works on Christian anarchism at Internet Archive
- Books on Christian anarchism at the Open Library
- “Union Square Speech”, Dorothy Day, November 6, 1965
- Commentary: John 18:33-38, Ollie Harrison, *Third Way Magazine*, February 1996
- *Christian Anarchism: A Revolutionary Reading of the Bible*, Alexandre Christoyannopoulos, World International Studies Conference (WISC), July 23–26, 2008
- *Jesus Is an Anarchist*, James Redford, Social Science Research Network (SSRN), October 17, 2009
- Was Jesus an anarchist? - interview with Alexandre Christoyannopoulos by William Crawley, BBC Northern Ireland, May 2011
- Jesus Radicals - A webzine exploring Christianity and anarchism
- Compassionistas - A resource for Spiritual Activism with some Christian Anarchist material
- Christianarchism - An interpretation of Christian Anarchism
- Christocrate.ch - A Christian Anarchist website (French)

1.10 Insurrectionary anarchism

Insurrectionary anarchism is a revolutionary theory, practice, and tendency within the anarchist movement that emphasizes **insurrection** within anarchist practice.^{[1][2]} It is critical of formal organizations such as **labor unions** and federations that are based on a political programme and periodic congresses.^[1] Instead, insurrectionary anarchists advocate informal organization and small **affinity group** based organization.^{[1][2]} Insurrectionary anarchists put value in attack, permanent **class conflict**, and a refusal to negotiate or compromise with class enemies.^{[1][2]}

Contemporary insurrectionary anarchism inherits the views and tactics of anti-organizational **anarcho-communism**^{[3][4]} and **illegalism**.^{[2][5]}

1.10.1 Origins and evolution

19th century

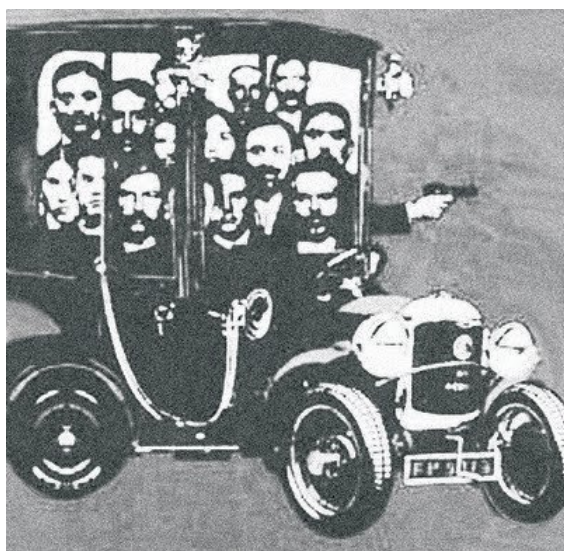
Platformist anarchist Joe Black says that “There is a long tradition within anarchism of constructing ideologies out of a tactic. The long and deep involvement of anarchists in insurrections has, not surprisingly, given rise to an anarchist ideology of insurrectionalism.”^[2] An influential individualist concept of insurrection^[6] appears in the book of **Max Stirner** *The Ego and Its Own* from 1845. There he manifests:

Mikhail Bakunin “was historically important to the development of an anarchism that focused its force in insurrection. Unlike Marx, who built his support in the First International, mostly within the central executive structure, Bakunin worked to build support for co-ordinated action though autonomous insurrections at the base, especially in Southern Europe. And since Bakunin’s time insurrectionary anarchists have been concentrated in Southern Europe.”^[8] Later in 1876, at the Berne conference of the First International, “the Italian anarchist **Errico Malatesta** argued that the **revolution** “consists more of deeds than words”, and that action was the most effective form of **propaganda**. In the bulletin of the **Jura Federation** he declared “the Italian federation believes that the insurrectional fact, destined to affirm socialist principles by deed, is the most efficacious means of propaganda.”^[9]

As **anarcho-communism** emerged in the mid 19th century it had an intense debate with **Bakuninist collectivism** and as such within the anarchist movement over participation in **syndicalism** and the workers movement as well as on other issues.^[3] So “In the theory of the revolution” of anarcho-communism as elaborated by **Peter Kropotkin** and others “it is the risen people who are the real agent and not the working class organised in the enterprise (the cells of the capitalist mode of production) and seeking to assert itself as labour power, as a more 'rational' industrial body or social brain (manager) than the employers.”^[3]

So “between 1880 and 1890”^[3] with the “perspective of an immanent revolution”,^[3] who was “opposed to the official workers’ movement, which was then in the process of formation (general Social Democratisation). They were opposed not only to political (statist) struggles but also to strikes which put forward wage or other claims, or which were organised by trade unions.”^[3] But “While they were not opposed to strikes as such, they were opposed to trade unions and the struggle for the eight-hour day. This anti-reformist tendency was accompanied by an anti-organisational tendency, and its partisans declared themselves in favour of agitation amongst the unemployed for the expropriation of foodstuffs and other articles, for the expropriatory strike and, in some cases, for ‘individual recuperation’ or acts of terrorism.”^[3]

Illegalism and propaganda by the deed



Caricature of the Bonnot gang. The most famous of the French illegalist groups

But after **Peter Kropotkin** along with others decided to enter **labor unions** after their initial reservations,^[3] there remained “the anti-syndicalist anarchist-communists, who in France were grouped around **Sebastien Faure's** *Le Libertaire*. From 1905 onwards, the Russian counterparts of these anti-syndicalist anarchist-communists become partisans of economic terrorism and illegal ‘expropriations’.”^[3] **Illegalism** as a practice emerged and within it “The acts of the anarchist bombers and assassins (“**propaganda by the deed**”) and the anarchist burglars (“**individual reappropriation**”) expressed their desperation and their personal, violent rejection of an intolerable society. Moreover, they were clearly meant to be exemplary, invitations to revolt.”^[10]

Such acts of rebellion, which could be individual^[10] were in the long run seen as act of rebellion, which could ignite en masse insurrection leading to revolution. Proponents and activists of these tactics among others included



Luigi Galleani

Johann Most, Luigi Galleani, Victor Serge, and Severino Di Giovanni. “In Argentina, these tendencies flourished at the end of the 20s and during the 30s, years of acute repression and of flinching of the once powerful workers movement –this was a desperate, though heroic, of a decadent movement.”^[11]

The Italian **Giuseppe Ciancabilla** (1872–1904) wrote in “Against organization” that “we don’t want tactical programs, and consequently we don’t want organization. Having established the aim, the goal to which we hold, we leave every anarchist free to choose from the means that his sense, his education, his temperament, his fighting spirit suggest to him as best. We don’t form fixed programs and we don’t form small or great parties. But we come together spontaneously, and not with permanent criteria, according to momentary affinities for a specific purpose, and we constantly change these groups as soon as the purpose for which we had associated ceases to be, and other aims and needs arise and develop in us and push us to seek new collaborators, people who think as we do in the specific circumstance.”^[12] Nevertheless, he also says “We do not oppose the organizers. They will continue, if they like, in their tactic. If, as I think, it will not do any great good, it will not do any great harm either. But it seems to me that they have writhed throwing their cry of alarm and blacklisting us either as savages or as theoretical dreamers.”^[12]

An article by eco-anarchist magazine *Do or Die* manifests that “This is a debate that has gone on and still goes on within the insurrectionary anarchist circles; Renzo Novatore stood for individual revolt, Errico Malatesta for so-

cial struggle, whilst Luigi Galleani believed there was no contradiction between the two.”^[8]

Contemporary approaches

A resurgence of such ideas for Joe Black happened “in the peculiar conditions of post war Italy and Greece”.^[2] “Towards the end of World War II there was a real possibility of revolution in both countries.”^[2] “Greece was to suffer decades of military dictatorship while in Italy the Communist Party continued to hold back struggles. Insurrectionalism was one of a number of new socialist ideologies which arose to address these particular circumstances.”^[2] In Italy a tendency that did not identify either with the more classical *Italian Anarchist Federation* or with the *platformist* inclined (GAAP Anarchist Groups of Proletarian Action) started to emerge as local groups. These groups emphasized *direct action*, informal *affinity groups* and *expropriation* for financing anarchist activity.^[13] From within these groups the influential Italian insurrectionary anarchist *Alfredo Maria Bonanno* will emerge influenced by the practice of the Spanish exiled anarchist *Josep Lluís i Facerias*.^[13]



Protester facing riot police in the "Battle of Seattle"

One insurrectionalist has described how the ideas spread from Italy: “Insurrectionary anarchism has been developing in the English language anarchist movement since the 1980s, thanks to translations and writings by Jean Weir in her *Elephant Editions* and her magazine *Insurrection....* In Vancouver, Canada, local comrades involved in the Anarchist Black Cross, the local anarchist social center, and the magazines *No Picnic* and *Endless Struggle* were influenced by Jean’s projects, and this carried over into the always developing practice of insurrectionary anarchists in this region today ... The anarchist magazine *Demolition Derby* in Montreal also covered some insurrectionary anarchist news back in the day.”^[2]

Magazine *Do or Die* reports that “Much of the Italian insurrectionary anarchist critique of the movements of the '70s focused on the forms of organisation that shaped the forces of struggle and out of this a more developed idea of informal organisation grew. A critique of the authoritarian organisations of the '70s, whose members often

believed they were in a privileged position to struggle as compared to the proletariat as a whole, was further refined in the struggles of the '80s, such as the early 1980s struggle against a military base that was to house nuclear weapons in Comiso, Sicily. Anarchists were very active in that struggle, which was organised into self-managed leagues.”^[8] Later in 1993 the Italian insurrectionary anarchist *Alfredo Bonanno* writes *For An Anti-authoritarian Insurrectionalist International* in which he proposes coordination between *mediterranean* insurrectionists after the period of the *dissolution of the Soviet Union* and *civil war in the ex-Yugoslavia*.^[14]

For Joe Black “That insurrectionalism should emerge as a more distinct trend in English language anarchism at this point in time should be no surprise. The massive boost anarchism received from the summit protest movement was in part due to the high visibility of black bloc style tactics.”^[2] In the USA *Feral Faun* (later writing as *Wolfi Landstreicher*) gained notoriety as he wrote articles that appeared in the *post-left* anarchy magazine *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*. *Feral Faun* wrote in 1995, “In the game of insurgency—a lived guerilla war game—it is strategically necessary to use identities and roles. Unfortunately, the context of social relationships gives these roles and identities the power to define the individual who attempts to use them. So I, *Feral Faun*, became ... an anarchist ... a writer ... a Stirner-influenced, post-situationist, anti-civilization theorist ... if not in my own eyes, at least in the eyes of most people who’ve read my writings.”^[15] Also *Wolfi Landstreicher* has translated works by *Alfredo Maria Bonanno* and other similar writers such as the early 20th century Italian illegalist anarchists *Renzo Novatore*^[16] and *Bruno Filippi*^[17] as well as other insurrectionist texts.^[18] This shows how more recent theories have taken relevance within insurrectionary anarchist theory along the *egoist anarchism* of *Max Stirner*. This contemporary approach has relevance in other place such as *Chile* where in 2008 after a few incidents of bombs claimed by anarchist groups a group called *Frente Anarquista Revolucionario* (Anarchist Revolutionary Front) after correcting what they see as misunderstandings of their position they wrote in the same pamphlet how they have been influenced by the “postmodernists texts of *Alfredo Bonanno*, *Wolfi Landstreicher*, etc, as well as other insurrectionary anonymous texts”.^[19]

The contemporary imprisoned Italian insurrectionary anarchist philosopher *Michele Fabiani* writes from an explicit *individualist anarchist* perspective in such essays as “Critica individualista anarchica alla modernità” (Individualist anarchist critique of modernity)^[20]

As was mentioned before, *insurrectionary anarchist discourse* also had relevance in *Greece*. In the 2008 Greek riots the old disputes between organizationalist and insurrectionary anarchists reappeared when there was a conflict “between insurrectionary anarchists associated with the *Black Bloc*, and the heavily organized *Antiauthoritarian Movement* (AK, in Greek) ... the schism between



Anarchist graffiti during the 2008 Greek riots

insurrectionists and the Antiauthoritarian Movement has even led to physical fighting.... People with AK bullied and beat up anarchists whom they suspected of stealing some computers from the university during an event AK organized, getting them in trouble. In response, some insurrectionists burned down the Antiauthoritarian Movement's offices in Thessaloniki.”^[21]

The **Informal Anarchist Federation** (not to be confused with the **synthesist Italian Anarchist Federation** also FAI) is an Italian insurrectionary anarchist organization.^[22] It has been described by Italian intelligence sources as a “horizontal” structure of various anarchist terrorist groups, united in their beliefs in revolutionary armed action. In 2003, the group claimed responsibility for a bomb campaign targeting several European Union institutions.^{[23][24]} In 2010, Italy's postal service intercepted a threatening letter containing a bullet addressed to Prime Minister **Silvio Berlusconi**.^[25] A large envelope containing a letter addressed to Berlusconi with the threat “you will end up like a rat” was discovered on Friday in a post office in the Libate suburb of the northern city of Milan. On 23 December 2010, credit for exploding parcels delivered to the Swiss and Chilean embassies in Rome was claimed by the Informal Anarchist Federation.^[26]

During the first years of the 2000s, the **Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth** in Spain started to evolve towards insurrectionary anarchist positions and its differences with **anarcho-syndicalism** became more evident due to the influence of the **Black bloc** in **alterglobalization** protests and the examples of developments from Italy and Greece. The FIJL faced repression from the state, which led to inactivity.^[27] A new generation of anarchist youth decided to establish a new FIJL in 2006. It tried to establish a clear difference with the other insurrectionist FIJL while defending anarcho-syndicalism critically.^[28] In 2007 it re-established itself as the FIJL since it did not have news from the other insurrectionist organization, but after finding out of a communique by the insurrectionist organization^[27] it decided to name itself “**Iberian Federation of Anarchist Youth**” (spa: *Federación Ibérica de Ju-*

ventudes Anarquistas or FIJA) but knowing that they are the continuing organization to the previous FIJL from the 1990s.^[29] They publish a newspaper called *El Fuelle*. In march of 2012 the FIJL of insurrectionist tendencies decides to not continue^[30] and so the FIJA goes to call itself again FIJL.^[31]

1.10.2 Theory

A few main points can be identified within contemporary insurrectionary anarchism that go back to tactics employed by **illegalism** and **propaganda by the deed** anarchists:

1. **"The concept of 'attack' is at the heart of the insurrectionist ideology.”**^[2] As such it is viewed that “It is through acting and learning to act, not propaganda, that we will open the path to insurrection.”^[1] although “propaganda has a role in clarifying how to act.”^[1] In the state of action is in the state that one learns.^[1] The Italian text *Ai ferri corti* says: “An individual with a passion for social upheaval and a 'personal' vision of the class clash wants to do something immediately. If he or she analyses the transformation of capital and the State it is in order to attack them, certainly not so as to be able to go to sleep with clearer ideas.”^[32] “Attack is the refusal of mediation, pacification, sacrifice, accommodation, and compromise in struggle.”^[2]
2. **Insurrection(s) and Revolution:** Revolution is seen as “a concrete event, it must be built daily through more modest attempts which do not have all the liberating characteristics of the social revolution in the true sense. These more modest attempts are insurrections. In them the uprising of the most exploited and excluded of society and the most politically sensitized minority opens the way to the possible involvement of increasingly wider strata of exploited on a flux of rebellion which could lead to revolution.”^[1]
3. **"The self-management of struggle"**^[1] as “those that struggle are autonomous in their decisions and actions; this is the opposite of an organization of synthesis which always attempts to take control of struggle. Struggles that are synthesized within a single controlling organization are easily integrated into the power structure of present society. Self-organized struggles are by nature uncontrollable when they are spread across the social terrain.”^[1] It is seen that the system and its institutions are afraid of rebellious acts becoming propaganda by the deed and thus making rebellion extend itself.^[1] “Small actions, therefore, easily reproducible, requiring unsophisticated means that are available to all, are by their very simplicity and spontaneity uncontrollable.”^[1] This also means that insurrectionary anarchists should not see themselves as a vanguard or as the conscious ones but just as part “of the exploited and excluded”.^[1]
4. **Temporary affinity groups instead of permanent organizations:** This means rejection of “thus we are

against the party, syndicate and permanent organization, all of which act to synthesize struggle and become elements of integration for capital and the state.”^[1] Instead the view that “organization is for concrete tasks”.^[1] “The informal anarchist organization is therefore a specific organization which gathers around a common affinity.”^[1]

5. The transcendence of the dichotomy between the individual and the rest of society and of individualism and communism: “Insurrection begins with the desire of individuals to break out of constrained and controlled circumstances, the desire to reappropriate the capacity to create one’s own life as one sees fit.”^[1] But the view that “Individuality can only flourish where equality of access to the conditions of existence is the social reality. This equality of access is communism; what individuals do with that access is up to them and those around them. Thus there is no equality or identity of individuals implied in true communism.”^[1]

Insurrectionary anarchists are generally interested in class struggle. Many also identify with related theoretical positions such as anarchist communism, Situationist theory, autonomism, post-left anarchy, anarcho-primitivism, and green anarchism.

1.10.3 See also

- **Illegalism** the main precedent of this form of anarchism
- **Direct action**
- **Propaganda of the deed**
- **Expropriative anarchism**
- **Black Bloc**
- **Anarchism in Greece**
- **Errico Malatesta's speech during the International Anarchist Congress of Amsterdam (1907)**
- *The Coming Insurrection*
- **Tiqqun**

1.10.4 References

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- [3] “This inability to break definitively with collectivism in all its forms also exhibited itself over the question of the workers’ movement, which divided anarchist-communism into a number of tendencies.” “Anarchist-Communism” by Alain Pengam
- [4] “CWC Texts: Recent Features: Say You Want an Insurrection”. Retrieved 11 August 2015.
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- [6] Allan Antliff. “Anarchy, Power, and Poststructuralism”. The Anarchist Library. ‘The insurgent’, wrote Stirner, ‘strives to be constitutionless’, a formulation that the program of the Moscow Federation put into practice. Autonomous self-governance, voluntary federation, the spread of power horizontally — these were the features of its insurgency.”
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- [19] “nuestra teoría no la basamos de manera alguna en 'lo oído o leído por ahí', ya que hemos pasado gran parte de nuestro tiempo leyendo y discutiendo los textos postmodernistas de Alfredo Bonanno, Wolfi Landstreicher, etcétera, como también además una caterva de textos insurreccionalistas anónimos”. “Aclaración del Frente Anarquista Revolucionario” by Frente Anarquista Revolucionario, 20 December 2008

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1.10.5 External links

- A collection of several insurrectionary anarchist texts at the anarchist library
- “Attack Is The Best Form Of Defense” by Johann Most an “old school” insurrectionary anarchist text
- Insurrection v.s. Organization: Reflections from Greece on a Pointless Schism, essay from Peter Gelderloos, author of *How Non-violence Protects the State*
- “Anarchism, insurrections and insurrectionalism”, article from Anarkismo.net critical of insurrectionary anarchism

- “Notes on the article “Anarchism, Insurrections and Insurrectionalism”” by Collin Sick a response to the previous article
- Some Notes on Insurrectionary Anarchism by Sasha K, originally published in *Killing King Abacus* in Santa Cruz, California.
- Talk and Tactics and Bloody Revolution: Insurrectionary Anarchism in Seattle, audio stream interview from A-Infos Radio Project
- “Fire At Midnight Destruction At Dawn” by Kasimere Bran, originally published in the first issue of *A Murder of Crows*.

Insurrectionary groups and publications

- Act for freedom now!
- 325 Magazine
- War on Society
- Inter Arma Greek insurrectionary portal
- Edizioni Anarchismo, Italian insurrectionary publisher
- Non Fides, French insurrectionary publication (*in multiple languages*)
- Material Anarquista
- Viva la Anarquía!
- Hommodolars, insurrectionary website
- Insurrectionary Anarchists of the Coast Salish Territories, Canadian insurrectionary anarchists
- Fire to the Prisons Magazine Consistent insurrectionary periodical out of the United States
- Killing King Abacus An insurrectionary anarchist publication from the USA
- At Daggers Drawn Insurrectionary anarchist publication translated from Italian by Jean Weir; a poetic overview of the insurrectionary perspective
- A Murder of Crows an insurrectionary anarchist magazine from Seattle

1.11 Anarchism and Marxism

Anarchism and **Marxism** are similar political philosophies which emerged in the nineteenth century. While anarchism and Marxism are both complex movements with their own internal conflicts, as ideological movements their primary attention has been on human liberation achieved through political action. Similarly, both

have been intensely interested in abolishing social inequalities present in societies as a result of **wage labour** and the **Industrial Revolution**. In their most socially significant forms, both movements have been **revolutionary**, and have focused on the **working class** as the agent of revolution. As working class movements Marxism and anarchism have been sometimes allied and sometimes opposed groups. In particular revolutions there has been significant armed conflict between Marxist and anarchist groups.

Conflicts between anarchist and Marxist movements have emerged in terms of theory, strategy, practice and immediate political goals. Agreements between anarchism and Marxism have tended to focus on ideological convergence based around the concept of the working class as the group that creates real human freedom. The first major ideological conflict between anarchists and Marxists occurred within the **First International**, a European revolutionary communist political movement. The first major armed conflicts between anarchists and Marxists occurred during the 1917–1923 revolutions in the Russian Empire between urban anarchists, rural **Makhnovist** anarchists, the Marxist **Mensheviks** and the Marxist **Bolsheviks**. Another major armed conflict occurred during the **Spanish Civil War** between the **Spanish anarchist movement** and the **Communist Party of Spain**, which at the time was under influence from the **Soviet Union**; see **May Days**.

After World War II, in the West, major conflicts between anarchism and Marxism have been generally confined to esoteric ideological disputes between anarchist groups and **Trotskyist** or Trotsky-inspired organisations over minor points of tactics or language use. Additionally, since the **New Left** period, significant convergences between minor trends of thought within Marxism and anarchism have occurred, generally in the area of exploring working class self-liberation. After the fall of the Soviet Union, there have been few occasions for conflict between post-Stalin or Stalin-inspired Marxists and anarchists, due to the dissolution of the Soviet Union's influence within Marxist circles. Prior to 2000, there was little conflict between pro-property anarchism and Marxism, due to the small size of pro-property anarchist movements and the focus of pro-property anarchist movements on behavioral change within their own perceived movement.

Anthropologist **David Graeber** has distinguished the two philosophies as follows:

1. Marxism has tended to be a theoretical or analytical discourse about revolutionary strategy.
2. Anarchism has tended to be an ethical discourse about revolutionary practice.^[1]

1.11.1 Historical relationships between anarchists and Marxists

International Workingmen's Association

The **International Workingmen's Association** (the **First International**), at its founding, was an alliance of socialist groups, including both anarchists and Marxists. Both sides had a common aim and common enemies. But each was critical of the other, and the inherent conflict between the two groups soon embodied itself in an ongoing argument between **Mikhail Bakunin**, representative of anarchist ideas, and **Karl Marx** himself. The Marxist branch tended to support the formation of workers' or socialist parties that participated in parliamentary politics in Western liberal democracies to advance their agendas, while anarchists tended to criticize parliamentary politics as not being sufficiently democratic "from the bottom up" and as providing no democratic control over the workplace and the means of production. In 1872, the conflict in the **First International** climaxed with the expulsion of Bakunin and those who had become known as the "Bakuninists" when they were outvoted by the Marx party at the **Hague Congress**. According to **Noam Chomsky**, their ideas might have been quite similar.

Industrial Workers of the World

In the late 19th and early 20th century, many Marxists and anarchists joined **syndicalist** movements for militant revolutionary **labor unions**, such as the **Industrial Workers of the World**. The IWW drew upon principles of Anarchism and Marxism.

Many communists left the IWW in the period from 1919 to 1925 due to an ideological split between centralists and decentralists within the IWW, and with encouragement from the Bolshevik government in Moscow to work within the more mainstream **American Federation of Labor** unions. The decentralists, or E.P.-ers (for Emergency Program) in the IWW opposed an emphasis on political action, and favored a greater focus on organizing centered within stronger industrial union divisions.

Russian Revolution

Both anarchists and Marxists participated in the overthrow of the **Tsar** in **February 1917** in the beginning stages of the **1917 Russian Revolution**. However, a hostile relationship quickly developed between anarchists and **Bolsheviks**, so that anarchists generally opposed the Bolshevik-initiated transfer of power from the **Provisional Government** to the Bolshevik commissars (acting on behalf of Bolshevik-led workers councils—known in Russian as "soviets"), in **October 1917**. Even the ensuing civil war pitting the Bolshevik government and Red Army against the Tsarist **White Armies** did not reconcile anar-

chists and Bolsheviks.

The Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine, led by anarchists, fought counter-revolutionary forces in a tenuous alliance with the Red Army. These Ukrainian anarchists were highly critical of other anarchists in the Russian Revolution who lacked their discipline. The RIAU was later suppressed by the Red Army over the issue of the integration of the RIAU into the Red Army.

Russian anarchists were the first organized victims of the CHEKA in April and May 1918.^[2] They were arguing for free soviets, freedom of expression and association and the establishment of free communes on the basis of voluntary association. As a result of their interpretation of the Bolshevik hegemony over the revolution, some urban anarchists engaged in protest and civil disobedience. Most Russian anarchists were imprisoned and their press silenced.

At the end of the civil war, sailors at Kronstadt influenced by anarchists and dissident Marxists mutinied, demanding more political liberties while defending socialism and workers' democracy, and were surrounded, attacked, and suffered reprisal by mass execution and political imprisonment at the hands of the Bolshevik Red Army and political police.

Spanish Civil War

During the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939, although the anarchists and Marxists both fought in a united front against the fascist movement of General Francisco Franco, the revolutionary Marxists of the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (POUM), the anarcho-syndicalists of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), and the anarchists of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI) faced repression and attacks from the Communist party.

Attempted theoretical syntheses

A number of political ideologies and movements have attempted some degree of synthesis of the Marxist and anarchist traditions with the aim of a liberated workers' society. These include the followers of Joseph Dietzgen in the 19th century, syndicalism, Jan Wacław Machajski, De Leonism, and council communism in the first half of the 20th century, and the Situationist International and Autonomist Marxism in the second half of the 20th century. The modern Zapatista Army of National Liberation movement in Chiapas, Mexico also incorporates both anarchist and Marxist ideas, along with indigenous Mayan political thought.

Alliances and joint movements

There have been overlaps between Anarchism and Marxism historically, including hybrid movements of anar-

chism and anti-authoritarian Marxism such as libertarian Marxism and autonomism.

1.11.2 Arguments surrounding the issue of the state

Modern political scientists generally define the "state" as a centralized, hierarchical, governing institution which maintains a monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force, in keeping with the definition originally proposed by the German sociologist Max Weber in his 1918 essay "Politics as a Vocation". Marxists, and some anarchists, dispute this definition. Marxism has a unique definition of the state: that the state is an organ of one class's repression of all other classes. To Marxists, any state is intrinsically a dictatorship by one class over all others. Therefore, within Marxist theory, should the differentiation between classes disappear, so too will the state.

However, there is some convergence of views. Anarchists believe that any state—be it a worker's state or a bourgeois state—will inevitably be created and ruled by a political and economic elite, therefore becoming an organ of class domination. Conversely, Marxists believe that successful class repression almost always requires a superior capacity for violence, and that all societies prior to socialism are ruled by a minority class, so that in Marxist theory any non-socialist state will possess the properties attributed to all states by anarchists and others.

Disputes arise between anarchists and those Marxists who believe that a state is required for the repression of classes other than the working class. In example, Bakunin wrote in his work "Anarchism and the State":

They [the Marxists] maintain that only a dictatorship—their dictatorship, of course—can create the will of the people, while our answer to this is: No dictatorship can have any other aim but that of self-perpetuation, and it can beget only slavery in the people tolerating it; freedom can be created only by freedom, that is, by a universal rebellion on the part of the people and free organization of the toiling masses from the bottom up.

Bakunin believed that Marx's desire to abolish the state and create, in the last analysis, an anarchist system via state power is irrational. Commenting on that he added that "anarchism or freedom is the aim, while the state and dictatorship is the means, and so, [for Marxists] in order to free the masses, they have first to be enslaved."^[3] Marx replied to Bakunin's criticisms through a collection of notes in the margins of his copy of *Anarchism and the State*.

The process of transition

The theory of the **state** leads directly into the practical question of what form the transition to the **stateless society** both anarchists and Marxists view as their end goal will take.

Marxists believe that a successful transition to a stateless society **communism** will require the repression of capitalists in order for them not to re-establish their control. That requires, according to Marxists, the existence of a state in some form run by workers (there is a dispute on whether the **dictatorship of the proletariat** is a state as we conceive it today). This formulation can be gross, envisaging the dictatorship of the proletariat as a political dictatorship; or, it can be nuanced, seeing the dictatorship of the proletariat as an internally democratic amongst workers. The kind of **workers' state** envisaged varies between the bureaucratic apparatus and internally undemocratic state departments and armed forces of capitalist states through to internally democratic and anti-bureaucratic structures such as workers councils.

Anarchists and some **libertarian socialists** reject the Marxist view that a transitional phase will be needed and accuse Marxism of being too authoritarian, though they have been much less critical of **libertarian varieties of Marxism** than scientific communism, **Leninism** and **Stalinism**.^[4] Anarchists contend that the “workers’ state” advocated by Marxists is a logical impossibility since, as soon as a group -be it the workers- begins to govern by means of a state apparatus, they gain power and become oppressors. It is important to note however that this argument is a misrepresentation in that it uses the Anarchist definition of the state and not that of the Marxists, ascribing to the “workers state”, characteristics which the Marxists do not necessarily imply by the word “state”.

The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been criticized by most anarchists both on a theoretical and historical basis. Mainly, it is argued that it is not a class that takes power but at best a minority of that class, a party in the Leninist sense, and so is a dictatorship over the proletariat. They point to the measures taken by Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin during the Russian Revolution since as early as 1917 as evidence of this. Anarchists support their arguments by pointing to the undemocratic nature of the Soviet Union and other self-identified “Marxist” states.

Some Marxists criticise the immediatist anarchist position by arguing that any revolutionary institution using armed force is acting as a state, regardless of its name or self-conception. Other Marxists argue for the necessity of a strong and cohesive repressive institution during revolutions, and support this position by pointing to the defeat of anarchist-led revolutions such as that during the **Spanish Civil War**, or other revolutions which were defeated.

Therefore, both Marxists and anarchists wish to abolish the existing state. Immediately after abolishing the exist-

ing state, Marxists seek to replace it with a workers’ state, i.e. the “dictatorship of the proletariat”, or the workers organized as the ruling class. From this point, as expressed by Frederick Engels, the worker’s state will begin to wither away, finally ceasing to exist when class antagonisms have been defeated. On the other hand, anarchists feel the re-creation of any sort of state will place power in the hand of a tiny minority, that States with their repressive capacities and massive bureaucracies tend to be self-perpetuating and do not “wither away”, and that in practice establishing a new state is thus counter-revolutionary because in order to eventually eliminate it a second revolution will be required. Anarchists point to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the demands by grassroots movements throughout the Soviet block to abolish the dictatorship but keep socialism as a failed attempt to make such a second revolution. The failure of such movements as they were co-opted by former Soviet leaders (**nomenklatura**) who instead kept the dictatorship and abolished socialism, is seen as evidence that such a long and circuitous route from capitalism to freedom is inefficient and unlikely to actually result in freedom. Marxists respond to this saying that the organized, centralized repression of the capitalist class will be absolutely necessary, and that the proletariat can only accomplish this by the use of the state.

The Marxist position blends into anarchism at one end of the spectrum, mostly due to the wide variety of Marxist and Anarchist movements. The anarchists disagree among themselves if a system of democratic **workers' councils** constitutes a state or not, while on the other hand Marxists disagree widely among themselves over the form and the existence of the **dictatorship of the proletariat**.

Political parties

The issue of seizing state power brings up the issue of **political parties**, which also divides anarchists and Marxists. Most Marxists see political parties as useful or even necessary tools for seizing state power, since they view a centrally coordinated effort as necessary to successfully defeat the capitalist class and state and establish a body capable of maintaining power. However, Marxists disagree on whether a revolutionary party ought to participate in bourgeois elections, what role it should have after a revolution, and how it should be organized.

Anarchists generally refuse to participate in governments, and so do not form parliamentary political parties. However, the organisations formed by anarchists have either been political federations, such as the **FAI**, or often resemble the non-parliamentary roles of a political party by having a shared membership, set of principles, platform for action and media such as newspapers. Many of these organisations have been characterised by attempts at direct democracy, federalism or participatory democracy. When anarchist organisations have been pushed by historical circumstances, such as the controversy over the

CNT-FAI's participation in the Spanish Popular Front, some anarchist organisations have acted as representative or commanding organisations. Marxists often point to the irony of this situation, and use it to argue in favour of a more honest approach to the relationship between party, or party like organisation, and the rest of the working class.

Violence and revolution

See also: [Anarchism and violence and insurrectionary anarchism](#)

Another practical question closely related to the theory of the state is whether and how much violence is acceptable in order to achieve a successful revolution. Some anarchist trends rely more on [propaganda of the deed](#), actions they perceive as inspirational to the working class. Marxists and many anarchists believe that violent revolution is necessary or inevitable. Such anarchists often believe the anarchist revolution will be a spontaneous, unorganized uprising, while Marxists and [anarcho-syndicalists](#) believe that the bourgeoisie will inevitably use violence against the organized workers' movement.

On the other hand, some anarchists promote self-defense rather than large-scale anti-state violence. Some promote non-violent protests, marches, and general strikes, only condoning violence in self-defense against aggressive actions taken by the state to prevent non-violent anarchist revolutions. Some view force as inherently authoritarian. Indeed, this was an argument made by Karl Marx against the logic of anarchism as promoted by Mikhail Bakunin. Many [social](#), [individualist](#) and [mutualist](#) anarchists however sometimes prefer reformist approaches rather than open violence and would only advocate such under extreme circumstances.

1.11.3 Arguments surrounding the issue of class

Both Marxist and [socialist anarchist](#) class analyses are based on the idea that society is divided into "classes", which are created based on the control each class has upon the means of production and hence each class having differing interests. The two differ, however, in where they draw the lines between these groups. [Anarcho-primitivists](#) and [post-left anarchists](#) reject [left wing politics in general](#) (and theoretically by extension Marxist class analysis) as they typically see left wing politics as corrupt and in the former case see civilization as unreformable.

For Marxists, the two most relevant classes are the "bourgeoisie", those who own the means of production, and the "proletariat", more explicitly, the wage laborers. Marx believed that the industrial workers -and

only them- would organize together, abolish the state, take control over the means of production, collectivize them, and create a [classless society](#) administered by and for workers. He believed that only the workers have the motive and power to do that. For this reason, he dismissed peasants, the "petty-bourgeois", and the "lumpen-proletariat"—the unemployed "underclass"—as incapable of creating revolution.

The anarchist class analysis predates Marxism and contradicts it. Anarchists argue that it is not the whole bourgeoisie who has control over the means of production and the state, but only a minority of them, which is part of the ruling class, but has its own concerns. Also, traditionally anarchists have rejected Marx's dismissal of the lumpen proletariat and the peasantry as revolutionary and argued that a revolution, in order to be successful, needs the support of the peasants. Classical Anarchists believed that this is only possible through the redistribution of land. That is, they explicitly reject imposing state property of the land, although voluntary collectivization is seen as more efficient and thus supported (indeed, during the Spanish revolution anarchists impelled hundreds of collectivizations but only a tiny minority had all the land in the area, small peasants were allowed to cultivate their own land without hired labour).

Some modern anarchists (particularly [pareconists](#)) argue that there are *three* classes which have relevance to social change, not two. The first is the labor class, which includes everyone whose labor is involved in producing and distributing goods as well as much of the [service industry](#). This includes farmers, peasants, industrial workers, small landowners, small business owners who labor with their employees and blue-, pink-, and white-collar workers. The second is the coordinator class which includes everyone whose labor is primarily concerned with "coordinating" and managing the labor of others primarily on behalf of the bourgeoisie, administering organizations, setting the intellectual status quo or managing the state apparatus. The anarchist definition of the "coordinator class" includes people such as bureaucrats, technocrats, managers, administrators, middle-class intellectuals (such as economists, political and social scientists, mathematicians, philosophers, etc.), physical scientists, judges, lawyers, military officials, political party organizers and leaders, etc. Finally, the third class is the elite owning class or "capital class" which derives its income from its control of wealth, land, property, and resources.

Marxists vigorously debate the exact composition of the middle class under capitalism. Some also describe a "coordinating class" which implements capitalism on behalf of the capitalists, composed of the [petit bourgeoisie](#), [professionals](#), and [managers](#). Others dispute this, freely using the term "middle class" to refer to affluent white-collar workers as described above (even though, in Marxist terms, they are part of the [proletariat](#)—the working class). Still others, such as [council communists](#), allege—like anarchists—that there is a class comprising intellec-

tuals, **technocrats**, and managers which seeks power in its own right. This last group of communists allege that such technocratic middle classes seized power and government for themselves in **Soviet-style societies**.

Anarchists contend that Marxism fails, and will always fail, because it creates a dictatorship of the coordinating technocratic managerial class and that a “dictatorship of the proletariat” is a logical impossibility. **Mikhail Bakunin** foreshadowed this argument when he wrote:

[The] State has always been the patrimony of some privileged class: a priestly class, an aristocratic class, a bourgeois class. And finally, when all the other classes have exhausted themselves, the State then becomes the patrimony of the bureaucratic class and then falls—or, if you will, rises—to the position of a machine.

— On the International Workingmen’s Association and Karl Marx, 1872

Some believe that Marxism fails because its theoretical “socialist mode of production” involves centralizing and empowering the State apparatus which empowers people from the coordinator class to seize control of the State and means of production to manage the labor class, effectively acting as a surrogate capital class. However, this is less of a problem for libertarian Marxists who believe that such as State apparatus should operate on working class-led participatory democracy or even as a **consociational state**.

Key differences thus include the fact that Anarchists do not differentiate between peasants, lumpen, and proletarians and instead define all people who work for the profit of others as members of the working class, regardless of occupation; and that anarchists do differentiate between the economic and political elites who set policy and the business and government functionaries that carry those policies out whereas Marxists lump the two together.

Further, some Anarchists argue that Marxism fails because it springs from the minds of middle class intellectuals, while arguing that anarchism springs spontaneously from the self-activity and self-organization of the labor class. They point to the fact that the major schools of Marxism are often named after the intellectuals who formed the movements through high analytical and philosophical praxis theorization. While schools of Anarchism tend to emerge from organizational principles or forms of practice and are rarely (if ever) named after or centered around an individual intellectual. Anarchists distinguish themselves by what they do, and how they organize themselves whereas Marxists tend to distinguish themselves by their strategic approach and their philosophical or intellectual methodology. Marxists, however, contend that their ideas are not new ideologies which sprang from intellectuals but are ideas which form from the class contradictions of each economic and social mode of history.

They argue that Marxian socialism in particular arose from the minds of the working class due to the class contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. Some Marxists even argue that anarchism springs from the ideas of proletarians (or even petty bourgeoisie) who have been marginalized by capitalism as an unorganized and unrefined reactionary struggle against the forces of capitalism.

Other axes of oppression

The Marxist analysis of class struggles and of power as the cause of injustice has consequences on how Marxists relate themselves to the liberation movements of groups such as women, **indigenous peoples**, **ethnic minorities**, and cultural minorities (such as homosexuals). **Classical Marxism** generally dismissed such movements since, for Marxists, class struggle had to take precedence over all other forms of struggle. They argued that only the class struggle could allow the working class to seize power via seizing the state. Once state power had been seized, issues like racism or sexism, could be much more easily dealt with. Since the 1970s, however, most Marxist organizations explicitly support such liberation movements, not only because they are worthy in and of themselves, but also on the grounds that they are seen as necessary for a **working-class** revolution. Many Marxists believe that attempts by oppressed people to liberate themselves will continue to fail to achieve their full aims until class society is done away with because under capitalism and other class societies, **social power** ultimately derives from the organization of production.

Anarchists, other political movements, and a lot of theorists criticize classical Marxism for giving class priority and argue that this way of explaining social movements denigrates other oppressions, which operate with their own independent dynamics. Most anarchists see liberation movements by oppressed people as fundamentally legitimate, be they “**peasants**”, “**proletarians**”, or bourgeoisie, without needing to fit these movements into a predetermined schema for **revolution**. However, many anarchists believe that single issue struggles are extremely limited and not powerful enough to change in depth societal conditions. Nevertheless, they still support and participate in them since they still think of them as useful.

Marxists tend to view people as sharing a certain **class consciousness** based on their station in capitalist society. They believe that people share a collective socio-economic mindset and that freedom comes from liberating the class of its class status shackles, thus eventually empowering the individual. Anarchists on the other hand tend to view people as social individuals who share a common condition in capitalist society, but don’t necessarily share a uniform class consciousness.

Religion See also: **Anarchism and religion**

Religion is another area of disagreement amongst anarchists and Marxists. Marx in the Introduction to *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* described religion as the instrument of the bourgeois class to easily dominate the minds of the proletariat and inspire subservience to authority and acceptance of the status quo in return for future reward in the after death 'life'. Most Marxists tend to envision a "pure communism" as being free of religion, sometimes promoting violence against clergy and religious institutions. Nonetheless, religious Marxists exist all over the world.

Despite the hostility of Marxism to organized religion, there have been attempts to fuse the two, **Liberation theology** being the most obvious example. Some Priests associated with Liberation Theology have even joined and fought with armed guerrillas, **Camilo Torres**, for instance, joined and fought with the ELN (**National Liberation Army**) in Colombia and died in combat. Although the **Vatican** has actively condemned liberation theology, liberation theology remains influential in parts of Latin America, most notably with the **Landless Workers' Movement** of Brazil.

Anarchists advocate resistance to oppressive and authoritarian institutions, including religious ones; and in extreme cases this may include violent resistance. During the **Spanish Civil War**, for instance, the **Catholic Church** was one of the biggest landowners and allied itself with the **Falangist Fascist** movement led by **Francisco Franco**. Opposition to Catholic institutions and the collectivization of church lands by peasants formed a major part of the anarchist revolution that opposed Franco in Barcelona. In the **Basque Country**, however, most priests defied the church and opposed Fascism and urged their congregations to do likewise, and so on the ground there was little in the way of physical conflict between anarchists and Catholics over religion.

In contrast to Marxism, anarchism has historically been more accepting of personal spirituality and egalitarian religions. Anarchism has also historically gained much more support amongst religious communities and at various times and places explicitly anarchist forms of Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, and other religions have claimed tens of thousands of members. Some anarchists envision future society as being free of religion while others envision a future society in which egalitarian religions and spirituality being a private matter equally tolerated with non-religious tendencies in a neutral, secular society. A smaller number envision spirituality or egalitarian religions playing a prominent role in society, most recently Neopaganism, with its focus on the sanctity of nature and equality, along with its often decentralized nature, has led to a number of Neopagan inspired anarchists. One of the most prominent is **Starhawk**, who writes extensively about both spirituality and activism.

1.11.4 Nationalism and relationships with indigenous peoples and stateless nations

Main articles: **Anarchism and nationalism** and **National Bolshevism**

Anarchism and Marxism differ in their relationships with **Indigenous peoples** and **national minorities**. The classical Anarchist position was that the coming revolution would wipe away all distinctions of nationality, since nationality is socially constructed, that the proletariat has no "nation", and that the natural form for socialism was **internationalism**. This remained the established position of the entire anti-capitalist left up until the early 1900s and still holds considerable sway in both anarchist and Marxist circles. Marxists acknowledge boundaries and development of the nation state.

During the build-up to the Russian revolution, however, Lenin and the Bolsheviks found it expedient to promise independence to the various indigenous non-Russian national minorities, notably the **Ukrainians** and the **Poles**, in return for their support against the Czarist empire. Whilst some Bolsheviks continued to support this position, the dominant Bolshevik faction grouped around Lenin in Moscow first drove the **National Communists** underground and the liquidating them in 1928. Subsequently all nationalist movements throughout the USSR were brutally crushed by Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, and all their successors until the collapse of the USSR as a political unit. In the run-up to World War II Russia's foreign policy centered around the idea of **National Bolshevism**, through which the Bolshevik political elite in Russia sought to instigate and support communist-nationalist revolutions around the world, most notably in Hungary and Germany, and then absorb the newly independent areas into a Soviet commonwealth—a goal that was achieved after World War II with the **Warsaw Pact**. Elements of this persisted in Soviet foreign policy throughout the cold war and helped motivate support of nationalist and **anti-imperialist** movements throughout the third world. Aid by Russia to the Chinese Communist Party during the Chinese revolution was driven by the same motivation, but once in power Mao refused to allow the USSR to control Chinese policy, leading to a break with Stalin that culminated in a brief war between the two powers. The same process would later play out in the relationship between Communist rulers in China and Vietnam.

During the Chinese revolution a parallel process occurred as **Mao Zedong** and the **Chinese Communist Party** first promised independence and self-determination to all of China's many stateless nations, and then not only refused to deliver once the CCP's grip on power was solidified but actually invaded and annexed **Tibet**, which he regarded as a renegade province. Every successive Communist

government throughout the world has followed this same pattern of first promising indigenous national minorities self-determination in order to gain their support and then actively opposing that self-determination once in power. In a nutshell, the general policy of Marxist governments from Lenin on has been to support revolution nationalism and the rights of indigenous groups in theory and to oppose it in practice. Most recently, the **Sandinistas** in **Nicaragua** were accused of carrying out campaigns of **ethnic cleansing** against indigenous peoples in order to seize their land.

Ward Churchill has gone so far as to argue in his essay on Marxism and Indigenism that Marxism is inherently imperialist and racist in effect, if not in intent, because it is based on the idea of historical progress and industrialization as inevitable, and sees industrial proletarian-based societies as more “advanced” than other societies (particularly indigenous societies). Other scholars argue that the conflict has to do with the demands of running a State structure and argue that if the Bolsheviks had come to power in Poland (for example) instead of Russia they would have had to become Polish nationalists and would have bitterly opposed Russian attempts to dominate Poland. Seizing the Russian State, however, meant that they had to defend the interests of that State; and the rights of stateless nations thus became anathema.

The position of Anarchism is somewhat the reverse. Most Anarchists, both historically and up to the present day, see borders and national divisions as detrimental and envision a world in which distinctions of **race** and **ethnicity** fade and disappear over time as the ideal. In practice, however, Anarchism is based on small-scale systems of self-determination, local self-governance, and mutual aid that fulfill the desire of national minorities for self-determination on a de facto basis; and has thus been historically compatible with anti-state forms of **nationalism**. The most notable collaboration, of course, being the movements for self-rule by the **Catalans** and **Basques** in Spain which found expression under the banner of the anarchist **CNT** during the **Spanish Civil War**. More recently there has been an attempt at an explicit fusion of Anarchism and native-American political traditions manifested in the modern **Indigenist** movement. Anti-State nationalist organizations that explicitly describe their politics as Anarchist currently exist in Ireland and **Brittany**. Many members of the modern **American Indian Movement** also consider themselves Anarchists.

1.11.5 Methodological disagreements

Marxism uses a form of analysis of human societies called “**historical materialism**.” The central idea of historical materialism is the idea that people live in a determined material world, and act in order to produce changes upon this predetermined world, without being able to fundamentally change it. In economic terms, the **relations of production** are the driving force of history. Underlying

these processes, as a dialectical background notion, is the idea that **contradictions** and opposed **social groups** are the ones that form and drive social progress.

Marx formulated the concept of historical materialism from a critique of Hegel’s Idealism and dialectics. Marx only applied historical materialism to human history; however, Marxists claim that his methodology can be applied to all phenomena and they usually describe it as **dialectical materialism**. Anarchist philosopher **Murray Bookchin** developed **dialectical naturalism** out of a combination of Marxist and Hegelian dialectics, and Kropotkin’s biological outlook.

Classical Anarchists saw value in historical materialism as a tool for social analysis. Contemporary anarchists use a wide variety of tools of social analysis, historical materialism included. The Irish **Workers Solidarity Movement**, for instance, makes agreeing with the historical materialist method’s value a central point of unity. Many anarchists, however, dismiss dialectical materialism as a pseudo-science based on untestable and unfalsifiable universal claims. Anarchists were among the first to criticise the dialectical materialist trend as pseudo-science and generally criticised either the Marxist methodologies as such, or the applications of them, on the basis that both historical and dialectical materialism dehumanise people as the agents of history. Within Marxism these criticisms are mirrored by the criticisms of socialist humanists, Western Marxists, Autonomist Marxists and other similar thinkers.

The rule of heaven and the rule of nature—angels, spirits, devils, molecules, atoms, ether, the laws of God-Heaven and the laws of Nature, forces, the influence of one body on another—all this is invented, formed, created by society. Marxism is the new scientific Christianity, designed to conquer the bourgeois world by deceiving the people, the proletariat, just as Christianity deceived the feudal world.

Abba and V.L. Gordin, **Russian anarchists**.^[5]

Determinism

A simple interpretation of historical materialism suggests that if Marxism is right about the class forces operating in capitalism, a successful working-class revolution is inevitable. Some Marxists, notably the leaders of the **Second International** in the late 19th and early 20th century, have believed this. However, the degree to which the revolution must be made by conscious forces has always been a matter of dispute among Marxists, with many arguing that Marx’ famous statement that “I am not a Marxist” was a rejection of determinism, and the split was sharpened by the **First World War**, when the social democratic parties of the Second International supported their respective nations’ war efforts. Many Marxist opponents of the war, such as **Rosa Luxemburg**, blamed the Second International’s “betrayal” partly on its doctrine of

the inevitability of socialism, which justified its attempt to reform existing capitalist states. Luxemburg put the alternatives for the future, instead, as “socialism or barbarism”.

Since an influential segment of anarchists reject either **dialectical materialism** or **historical materialism** or both, these anarchists usually do not claim that revolution and the reorganization of society are inevitable, only that they are desirable. Some anarchists, while rejecting dialectical or historical materialism claim other bases for the inevitability of revolution, such as the natural yearning of consciousness for freedom; these anarchists find their mirror within Marxist intellectual movements in individuals such as **Herbert Marcuse**.

1.11.6 Notes

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1.11.9 External links

- **The Philosophical Roots of the Marx-Bakunin Conflict**—An outline of the divergent philosophical and methodological foundations of Mikhail Bakunin, as a prime representative of the anarchist critic of Marxism, and Karl Marx, concerning human nature, freedom and political organization.
- **Anarchism vs. Marxism**—A Marxist perspective on the differences between anarchism and Marxism.
- *Anarchy After Leftism*—Essay by Bob Black, hosted by Infoshop.org
- **Bakunin vs. Marx**—A libertarian socialist analysis of the differences between Bakunin in Marx.
- **Libertarian Communist Library**—Anarchist, Marxist and crossover texts from Libcom.org
- An Anarchist FAQ: Section H - Why do anarchists oppose state socialism? & Appendix 3 - Anarchism and Marxism

1.12 Anarchism and violence

Anarchism and violence have become closely connected in popular thought, in part because of a concept of “propaganda of the deed”. Propaganda of the deed, or *attentat*, was espoused by leading anarchists in the late nineteenth century, and was associated with a number of incidents of violence. Anarchist thought, however, is quite diverse on the question of violence. In the name of coherence some anarchists have opposed coercion, while others have supported it, particularly in the form of violent revolution on the path to anarchy.^[1] Anarchism includes

a school of thought which rejects all violence (anarcho-pacifism).

Many anarchists regard the state to be at the definitional center of **structural violence**: directly or indirectly preventing people from meeting their basic needs, calling for violence as self-defense.^[2]

Perhaps the first anarchist periodical was named *The Peaceful Revolutionist*, a strain of anarchism that followed Tolstoy's pacifism.

1.12.1 Propaganda of the deed

Main article: [Propaganda of the deed](#)

Late in the 19th century, anarchist labor unions began to use the tactic of **general strike**. This often resulted in **violence** by both sides and some of the **strikes** even resulted in the deaths of striking workers, their replacements and security staff.

In this climate, some anarchists began to advocate and practice **terrorism** or **assassination**, which they referred to as **propaganda of the deed**. In many cases, newspapers blamed anarchist terrorism on immigrant naïvety, but scholar Richard Bach Jensen explained that “the emigrant experience may have heightened a pre-existing radicalism or given more precise configuration to its violent expression.”^[3] United States President **William McKinley** was assassinated by **Leon Czolgosz**, a registered Republican who, after his arrest, claimed he had been influenced by the writings of **Emma Goldman** and others. Czolgosz' actions were widely condemned by anarchists, but the media widely characterized Czolgosz as a typical anarchist even though he had never actually belonged to any anarchist organization. Goldman spoke sympathetically of him and described his act as the result of a violent society. Her defense of Czolgosz was met with open hostility from most of the anarchist press.

1.12.2 Public perception

Depictions in the press and popular fiction helped create a lasting public impression that anarchists are violent terrorists. This perception was enhanced by events such as the **Haymarket Riot**, where anarchists were blamed for throwing a bomb at police who came to break up a public meeting in **Chicago**. The writer **J. R. R. Tolkien**, in a letter to his son, briefly described anarchy “philosophically understood” as “meaning abolition of control *not whiskered men with bombs*.”^[4]

1.12.3 Anarcho-pacifism

See also: [Anarcho-pacifism](#)

See also: [Antimilitarism](#)



An American political cartoon, published in 1919, depicting a “European anarchist” preparing to destroy the Statue of Liberty.



Blessed are the Peacemakers by *George Bellows*, *The Masses*, 1917.

Anarcho-pacifism (also pacifist anarchism or anarchist pacifism) is a form of anarchism which completely rejects the use of violence in any form for any purpose. Important proponents include **Leo Tolstoy** and **Bart de Ligt**. **Mohandas Gandhi** is an important influence.

Henry David Thoreau, though not a pacifist himself,^[5] influenced both Leo Tolstoy and Mohandas Gandhi's advocacy of Nonviolent resistance through his work *Civil Disobedience*.^[6]

At some point anarcho-pacifism had as its main proponent Christian anarchism. The first large-scale anarcho-pacifist movement was the Tolstoyan peasant movement in Russia. They were a predominantly peasant movement that set up hundreds of voluntary anarchist pacifist communes based on their interpretation of Christianity as requiring absolute pacifism and the rejection of all coercive authority.

“Dutch anarchist-pacifist Bart de Ligt’s 1936 treatise *The Conquest of Violence* (with its none too subtle allusion to Kropotkin’s *The Conquest of Bread*) was also of signal importance.”^[7] “Gandhi’s ideas were popularised in the West in books such as Richard Gregg’s *The Power of Nonviolence* (1935), and Bart de Ligt’s *The Conquest of Violence* (1937).

As a global movement, anarchist pacifism emerged shortly before World War II in the Netherlands, Great Britain and the United States and was a strong presence in the subsequent campaigns for nuclear disarmament.

1.12.4 Anarchist theory

See also: anarchist schools of thought

Anarchism encompasses a variety of views about violence. The Tolstoyan tradition of non-violent resistance is prevalent among some anarchists. Ursula K. Le Guin’s novel *The Dispossessed*, a fictional novel about a society that practises “Odonianism”, expressed this anarchism:

Odonianism is anarchism. Not the bomb-in-the-pocket stuff, which is terrorism, whatever name it tries to dignify itself with, not the social-Darwinist economic 'libertarianism' of the far right; but anarchism, as prefigured in early Taoist thought, and expounded by Shelley and Kropotkin, Goldman and Goodman. Anarchism’s principal target is the authoritarian State (capitalist or socialist); its principle moral-practical theme is cooperation (solidarity, mutual aid). It is the most idealistic, and to me the most interesting, of all political theories.^[8]

Emma Goldman included in her definition of Anarchism the observation that all governments rest on violence, and this is one of the many reasons they should be opposed. Goldman herself didn’t oppose tactics like assassination in her early career, but changed her views after she went to Russia, where she witnessed the violence of the Russian state and the Red Army. From then on she con-

demned the use of terrorism, especially by the state, and advocated violence only as a means of self-defense.

Arguments in Favor of Violent and Non-violent Means

Some anarchists see violent revolution as necessary in the abolition of capitalist society, while others advocate non-violent methods. Errico Malatesta, an anarchist-communist, propounded that it is “necessary to destroy with violence, since one cannot do otherwise, the violence which denies [the means of life and for development] to the workers.”^[9] As he put it in *Umanità Nova* (no. 125, September 6, 1921):

It is our aspiration and our aim that everyone should become socially conscious and effective; but to achieve this end, it is necessary to provide all with the means of life and for development, and it is therefore necessary to destroy with violence, since one cannot do otherwise, the violence that denies these means to the workers.^[10]

Anarchists with this view advocate violence insofar as they see it to be necessary in ridding the world of exploitation, and especially states.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon argued in favor of a non-violent revolution through a process of dual power in which libertarian socialist institutions would be established and form associations enabling the formation of an expanding network within the existing state-capitalist framework with the intention of eventually rendering both the state and the capitalist economy obsolete. The progression towards violence in anarchism stemmed, in part, from the massacres of some of the communes inspired by the ideas of Proudhon and others. Many anarcho-communists began to see a need for revolutionary violence to counteract the violence inherent in both capitalism and government.^[11]

Anarcho-pacifism is a tendency within the anarchist movement which rejects the use of violence in the struggle for social change.^[12] The main early influences were the thought of Henry David Thoreau^[6] and Leo Tolstoy.^{[12][6]} It developed “mostly in Holland [*sic*], Britain, and the United States, before and during the Second World War”.^[13] Opposition to the use of violence has not prohibited anarcho-pacifists from accepting the principle of resistance or even revolutionary action provided it does not result in violence; it was in fact their approval of such forms of opposition to power that lead many anarcho-pacifists to endorse the anarcho-syndicalist concept of the general strike as the great revolutionary weapon. Later anarcho-pacifists have also come to endorse to non-violent strategy of dual power.

Other anarchists have believed that violence (especially self-defense) is justified as a way to provoke social upheaval which could lead to a social revolution.

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- [4] (our emphasis)
- [5] Thoreau, Henry. Rosenblum, Nancy, ed. *Thoreau: Political Writings*. Cambridge University Press. p. xxiv. ISBN 0521476755.
- [6] "Resiting the Nation State, the pacifist and anarchist tradition" by Geoffrey Ostergaard
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- [8] Ursula K. Le Guin|Preface of 'The Day Before the Revolution' ('In Memorial to Paul Goodman 1911-1972'), published in the anthology 'The Wind's Twelve Quarters Vol2'
- [9] The revolutionary haste by Errico Malatesta
- [10] Umanità Nova, n. 125, September 6, 1921. A translation can be found at The revolutionary haste by Errico Malatesta. Retrieved June 17, 2006.
- [11] Goldman, Emma. 'Anarchism and Other Essays' Mother Earth (1910) p. 113.
- [12] Woodcock
- [13] Woodcock, p. 21: "Finally, somewhat aside from the curve that runs from anarchist individualism to anarcho-syndicalism, we come to Tolstoyanism and to pacifist anarchism that appeared, mostly in Holland (*sic*), Britain, and the United States, before and after the Second World War and which has continued since then in the deep in the anarchist involvement in the protests against nuclear armament."

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1.13 Anarchism and education

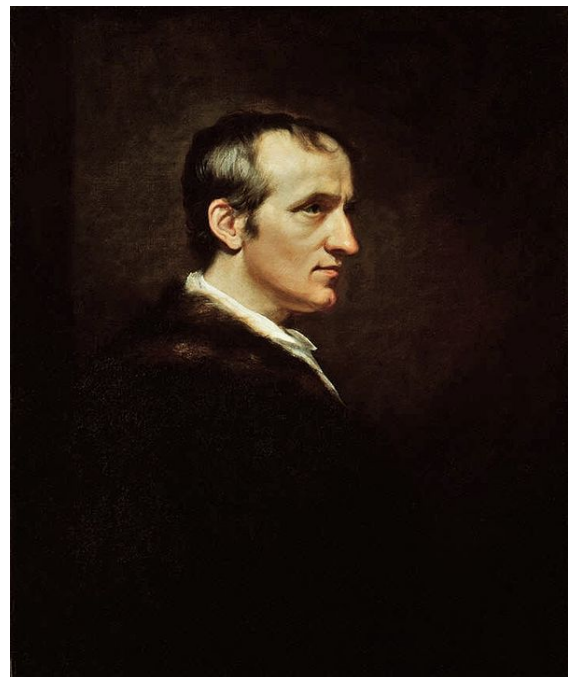
Anarchism has had a special interest on the issue of **education** from the works of William Godwin^[1] and Max Stirner^[2] onwards.

A wide diversity of issues related to education have gained the attention of anarchist theorists and activists. They have included the role of education in social control and socialization, the rights and liberties of youth and children within educational contexts, the inequalities encouraged by current educational systems, the influence of state and religious ideologies in the education of people, the division between social and manual work and its relationship with education, sex education and art education.

Various alternatives to contemporary mainstream educational systems and their problems have been proposed by anarchists which have gone from alternative education systems and environments, self-education, advocacy of youth and children rights, and freethought activism.

1.13.1 Early anarchist views on education

William Godwin



William Godwin

For English enlightenment anarchist William Godwin education was "the main means by which change would be achieved."^[1] Godwin saw that the main goal of education should be the promotion of happiness.^[1] For Godwin, education had to have "A respect for the child's autonomy which precluded any form of coercion", "A pedagogy that respected this and sought to build on the child's own motivation and initiatives" and "A concern about the

child's capacity to resist an ideology transmitted through the school."^[1]

In his *Political Justice* he criticizes state sponsored schooling "on account of its obvious alliance with national government".^[3] For him the State "will not fail to employ it to strengthen its hands, and perpetuate its institutions."^[3] He thought "It is not true that our youth ought to be instructed to venerate the constitution, however excellent; they should be instructed to venerate truth; and the constitution only so far as it corresponded with their independent deductions of truth."^[3] A long work on the subject of education to consider is *The Enquirer. Reflections On Education, Manners, And Literature. In A Series Of Essays*.^[4]

Max Stirner



Max Stirner

Max Stirner was a German philosopher linked mainly with the anarchist school of thought known as individualist anarchism who worked as a schoolteacher in a gymnasium for young girls.^[5] He examines the subject of education directly in his long essay *The False Principle of our Education*. In it "we discern his persistent pursuit of the goal of individual self-awareness and his insistence on the centering of everything around the individual personality."^[2] As such Stirner "in education, all of the given material has value only in so far as children learn to do something with it, to use it".^[2] In that essay he deals with the debates between realist and humanistic educational commentators and sees that both "are concerned with the learner as an object, someone to be

acted upon rather than one encouraged to move toward subjective self-realization and liberation" and sees that "a knowledge which only burdens me as a belonging and a possession, instead of having gone along with me completely so that the free-moving ego, not encumbered by any dragging possessions, passes through the world with a fresh spirit, such a knowledge then, which has not become personal, furnishes a poor preparation for life."^[2]

He concludes this essay by saying that "the necessary decline of non-voluntary learning and rise of the self-assured will which perfects itself in the glorious sunlight of the free person may be expressed somewhat as follows: knowledge must die and rise again as will and create itself anew each day as a free person."^[6] Stirner thus saw education "is to be life and there, as outside of it, the self-revelation of the individual is to be the task."^[6] For him "pedagogy should not proceed any further towards civilizing, but toward the development of free men, sovereign characters".^[6]

Josiah Warren



Josiah Warren

Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist.^[7] "Where utopian projectors starting with Plato entertained the idea of creating an ideal species through eugenics and education and a set of universally valid institutions inculcating shared identities, Warren wanted to dissolve such identities in a solution of indi-

vidual self-sovereignty. His educational experiments, for example, possibly under the influence of the...Swiss educational theorist **Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi** (via **Robert Owen**), emphasized - as we would expect - the nurturing of the independence and the conscience of individual children, not the inculcation of pre-conceived values.^[8]"

1.13.2 The classics and the late 19th century

Mikhail Bakunin

On "Equal Opportunity in Education"^[9] Russian anarchist **Mikhail Bakunin** denounced what he saw as the social inequalities caused by the current educational systems. He put this issue in this way "will it be feasible for the working masses to know complete emancipation as long as the education available to those masses continues to be inferior to that bestowed upon the bourgeois, or, in more general terms, as long as there exists any class, be it numerous or otherwise, which, by virtue of birth, is entitled to a superior education and a more complete instruction? Does not the question answer itself?..."^[9]

He also denounced that "Consequently while some study others must labour so that they can produce what we need to live — not just producing for their own needs, but also for those men who devote themselves exclusively to intellectual pursuits.^[9] As a solution to this Bakunin proposed that "Our answer to that is a simple one: everyone must work and everyone must receive education...for work's sake as much as for the sake of science, there must no longer be this division into workers and scholars and henceforth there must be only men."^[9]

Bakunin views on the relationships between children and parents pointed to the educational aspects of them and so he argued that: "We do not claim that the child should be treated as an adult, that all his caprices should be respected, that when his childish will stubbornly flouts the elementary rules of science and common sense we should avoid making him feel that he is wrong. We say, on the contrary, that the child must be trained and guided, but that the direction of his first years must not be exclusively exercised by his parents, who are all too often incompetent and who generally abuse their authority. The aim of education is to develop the latent capacities of the child to the fullest possible extent and enable him to take care of himself as quickly as possible...It is painfully evident that authoritarianism is incompatible with an enlightened system of education. If the relations of father to son are no longer those of master to slave but those of teacher to student, of an older to a much younger friend, do you think that the reciprocal affection of parents and children would thereby be impaired? On the contrary, when intimate relations of these sorts cease, do not the discords so characteristic of modern families begin? Is not the family disintegrating into bitter frictions largely because of the



Mikhail Bakunin

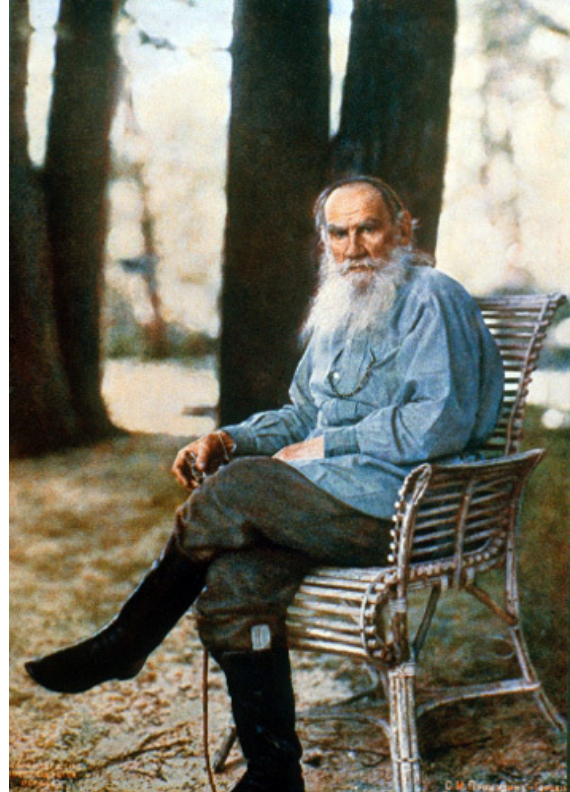
tyranny exercised by parents over their children?...No one can therefore justly claim that a free and regenerated society will destroy the family. In such a society the father, the mother, and the children will learn to love each other and to respect their mutual rights; at the same time their love will be enriched as it transcends the narrow limits of family affection, thereby achieving a wider and nobler love: the love of the great human family...Today, parents not only support their children [i.e. providing food, clothes, etc.] but also supervise their education. This is a custom based on a false principle, a principle that regards the child as the personal property of the parents. The child belongs to no one, he belongs only to himself; and during the period when he is unable to protect himself and is thereby exposed to exploitation, it is society that must protect him and guarantee his free development. It is society that must support him and supervise his education. In supporting him and paying for his education society is only making an advance 'loan' which the child will repay when he becomes an adult proper."^[10]

Peter Kropotkin

Russian **anarcho-communist** theorist **Peter Kropotkin** suggested in "Brain Work and Manual Work" that "The masses of the workmen do not receive more scientific education than their grandfathers did; but they have been deprived of the education of even the small workshop, while their boys and girls are driven into a mine, or a factory, from the age of thirteen, and there they soon forget the



Peter Kropotkin



Leo Tolstoy, influential christian anarchist and anarcho pacifist theorist

little they may have learned at school. As to the scientists, they despise manual labour.”^{[11][12]} So for Kropotkin “We fully recognise the necessity of specialisation of knowledge, but we maintain that specialisation must follow general education, and that general education must be given in science and handicraft alike. To the division of society into brainworkers and manual workers we oppose the combination of both kinds of activities; and instead of ‘technical education,’ which means the maintenance of the present division between brain work and manual work, we advocate the *éducation intégrale*, or complete education, which means the disappearance of that pernicious distinction.”^[12]

1.13.3 The Early 20th century

Leo Tolstoy

The Russian christian anarchist and famous novelist Leo Tolstoy established a school for peasant children on his estate.^[13] Tolstoy returned to Yasnaya Polyana and founded thirteen schools for his serfs’ children, based on the principles Tolstoy described in his 1862 essay “The School at Yasnaya Polyana”.^[14] Tolstoy’s educational experiments were short-lived due to harassment by the Tsarist secret police, but as a direct forerunner to A. S. Neill’s Summerhill School, the school at Yasnaya Polyana^[15] can justifiably be claimed to be the first ex-

ample of a coherent theory of democratic education.

Tolstoy differentiated between education and culture.^[13] He wrote that “Education is the tendency of one man to make another just like himself... Education is culture under restraint, culture is free. [Education is] when the teaching is forced upon the pupil, and when then instruction is exclusive, that is when only those subjects are taught which the educator regards as necessary”.^[13] For him “without compulsion, education was transformed into culture”.^[13]

Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia and the Modern schools

Main article: *Escuela Moderna*

In 1901, Catalan anarchist and free-thinker Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia established “modern” or progressive schools in Barcelona in defiance of an educational system controlled by the Catholic Church.^[16] The schools’ stated goal was to “educate the working class in a rational, secular and non-coercive setting”. Fiercely anti-clerical, Ferrer believed in “freedom in education”, education free from the authority of church and state.^[17] Murray Bookchin wrote: “This period [1890s] was the heyday of libertarian schools and pedagogical projects in all areas of the country where Anarchists exercised some degree of influence. Perhaps the best-known effort in this field was Francisco Ferrer’s Modern School (*Escuela Moderna*), a project which exercised a considerable in-



Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia, Catalan anarchist pedagogue

fluence on Catalan education and on experimental techniques of teaching generally.”^[18] La Escuela Moderna, and Ferrer’s ideas generally, formed the inspiration for a series of *Modern Schools* in the United States,^[16] Cuba, South America and London. The first of these was started in New York City in 1911. It also inspired the Italian newspaper *Università popolare*, founded in 1901.

Ferrer wrote an extensive work on education and on his educational experiments called *The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School*.^[19]

The Modern School movement in the United States

Main article: *Modern School (United States)*

The Modern Schools, also called Ferrer Schools, were United States schools, established in the early twentieth century, that were modeled after the *Escuela Moderna* of Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia, the Catalan educator and anarchist. They were an important part of the anarchist, free schooling, socialist, and labor movements in the U.S., intended to educate the working-classes from a secular, class-conscious perspective. The Modern Schools imparted day-time academic classes for children, and night-time continuing-education lectures for adults.

The first, and most notable, of the Modern Schools was founded in New York City, in 1911, two years af-



The NYC Modern School, ca. 1911–1912, Principal Will Durant and pupils. This photograph was the cover of the first issue of The Modern School magazine.

ter Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia’s execution for sedition in monarchist Spain on 18 October 1909. Commonly called the Ferrer Center, it was founded by notable anarchists — including Leonard Abbott, Alexander Berkman, Voltairine de Cleyre, and Emma Goldman — first meeting on St. Mark’s Place, in Manhattan’s Lower East Side, but twice moved elsewhere, first within lower Manhattan, then to Harlem. The Ferrer Center opened with only nine students, one being the son of Margaret Sanger, the contraceptives-rights activist. Starting in 1912, the school’s principal was the philosopher Will Durant, who also taught there. Besides Berkman and Goldman, the Ferrer Center faculty included the Ashcan School painters Robert Henri and George Bellows, and its guest lecturers included writers and political activists such as Margaret Sanger, Jack London, and Upton Sinclair.^[20] Student Magda Schoenwetter, recalled that the school used Montessori methods and equipment, and emphasised academic freedom rather than fixed subjects, such as spelling and arithmetic.^[21] *The Modern School* magazine originally began as a newsletter for parents, when the school was in New York City, printed with the manual printing press used in teaching printing as a profession. After moving to the Stelton Colony, New Jersey, the magazine’s content expanded to poetry, prose, art, and libertarian education articles; the cover emblem and interior graphics were designed by Rockwell Kent. Artists and writers, among them Hart Crane and Wallace

Stevens, praised *The Modern School* as “the most beautifully printed magazine in existence.”

After the 4 July 1914 **Lexington Avenue bombing**, the police investigated and several times raided the Ferrer Center and other labor and anarchist organisations in New York City.^[22] Acknowledging the urban danger to their school, the organizers bought 68 acres (275,000 m²) in **Piscataway Township, New Jersey**, and moved there in 1914, becoming the center of the Stelton Colony. Moreover, beyond New York City, the **Ferrer Colony and Modern School** was founded (ca. 1910–1915) as a Modern School-based community, that endured some forty years. In 1933, James and Nellie Dick, who earlier had been principals of the Stelton Modern School, founded the Modern School in **Lakewood, New Jersey**,^[22] which survived the original Modern School, the Ferrer Center, becoming the final surviving such school, lasting until 1958.^[23]

Emma Goldman



Emma Goldman

In an essay entitled “The child and its enemies” **Lithuanian-American anarcha-feminist Emma Goldman** manifested that “The child shows its individual tendencies in its plays, in its questions, in its association with people and things. But it has to struggle with everlasting external interference in its world of thought and emotion. It must not express itself in harmony with its nature, with its growing personality. It must become a thing, an object. Its questions are met with narrow, conventional, ridiculous replies, mostly based on falsehoods; and, when,

with large, wondering, innocent eyes, it wishes to behold the wonders of the world, those about it quickly lock the windows and doors, and keep the delicate human plant in a hothouse atmosphere, where it can neither breathe nor grow freely.”^[24] Goldman in the essay entitled “The Social Importance of the Modern School” saw that “the school of today, no matter whether public, private, or parochial...is for the child what the prison is for the convict and the barracks for the soldier — a place where everything is being used to break the will of the child, and then to pound, knead, and shape it into a being utterly foreign to itself.”^[25]

In this way “it will be necessary to realize that education of children is not synonymous with herdlike drilling and training. If education should really mean anything at all, it must insist upon the free growth and development of the innate forces and tendencies of the child. In this way alone can we hope for the free individual and eventually also for a free community, which shall make interference and coercion of human growth impossible.”^[26]

Goldman in her essay on the Modern School also dealt with the issue of **Sex education**. She denounced that “educators also know the evil and sinister results of ignorance in sex matters. Yet, they have neither understanding nor humanity enough to break down the wall which puritanism has built around sex...If in childhood both man and woman were taught a beautiful comradeship, it would neutralize the oversexed condition of both and would help woman’s emancipation much more than all the laws upon the statute books and her right to vote.”^[27]

1.13.4 Later 20th century and contemporary times

Main articles: **Anarchistic free school**, **Deschooling Society**, and **Unschooling**

Experiments in Germany led to A. S. Neill founding what became **Summerhill School** in 1921.^[28] Summerhill is often cited as an example of anarchism in practice.^[29] British anarchists **Stuart Christie** and **Albert Meltzer** manifested that “A.S. Neill is the modern pioneer of libertarian education and of “hearts not heads in the school”. Though he has denied being an anarchist, it would be hard to know how else to describe his philosophy, though he is correct in recognising the difference between revolution in philosophy and pedagogy, and the revolutionary change of society. They are associated but not the same thing.”^[30] However, although Summerhill and other **free schools** are radically libertarian, they differ in principle from those of Ferrer by not advocating an overtly political **class struggle**-approach.^[31]

Herbert Read

The English anarchist philosopher, art critic and poet, **Herbert Read** developed a strong interest in the subject of education and particularly in **art education**. Read's anarchism was influenced by **William Godwin**, **Peter Kropotkin** and **Max Stirner**. Read "became deeply interested in children's drawings and paintings after having been invited to collect works for an exhibition of British art that would tour allied and neutral countries during the Second World War. As it was considered too risky to transport across the Atlantic works of established importance to the national heritage, it was proposed that children's drawings and paintings should be sent instead. Read, in making his collection, was unexpectedly moved by the expressive power and emotional content of some of the younger artist's works. The experience prompted his special attention to their cultural value, and his engagement of the theory of children's creativity with seriousness matching his devotion to the avant-garde. This work both changed fundamentally his own life's work throughout his remaining twenty-five years and provided art education with a rationale of unprecedented lucidity and persuasiveness. Key books and pamphlets resulted: *Education through Art* (Read, 1943); *The Education of Free Men* (Read, 1944); *Culture and Education in a World Order* (Read, 1948); *The Grass Root*, (1955); and *Redemption of the Robot* (1970)".^[32]

Read "elaborated a socio-cultural dimension of creative education, offering the notion of greater international understanding and cohesiveness rooted in principles of developing the fully balanced personality through art education. Read argued in *Education through Art* that "every child, is said to be a potential neurotic capable of being saved from this prospect, if early, largely inborn, creative abilities were not repressed by conventional Education. Everyone is an artist of some kind whose special abilities, even if almost insignificant, must be encouraged as contributing to an infinite richness of collective life. Read's newly expressed view of an essential 'continuity' of child and adult creativity in everyone represented a synthesis' the two opposed models of twentieth-century art education that had predominated until this point...Read did not offer a curriculum but a theoretical defence of the genuine and true. His claims for genuineness and truth were based on the overwhelming evidence of characteristics revealed in his study of child art...From 1946 until his death in 1968 he was president of the Society for Education in Art (SEA), the renamed ATG, in which capacity he had a platform for addressing UNESCO...On the basis of such representation Read, with others, succeeded in establishing the International Society for Education through Art (INSEA) as an executive arm of UNESCO in 1954."^[32]

Paul Goodman

Paul Goodman was an important anarchist critic of

contemporary educational systems as can be seen in his books *Growing Up Absurd* and *Compulsory Mis-education*. Goodman believed that in contemporary societies "It is in the schools and from the mass media, rather than at home or from their friends, that the mass of our citizens in all classes learn that life is inevitably routine, depersonalized, venally graded; that it is best to toe the mark and shut up; that there is no place for spontaneity, open sexuality and free spirit. Trained in the schools they go on to the same quality of jobs, culture and politics. This is education, miseducation socializing to the national norms and regimenting to the nation's "needs" "^[33] Goodman thought that a person's most valuable educational experiences "occur outside the school. Participation in the activities of society should be the chief means of learning. Instead of requiring students to succumb to the theoretical drudgery of textbook learning, Goodman recommends that education be transferred into factories, museums, parks, department stores, etc, where the students can actively participate in their education...The ideal schools would take the form of small discussion groups of no more than twenty individuals. As has been indicated, these groups would utilize any effective environment that would be relevant to the interest of the group. Such education would be necessarily non-compulsory, for any compulsion to attend places authority in an external body disassociated from the needs and aspirations of the students. Moreover, compulsion retards and impedes the students' ability to learn."^[33] As far as the current educational system Goodman thought that "The basic intention behind the compulsory attendance laws is not only to insure the socialization process but also to control the labour supply quantitatively within an industrialized economy characterized by unemployment and inflation. The public schools and universities have become large holding tanks of potential workers."^[33]

Ivan Illich

The term **deschooling** was popularized by **Ivan Illich**, who argued that the school as an institution is dysfunctional for self-determined learning and serves the creation of a consumer society instead.^[34] Illich thought that "the dismantling of the public education system would coincide with a pervasive abolition of all the suppressive institutions of society".^[33] Illich "charges public schooling with institutionalizing acceptable moral and behavioral standards and with constitutionally violating the **rights of young adults**...Illich subscribes to Goodman's belief that most of the useful education that people acquire is a by-product of work or leisure and not of the school. Illich refers to this process as "informal education". Only through this unrestricted and unregulated form of learning can the individual gain a sense of self-awareness and develop his creative capacity to its fullest extent."^[33] Illich thought that the main goals of an alternative education systems should be "to provide access to available resources to all who want to learn: to empower all who want to share what

they know; to find those who want to learn it from them; to furnish all who want to present an issue to the public with the opportunity to make their challenges known. The system of learning webs is aimed at individual freedom and expression in education by using society as the classroom. There would be reference services to index items available for study in laboratories, theatres, airports, libraries, etc.; skill exchanges which would permit people to list their skills so that potential students could contact them; peer-matching, which would communicate an individual's interest so that he or she could find educational associates; reference services to educators at large, which would be a central directory of professionals, para professionals and freelancers.”^[33]

Colin Ward



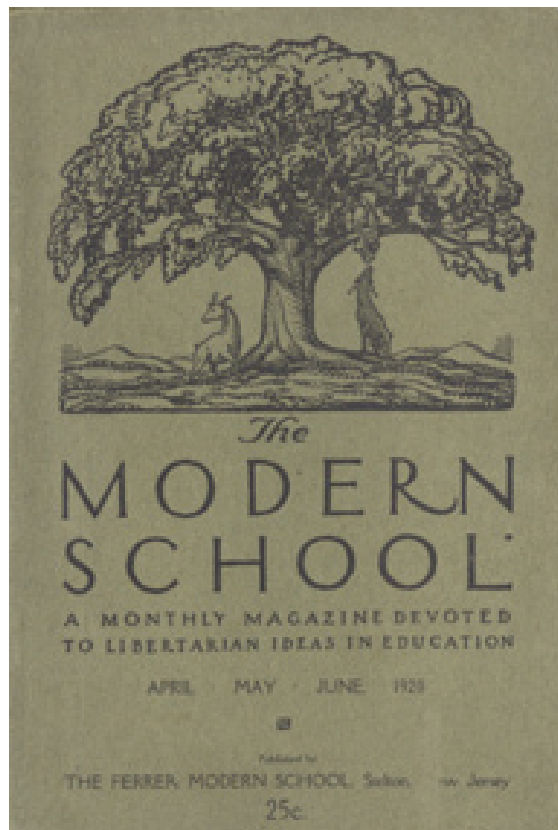
Colin Ward in his workroom, October 2003

English anarchist Colin Ward in his main theoretical publication *Anarchy in Action* (1973) in a chapter called “Schools No Longer” “discusses the genealogy of education and schooling, in particular examining the writings of Everett Reimer and Ivan Illich, and the beliefs of anarchist educator Paul Goodman. Many of Colin’s writings in the 1970s, in particular *Streetwork: The Exploding School* (1973, with Anthony Fyson), focused on learning practices and spaces outside of the school building. In introducing *Streetwork*, Ward writes, “[this] is a book about ideas: ideas of the environment as the educational resource, ideas of the enquiring school, the school without walls...”. In the same year, Ward contributed to *Education Without Schools* (edited by Peter Buckman) discussing ‘the role of the state’. He argued that “one significant role of the state in the national education systems of the world is to perpetuate social and economic injustice”^[35]

In *The Child in the City* (1978), and later *The Child in the Country* (1988), Ward “examined the everyday spaces of young people’s lives and how they can negotiate and re-articulate the various environments they inhabit. In his earlier text, the more famous of the two, Colin Ward explores the creativity and uniqueness of children and how

they cultivate ‘the art of making the city work’. He argued that through play, appropriation and imagination, children can counter adult-based intentions and interpretations of the built environment. His later text, *The Child in the Country*, inspired a number of social scientists, notably geographer Chris Philo (1992), to call for more attention to be paid to young people as a ‘hidden’ and marginalised group in society.”^[35]

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1.13.6 See also

- Anarchistic free school
- Alternative education
- Democratic education

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1.13.8 External links

- Anarchist texts on education at the Anarchist Library

Chapter 2

Communism and Marxism

2.1 Communism

For other uses, see [Communism \(disambiguation\)](#).
Not to be confused with [Communitarianism](#) or [Communalism](#).

In political and social sciences, **communism** (from Latin *communis*, “common, universal”)^{[1][2]} is the philosophical, social, political, and economic ideology and movement whose ultimate goal is the establishment of the **communist society**, which is a socioeconomic order structured upon the **common ownership** of the means of production and the absence of social classes, money,^{[3][4]} and the state.^{[5][6]}

Communism includes a variety of schools of thought, which broadly include **Marxism**, **anarchism** (anarchist communism), and the political ideologies grouped around both. All these share the analysis that the current order of society stems from its economic system, **capitalism**, that in this system, there are two major social classes: the **working class**—who must work to survive, and who make up the majority within society—and the **capitalist class**—a minority who derives profit from employing the working class, through private ownership of the means of production, and that **conflict between** these two classes will trigger a revolution. The primary element which will enable this transformation, according to this analysis, is the **social ownership** of the means of production.

2.1.1 History

Main article: [History of communism](#)

Early communism

The term *communism* was first coined and defined in its modern definition by the French philosopher and writer Victor d'Hupay who, in his 1777 book “*Projet de communauté philosophe*”, pushes the philosophy of the Enlightenment to principles which he lived up to, during most of his life in his bastide of Fuveau (Provence). This book can be seen as the cornerstone of communist philos-

ophy as d'Hupay defines this lifestyle as a “commune” (a “communal”) and advises to 'share all economic and material products between inhabitants of the “commune”, so that all may benefit from everybody's work'.^[7]



A monument dedicated to *Karl Marx* (left) and *Friedrich Engels* (right) in Shanghai, China.

According to **Richard Pipes**, the idea of a classless, egalitarian society first emerged in Ancient Greece.^[8] The 5th-century **Mazdak** movement in Persia (Iran) has been described as “communistic” for challenging the enormous privileges of the noble classes and the clergy, for criticizing the institution of **private property** and for striving to create an egalitarian society.^{[9][10]}

At one time or another, various small communist com-

munities existed, generally under the inspiration of Scripture.^[11] In the medieval Christian church, for example, some monastic communities and religious orders shared their land and their other property (see *Religious and Christian communism*).

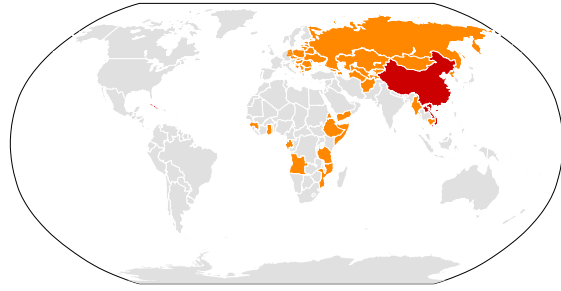
Communist thought has also been traced back to the works of the 16th-century English writer Thomas More. In his treatise *Utopia* (1516), More portrayed a society based on common ownership of property, whose rulers administered it through the application of reason. In the 17th century, communist thought surfaced again in England, where a Puritan religious group known as the "Diggers" advocated the abolition of private ownership of land.^[12] Eduard Bernstein, in his 1895 *Cromwell and Communism*^[13] argued that several groups during the English Civil War, especially the Diggers, espoused clear communistic, agrarian ideals, and that Oliver Cromwell's attitude towards these groups was at best ambivalent and often hostile.^[13] Criticism of the idea of private property continued into the Age of Enlightenment of the 18th century, through such thinkers as Jean Jacques Rousseau in France. Later, following the upheaval of the French Revolution, communism emerged as a political doctrine.^[14]

In the early 19th century, Various social reformers founded communities based on common ownership. But unlike many previous communist communities, they replaced the religious emphasis with a rational and philanthropic basis.^[15] Notable among them were Robert Owen, who founded New Harmony in Indiana (1825), and Charles Fourier, whose followers organized other settlements in the United States such as Brook Farm (1841–47).^[15]

In its modern form, communism grew out of the socialist movement in 19th-century Europe. As the Industrial Revolution advanced, socialist critics blamed capitalism for the misery of the proletariat—a new class of urban factory workers who labored under often-hazardous conditions. Foremost among these critics were Marx and his associate Friedrich Engels. In 1848, Marx and Engels offered a new definition of communism and popularized the term in their famous pamphlet *The Communist Manifesto*.^[15]

Modern communism

The 1917 October Revolution in Russia set the conditions for the rise to state power of Vladimir Lenin's Bolsheviks, which was the first time any avowedly communist party reached that position. The revolution transferred power to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets,^{[16][17][18]} in which the Bolsheviks had a majority. The event generated a great deal of practical and theoretical debate within the Marxist movement. Marx predicted that socialism and communism would be built upon foundations laid by the most advanced capitalist development. Russia, however, was one of the poorest countries in Europe with an enor-



Countries of the world now (red) or previously (orange) having nominally Marxist–Leninist governments.

mous, largely illiterate peasantry and a minority of industrial workers. Marx had explicitly stated that Russia might be able to skip the stage of bourgeois rule.^[19]

The moderate Mensheviks (minority) opposed Lenin's Bolshevik (majority) plan for socialist revolution before capitalism was more fully developed. The Bolsheviks' successful rise to power was based upon the slogans such as "Peace, bread, and land" which tapped the massive public desire for an end to Russian involvement in the First World War, the peasants' demand for land reform, and popular support for the Soviets.^[20]

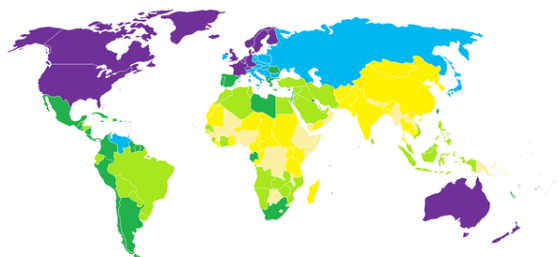
Following Lenin's democratic centralism, the Leninist parties were organized on a hierarchical basis, with active cells of members as the broad base; they were made up only of elite cadres approved by higher members of the party as being reliable and completely subject to party discipline.^[21] The Great Purge of 1937–1938 was Stalin's attempt to destroy any possible opposition within the Communist Party. In the Moscow Trials many old Bolsheviks who had played prominent roles during the Russian Revolution of 1917, or in Lenin's Soviet government afterwards, including Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov, and Bukharin, were accused, pleaded guilty, and executed.^[22]

Cold War

Main article: Cold War

Its leading role in the Second World War saw the emergence of the Soviet Union as a superpower, with strong influence over Eastern Europe and parts of Asia. The European and Japanese empires were shattered and Communist parties played a leading role in many independence movements. Marxist–Leninist governments modeled on the Soviet Union took power with Soviet assistance in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Romania. A Marxist–Leninist government was also created under Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia, but Tito's independent policies led to the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, which had replaced the Comintern, and Titoism was branded "deviationist". Albania also became an independent Marxist–Leninist state after World War II.^[23] Commu-

nism was seen as a rival of and a threat to western capitalism for most of the 20th century.^[24]



Countries by GDP (nominal) per capita in 1965 based on a West-German school book (1971).

nists lead the governments of three states, with a combined population of more than 115 million. In **Nepal**, communists hold a majority in the **parliament**.^[29] The **Communist Party of Brazil** is a part of the parliamentary coalition led by the ruling democratic socialist Workers' Party.

The People's Republic of China has reassessed many aspects of the Maoist legacy; it, along with Laos, Vietnam, and, to a lesser degree Cuba, has reduced state control of the economy in order to stimulate growth. **Chinese economic reforms** were started in 1978 under the leadership of **Deng Xiaoping**; since then, China has managed to bring down the poverty rate from 53% in the Mao era to just 6% in 2001.^[30]

Dissolution of the Soviet Union

Main article: [Dissolution of the Soviet Union](#)

The **Soviet Union** was dissolved on December 26, 1991. It was a result of the declaration number 142-H of the **Soviet of the Republics of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union**.^[25] The declaration acknowledged the independence of the former **Soviet republics** and created the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**, although five of the signatories ratified it much later or did not do it at all. On the previous day, Soviet President **Mikhail Gorbachev**, the eighth and final leader of the **Soviet Union**, resigned, declared his office extinct, and handed over its powers – including control of the **Soviet nuclear missile launching codes** – to **Russian President Boris Yeltsin**. That evening at 7:32, the **Soviet flag** was lowered from the **Kremlin** for the last time and replaced with the pre-revolutionary **Russian flag**.^[26]

Previously, from August to December, all the individual republics, including Russia itself, had seceded from the union. The week before the union's formal dissolution, 11 republics signed the **Alma-Ata Protocol** formally establishing the CIS and declaring that the Soviet Union had ceased to exist.^{[27][28]}

Present situation

See also: [List of anti-capitalist and communist parties with national parliamentary representation](#)

At present, states controlled by Marxist–Leninist parties under a single-party system include the **People's Republic of China**, **Cuba**, **Laos**, and **Vietnam**. **North Korea** currently refers to its leading ideology as **Juche**, which is portrayed as a development of **Marxism–Leninism**. Communist parties, or their descendant parties, remain politically important in a number of other countries. The **South African Communist Party** is a partner in the **African National Congress**-led government. In **India**, commu-

2.1.2 Marxist communism

Marxism

Main article: [Marxism](#)

Marxism, first developed by **Karl Marx** and **Friedrich Engels**, has been the foremost ideology of the communist movement. Marxism considers itself to be the embodiment of **scientific socialism**; rather than model an “ideal society” based on intellectuals’ design, it is a non-idealist attempt at the understanding of society and history, through an analysis based in real life. Marxism does not see communism as a “state of affairs” to be established, but rather as the expression of a real movement, with parameters which are derived completely from real life and not based on any intelligent design.^[31] Marxism, therefore, does no blueprinting of a communist society; it only makes an analysis which concludes what will trigger its implementation, and discovers its fundamental characteristics based on the derivation of real life conditions.

At the root of Marxism is the **materialist conception of history**, known as *historical materialism* for short. It holds that the key characteristic of economic systems through history has been the **mode of production**, and that the change between modes of production has been triggered by **class struggle**. According to this analysis, the **Industrial Revolution** ushered the world into a new mode of production: **capitalism**. Before capitalism, certain working classes had ownership of instruments utilized in production. But because machinery was much more efficient, this property became worthless, and the mass majority of workers could only survive by selling their labor, working through making use of someone else's machinery, and therefore making someone else profit. Thus with capitalism, the world was divided between two major classes: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.^[32] These classes are directly antagonistic: the bourgeoisie has private ownership of the means of production and earns a profit off surplus value, which is generated by the proletariat, which has no ownership of the means of production and there-

fore no option but to sell its labor to the bourgeoisie.

Historical materialism goes on and says: the rising bourgeoisie within feudalism, through the furtherance of its own material interests, captured power and abolished, of all relations of private property, only the feudal privileges, and with this took out of existence the feudal ruling class. This was another of the keys behind the consolidation of capitalism as the new mode of production, which is the final expression of class and property relations, and also has led into a massive expansion of production. It is, therefore, only in capitalism that private property in itself can be abolished.^[33] The proletariat, similarly, will capture political power, abolish bourgeois property through the common ownership of the means of production, therefore abolishing the bourgeoisie, and ultimately abolishing the proletariat itself, and ushering the world into a new mode of production: communism. In between capitalism and communism there is the **dictatorship of the proletariat**, a democratic state where the whole of the public authority is elected and recallable under the basis of **universal suffrage**;^[34] it is the defeat of the bourgeois state, but not yet of the capitalist mode of production, and at the same time the only element which places into the realm of possibility moving on from this mode of production.

An important concept in Marxism is socialization vs. nationalization. Nationalization is merely state ownership of property, whereas socialization is actual control and management of property by society. Marxism considers socialization its goal, and considers nationalization a tactical issue, with state ownership still being in the realm of the capitalist mode of production. In the words of Engels: “the transformation [...] into State-ownership does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. [...] State-ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution”.^[35] This has led some Marxist groups and tendencies to label states such as the **Soviet Union**, based on nationalization, as **state capitalist**.^[36]

Leninism

Main article: **Leninism**

We want to achieve a new and better order of society: in this new and better society there must be neither rich nor poor; all will have to work. Not a handful of rich people, but all the working people must enjoy the fruits of their common labour. Machines and other improvements must serve to ease the work of all and not to enable a few to grow rich at the expense of millions and tens of millions of people. This new and better society is called *socialist society*. The teachings about this society are called 'socialism'.



Lenin's statue in Nehru Park, Delhi.

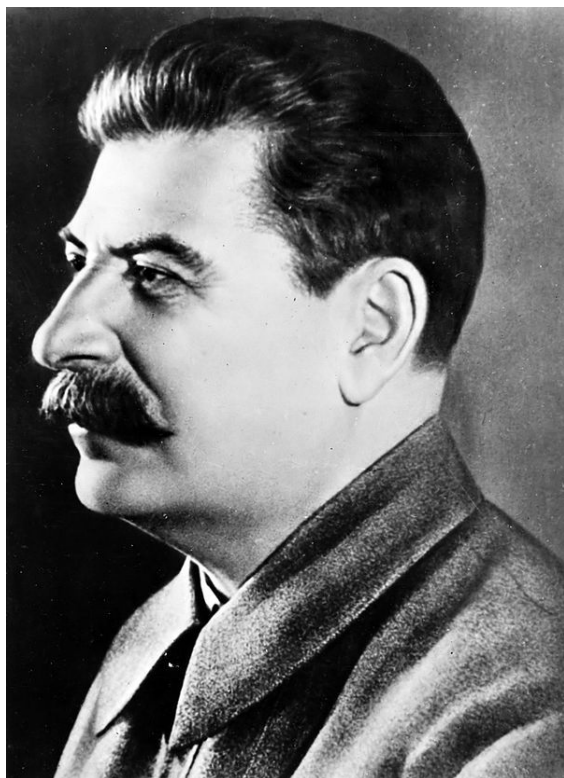
– Vladimir Lenin, “*To the Rural Poor*” (1903); Collected Works, Vol 6, p. 366

Leninism is the body of political theory, developed by and named after the Russian revolutionary and later Soviet premier Vladimir Lenin, for the democratic organisation of a revolutionary vanguard party and the achievement of a dictatorship of the proletariat, as political prelude to the establishment of socialism. Leninism comprises socialist political and economic theories, developed from Marxism, as well as Lenin's interpretations of Marxist theory for practical application to the socio-political conditions of the agrarian early-twentieth-century Russian Empire. In February 1917, for five years, Leninism was the Russian application of Marxist economics and political philosophy, effected and realised by the Bolsheviks, the vanguard party who led the fight for the political independence of the working class.

Marxism–Leninism, Stalinism, and Trotskyism

Marxism–Leninism and Stalinism Main articles: **Marxism–Leninism** and **Stalinism**

Marxism–Leninism is a political ideology developed by Stalin,^[37] which according to its proponents is based in **Marxism** and **Leninism**. The term describes the specific political ideology which Stalin implemented in the **Communist Party of the Soviet Union** and, in a global



Joseph Stalin, 1942

scale, in the Comintern. There is no definite agreement between historians of about whether Stalin actually followed the principles of Marx and Lenin.^[38] It also contains aspects which, according to some, are deviations from Marxism, such as "socialism in one country".^{[39][40]} Marxism–Leninism was the ideology of the most clearly visible communist movement. As such, it is the most prominent ideology associated with communism.

Marxism–Leninism refers to the socioeconomic system and political ideology implemented by Stalin in the Soviet Union and later copied by other states based on the Soviet model (central planning, one-party state, etc.), whereas *Stalinism* refers to Stalin's style of governance (political repression, cult of personality, etc.); Marxism–Leninism stayed after *de-Stalinization*, Stalinism did not. In fact, in the last letters before his death, Lenin warned against the danger of Stalin's personality and urged the Soviet government to replace him.^[41]

Maoism is a form of Marxism–Leninism associated with Chinese leader *Mao Zedong*. After *de-Stalinization*, Marxism–Leninism was kept in the Soviet Union but certain *anti-revisionist* tendencies, such as *Hoxhaism* and *Maoism*, argued that it was deviated from. Therefore, different policies were applied in Albania and China, which became more distanced from the Soviet Union.

Marxism–Leninism has been criticized by other communist and Marxist tendencies. They argue that Marxist–Leninist states did not establish socialism but rather *state capitalism*.^[36] The dictatorship of the proletariat, ac-

cording to Marxism, represents the rule of the majority (democracy) rather than of one party, to the extent that co-founder of Marxism *Friedrich Engels* described its "specific form" as the *democratic republic*.^[42] Additionally, according to Engels, state property by itself is private property of capitalist nature^[43] unless the proletariat has control of political power, in which case it forms public property.^[44] Whether the proletariat was actually in control of the Marxist–Leninist states is a matter of debate between Marxism–Leninism and other communist tendencies. To these tendencies, Marxism–Leninism is neither Marxism nor Leninism nor the union of both, but rather an artificial term created to justify Stalin's ideological distortion,^[45] forced into the CPSU and Comintern. In the Soviet Union, this struggle against Marxism–Leninism was represented by *Trotskyism*, which describes itself as a Marxist and Leninist tendency.

Trotskyism Main article: *Trotskyism*

Trotskyism is a Marxist and Leninist tendency that was developed by *Leon Trotsky*, opposed to Marxism–Leninism. It supports the theory of *permanent revolution* and *world revolution* instead of the two stage theory and *socialism in one country*. It supported *proletarian internationalism* and another Communist revolution in the Soviet Union, which Trotsky claimed had become a "degenerated worker's state" under the leadership of Stalin, rather than the dictatorship of the proletariat, in which class relations had re-emerged in a new form.

Trotsky and his supporters, struggling against Stalin for power in the Soviet Union, organized into the *Left Opposition* and their platform became known as Trotskyism. Stalin eventually succeeded in gaining control of the Soviet regime and Trotskyist attempts to remove Stalin from power resulted in Trotsky's exile from the Soviet Union in 1929. Trotsky later founded the *Fourth International*, a Trotskyist rival to the *Comintern*, in 1938.

Trotsky's politics differed sharply from those of Stalin and Mao, most importantly in declaring the need for an international proletarian revolution (rather than socialism in one country) and support for a true dictatorship of the proletariat based on democratic principles.

Libertarian Marxism

Main article: *Libertarian Marxism*

Libertarian Marxism refers to a broad scope of economic and political philosophies that emphasize the anti-authoritarian aspects of Marxism. Early currents of libertarian Marxism, known as *left communism*,^[46] emerged in opposition to Marxism–Leninism^[47] and its derivatives, such as Stalinism, Maoism, and Trotskyism.^[48] Libertarian Marxism is also critical of *reformist* positions,

such as those held by **social democrats**.^[49] Libertarian Marxist currents often draw from Marx and Engels' later works, specifically the *Grundrisse* and *The Civil War in France*;^[50] emphasizing the Marxist belief in the ability of the **working class** to forge its own destiny without the need for a revolutionary party or state to mediate or aid its liberation.^[51] Along with **anarchism**, Libertarian Marxism is one of the main currents of **libertarian socialism**.^[52]

Libertarian Marxism includes such currents as Luxemburgism, council communism, left communism, *Socialisme ou Barbarie*, the Johnson-Forest tendency, world socialism, Lettrism/Situationism and operaismo/autonomism, and New Left.^[53] Libertarian Marxism has often had a strong influence on both post-left and social anarchists. Notable theorists of libertarian Marxism have included Anton Pannekoek, Raya Dunayevskaya, CLR James, Antonio Negri, Cornelius Castoriadis, Maurice Brinton, Guy Debord, Daniel Guérin, Ernesto Screpanti and Raoul Vaneigem.

Council communism

Main article: Council communism

Council communism is a **far-left** movement originating in Germany and the Netherlands in the 1920s. Its primary organization was the **Communist Workers Party of Germany** (KAPD). Council communism continues today as a theoretical and activist position within both left-wing Marxism and **libertarian socialism**.

The central argument of council communism, in contrast to those of **social democracy** and Leninist communism, is that democratic workers' councils arising in the factories and municipalities are the natural form of working class organization and governmental power. This view is opposed to both the **reformist** and the Leninist ideologies, with their stress on, respectively, parliaments and institutional government (i.e., by applying social reforms, on the one hand, and **vanguard parties** and participative **democratic centralism** on the other).

The core principle of council communism is that the government and the economy should be managed by workers' councils composed of delegates elected at workplaces and recallable at any moment. As such, council communists oppose **state-run authoritarian "State socialism"/"State capitalism"**. They also oppose the idea of a "revolutionary party", since council communists believe that a revolution led by a party will necessarily produce a party dictatorship. Council communists support a worker's democracy, which they want to produce through a federation of workers' councils.

Left communism

Main article: Left communism

Left communism is the range of communist viewpoints



Rosa Luxemburg

held by the communist left, which criticizes the political ideas and practices espoused—particularly following the series of revolutions which brought the **First World War** to an end—by **Bolsheviks** and by **social democrats**. Left communists assert positions which they regard as more authentically Marxist and **proletarian** than the views of **Marxism–Leninism** espoused by the **Communist International** after its first congress (March 1919) and during its second congress (July–August 1920).^[54]

Left communists represent a range of political movements distinct from Marxist–Leninists (whom they largely view as merely the left-wing of capital), from **anarchist communists** (some of whom they consider internationalist socialists) as well as from various other revolutionary socialist tendencies (for example **De Leonists**, whom they tend to see as being internationalist socialists only in limited instances).^[55]

2.1.3 Non-Marxist communism

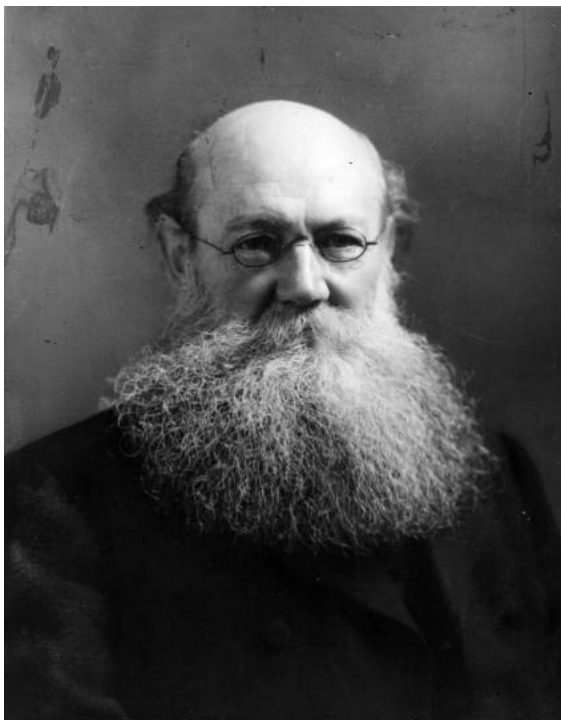
The dominant forms of communism are based on Marxism, but non-Marxist versions of communism (such as **Christian communism** and **anarchist communism**) also

exist.

Anarchist communism

Main article: [Anarchist communism](#)

Anarchist communism (also known as libertarian communism) is a theory of [anarchism](#) which advocates the abolition of the state, private property, and capitalism in favor of common ownership of the means of production,^{[56][57]} direct democracy and a horizontal network of voluntary associations and workers' councils with production and consumption based on the guiding principle: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need".^{[58][59]}



Peter Kropotkin, main theorist of anarcho-communism.

Anarcho-communism differs from Marxism rejecting its view about the need for a State Socialism phase before building communism. The main anarcho-communist theorist [Peter Kropotkin](#) argued "that a revolutionary society should "transform itself immediately into a communist society," that is, should go immediately into what Marx had regarded as the "more advanced," completed, phase of communism."^[60] In this way it tries to avoid the reappearance of "class divisions and the need for a state to oversee everything".^[60]

Some forms of anarchist communism such as [insurrectionary anarchism](#) are egoist and strongly influenced by radical [individualism](#),^{[61][62][63]} believing that anarchist communism does not require a communitarian nature at all. Most anarcho-communists

view anarcho-communism as a way of reconciling the opposition between the individual and society.^{[64][65][66]}

To date in human history, the best known examples of an *anarchist communist* society, established around the ideas as they exist today, that received worldwide attention and knowledge in the historical canon, are the anarchist territories during the [Spanish Revolution](#) and the [Free Territory](#) during the [Russian Revolution](#). Through the efforts and influence of the [Spanish Anarchists](#) during the [Spanish Revolution](#) within the [Spanish Civil War](#), starting in 1936 anarchist communism existed in most of [Aragon](#), parts of the [Levante](#) and [Andalusia](#), as well as in the stronghold of [Anarchist Catalonia](#) before being brutally crushed by the combined forces of the [authoritarian regime](#) that won the war, [Hitler](#), [Mussolini](#), [Spanish Communist Party](#) repression (backed by the [USSR](#)) as well as economic and armaments blockades from the capitalist countries and the [Spanish Republic](#) itself. During the [Russian Revolution](#), anarchists such as [Nestor Makhno](#) worked to create and defend—through the [Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine](#)—anarchist communism in the [Free Territory](#) of the [Ukraine](#) from 1919 before being conquered by the [Bolsheviks](#) in 1921.

Christian communism

Main article: [Christian communism](#)

Christian communism is a form of [religious communism](#) based on [Christianity](#). It is a theological and political theory based upon the view that the teachings of [Jesus Christ](#) compel Christians to support communism as the ideal social system. Although there is no universal agreement on the exact date when Christian communism was founded, many Christian communists assert that evidence from the [Bible](#) suggests that the first Christians, including the [Apostles](#), established their own small communist society in the years following Jesus' death and resurrection. As such, many advocates of Christian communism argue that it was taught by Jesus and practiced by the [Apostles](#) themselves.

Christian communism can be seen as a radical form of [Christian socialism](#). Christian communists may or may not agree with various parts of [Marxism](#). They do not agree with the [atheist and antireligious views held by secular Marxists](#), but do agree with many of the economic and existential aspects of Marxist theory, such as the idea that [capitalism](#) exploits the [working class](#) by extracting surplus value from the workers in the form of [profits](#) and that [wage labor](#) is a tool of human alienation that promotes arbitrary and unjust authority. Christian communism, like Marxism, also holds that capitalism encourages the negative aspects of human nature, supplanting values such as mercy, kindness, justice and compassion in favor of greed, selfishness and blind ambition.

2.1.4 Criticism

Main article: [Criticism of communism](#)

Criticism of communism can be divided into two broad categories: those concerning themselves with the practical aspects of 20th century [Communist states](#),^[67] and those concerning themselves with communist principles and theory.^[68] Authors who are critical of communism are typically opposed to both communist principles and historical policies, though they may focus exclusively on one or the other aspect in their writing.

Marxism is also criticized including general criticisms, criticisms related to [historical materialism](#), that it is a type of [historical determinism](#), the necessity suppression of [Liberal democratic rights](#), issues with the implementation of communism and economic issues such as the distortion or absence of price signals. In addition, empirical and epistemological problems are frequently identified.^{[69][70][71]}

2.1.5 See also

- [Anti-communism](#)
- [Communism by country](#)
- [Communist party](#)
- [Commons-based peer production](#)
- [List of communist parties](#)
- [Post-scarcity economy](#)
- [Socialist state](#)
- [Sociocultural evolution](#)

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2.2 Council communism

Council communism (also **councilism**) is a current of socialist thought that emerged in the 1920s. Inspired by the November Revolution, councilism was characterized by its opposition to state capitalism/state socialism and its advocacy of workers' councils as the basis for dismantling the class state. Strong in Germany and the Netherlands during the 1920s, council communism continues to exist today within the greater socialist and communist movement.

Chief among the tenets of Council Communism is its opposition to the party vanguardism and democratic centralism^[1] of Leninist Ideologies and its contention that democratic workers' councils arising in the factories and

municipalities are the natural form of working class organization and authority. Council Communism also stands in contrast to Social Democracy through its formal rejection of both the reformism and Parliamentarism.^[2]

2.2.1 Ideas and theory

Council Communists maintain that the working class should not rely on Leninist vanguard parties or hope for reforms of the capitalist system to bring socialism. It is viewed that worker's revolution will not be led by a "revolutionary" political party since these parties will only later create a party dictatorship, many point to the Bolshevik party in the October Revolution as an example, pointing out that the party only became the capitalist class that replaced the old aristocratic feudal class. Revolutionary political parties will only agitate for revolution and worker's councils. These worker's councils which form during periods of struggle are believed to be the natural organizations of the working class. Democratic worker's councils will coordinate the functions of a society rather than a bureaucracy found in state socialist societies. Because of these beliefs Council Communists have been compared to Anarchists and Syndicalists.^[3]

2.2.2 History

As the Second International decayed at the beginning of World War I, socialists who opposed nationalism and supported proletarian internationalism regrouped. In Germany, two major communist trends emerged. First, the Spartacus League was created by the radical socialist Rosa Luxemburg. The second trend emerged among German rank-and-file trade unionists who opposed their unions and organized increasingly radical strikes towards the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918. This second trend created the German Left Communist movement that would become the KAPD after the abortive German Revolution of 1918–19.

As the Communist International inspired by the Bolshevik revolution in Russia formed, a Left Communist tendency developed in the Comintern's German, Dutch and Bulgarian sections. Key figures in this milieu were Anton Pannekoek,^[4] Otto Rühle and Herman Gorter. In the United Kingdom, Sylvia Pankhurst's group, the Communist Party (British Section of the Third International), also identified with the Left Communist tendency.

Alongside these formal Left Communist tendencies, the Italian group led by Amadeo Bordiga is often commonly recognized as a Left Communist party, although both Bordiga and the Italian Communist Left disputed this and qualified their politics as separate, distinct and more in line with the Third International's positions than the politics of Left Communism. Bordiga himself did not advocate abstention from the unions, although later Ital-

ian Left currents developed a critique of the “regime unions”, positing that most or all unions had become tools of **capitalism** by submitting themselves to bourgeois interests and were no longer viable organs of class struggle. Nevertheless, those “Bordigists” who put forward this critique still held out the necessity of “red unions” or “class unions” re-emerging, outside and against the regime unions, which would openly advocate class struggle and allow the participation of communist **militants**.

These various assorted groups were all criticized by Vladimir Lenin in his booklet *“Left-Wing” Communism: An Infantile Disorder*.

Despite a common general direction, and despite sharing the criticism of Lenin, there were few politics held in common between these movements. An example of this divergence is that the Italians supported the *Right of Nations to Self Determination*, while the Dutch and Germans rejected this policy (seeing it as a form of **bourgeois nationalism**). However, all of the Left Communist tendencies opposed what they called “**Frontism**”. Frontism was a tactic endorsed by Lenin, where Communists sought tactical agreements with reformist (social democratic) parties in pursuit of a definite, usually defensive, goal. In addition to opposing “Frontism”, the Dutch-German tendency, the Bulgarians and British also refused to participate in bourgeois elections, which they denounced as **parliamentarism**.

In Germany, the Left Communists were expelled from the **Communist Party of Germany**, and they formed the **Communist Workers Party (KAPD)**. Similar parties were formed in the **Netherlands**, **Bulgaria** and **Britain**. The KAPD rapidly lost most of its members and it eventually dissolved. However, some of its militants had been instrumental in organising factory-based unions like the AAUD and AAUD-E, the latter being opposed to separate party organisation (see: **Syndicalism**).

The leading theoreticians of the KAPD had developed a new series of ideas based on their opposition to party organisation, and their conception of the **Bolshevik revolution** in Russia as having been a bourgeois revolution. Their leading figures were **Anton Pannekoek**, **Herman Gorter** and **Otto Rühle**. Rühle later left the KAPD, and was one of the founders of the AAUD-E. Another leading theoretician of Council Communism was **Paul Mattick**, who later emigrated to the USA. A minor figure in the Council Communist movement in the Netherlands was **Marinus van der Lubbe**, who was accused of the burning of the **Reichstag** in 1933 and consequently executed by the nazis after a **show trial** that marked the beginning of the persecution of socialist and communists in **Nazi Germany**.

The early councilists are followed later by the Group of **Internationalist Communists**, **Henk Meijer**, **Cajo Brendel** and **Paul Mattick, Sr.** There was a resurgence of councilist groups and ideas in the 1960s, through the **Situationist International**, **Root and Branch** in the United

States, **Socialisme ou Barbarie** in France, and **Solidarity** in the UK.

Alongside and sometimes connected to the councilists were the early **Hegelian Marxists**, **György Lukács** (a council communist himself from 1918–21 or 22) and **Karl Korsch** (who turned to council communism in the 1930s).

2.2.3 Soviets in the Russian Revolution

During the **Russian Revolution** of 1917, councils akin to those advocated by Council Communists were a significant political and organizational force; the Russian word “**soviet**” itself means council. After the success of the **February Revolution**, the Bolsheviks sought to capitalize on the influence of the **soviets** in order to boost their own popularity. Bolshevik leaders advocated the transference of authority to the **soviets** and the dissolution of **Russian Provisional Government** by means of a second revolution. When this campaign succeeded and the **October Revolution** occurred, the creation of the **Congress of Soviets** marked the beginning of a process of diminishing workers’ control of the **soviets**, and the decisions of the **Bolshevik Party** acquired the full authority of the State. Thus, the new regime had developed into a **one-party system**, the **Supreme Soviet** (successor to the **Congress of Soviets**) had been relegated to the role of a **rubber-stamp parliament**, meeting just once a year to ratify decisions already made at higher levels, in most cases with no dissenting votes. Real power was concentrated in the hands of the **Communist Party of the Soviet Union**.

On the topic of the Russian Revolution, Council Communists maintain that the February Revolution and the **soviets** of the era were **proletarian** in nature, while the ascent of the Bolsheviks and the following creation of a party bureaucracy constituted a “**bourgeois revolution**”; the Soviet Union itself was an example of **state capitalism** rather than the **Dictatorship of the Proletariat**. Council Communists argue that with the **Soviet state's** exclusive control over the use of **capital**, the party bureaucracy had simply taken the place of individual capitalists and established its own form of **capitalist class relations**, emphasized in part by the continued defence and perpetuation of capitalist relations after the revolution by means of the **New Economic Policy**.

2.2.4 See also

- **Anarchist communism**
- **Left communism**
- **Marxist humanism**
- **Libertarian socialism**
- **Frankfurt School**

- Luxemburgism
- List of left communist internationals
- Social criticism

2.2.5 Notes

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2.2.7 Further reading

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2.3 Anarchist communism

"Libertarian Communism" redirects here. For the journal, see *Libertarian Communism* (journal).

Anarchist communism^[1] (also known as **anarcho-communism**, **free communism**, **libertarian communism**,^{[2][3][4][5][6]} and **communist anarchism**^{[7][8]}) is a theory of anarchism which advocates the abolition of the state, capitalism, wage labour, and private property (while retaining respect for personal property),^[9] and in favor of common ownership of the means of production,^{[10][11]} direct democracy, and a horizontal network of voluntary associations and workers' councils with production and consumption based on the guiding principle: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need".^{[12][13]}

Some forms of anarchist communism, such as insurrectionary anarchism, are strongly influenced by egoism and radical individualism, believing anarcho-communism is the best social system for the realization of individual freedom.^{[14][15][16][17]} Some anarcho-communists view anarcho-communism as a way of reconciling the opposition between the individual and society.^{[18][19][20][21][22]}

Anarcho-communism developed out of radical socialist currents after the French Revolution,^{[23][24]} but was first formulated as such in the Italian section of the First International.^[25] The theoretical work of Peter Kropotkin took importance later as it expanded and developed pro-organizationalist and insurrectionary anti-organizationalist sections.^[26] To date, the best-known examples of anarchist communist societies were the anarchist territories during the Spanish Revolution^[27] and the Free Territory during the Russian Revolution.

2.3.1 History

Early developments

Anarchist communist currents appeared during the English Civil War and the French Revolution of the 17th and 18th centuries, respectively. Gerrard Winstanley, who was part of the radical Diggers movement in England, wrote in his 1649 pamphlet, *The New Law of Righteousness*, that there "shall be no buying or selling, no



Sylvain Maréchal

fairs nor markets, but the whole earth shall be a common treasury for every man,” and “there shall be none Lord over others, but every one shall be a Lord of himself”.^[23] During the French Revolution, Sylvain Maréchal, in his *Manifesto of the Equals* (1796), demanded “the communal enjoyment of the fruits of the earth” and looked forward to the disappearance of “the revolting distinction of rich and poor, of great and small, of masters and valets, of governors and governed”.^[23]

Joseph Déjacque and the Revolutions of 1848

Main article: Joseph Déjacque

An early anarchist communist was Joseph Déjacque, the first person to describe himself as “libertarian”.^{[28][29]} Unlike Proudhon, he argued that, “it is not the product of his or her labor that the worker has a right to, but to the satisfaction of his or her needs, whatever may be their nature”.^{[23][30]} Returning to New York he was able to serialise his book in his periodical *Le Libertaire, Journal du Mouvement social*. Published in 27 issues from June 9, 1858 to February 4, 1861, *Le Libertaire* was the first anarcho-communist journal published in the United States. This was the first anarchist journal to use the term “libertarian”.^[29] According to the anarchist historian Max Nettlau, the first use of the term *libertarian communism* was in November 1880, when a French anarchist congress employed it to more clearly identify its doctrines.^[31] The French anarchist journalist Sébastien Faure, later founder and editor of the four-volume *Anar-*

chist Encyclopedia, started the weekly paper *Le Libertaire* (*The Libertarian*) in 1895.^[32]

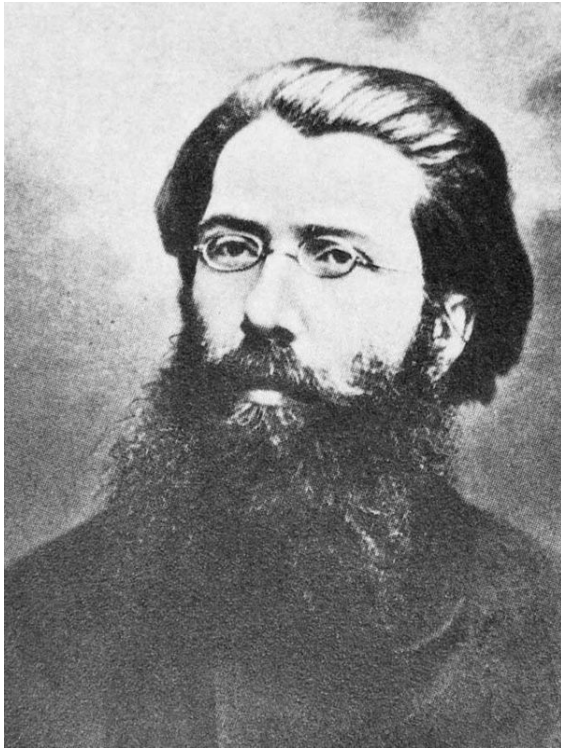
Déjacque “rejected *Blanquism*, which was based on a division between the ‘disciples of the great people’s Architect’ and ‘the people, or vulgar herd,’ and was equally opposed to all the variants of social republicanism, to the dictatorship of one man and to ‘the dictatorship of the little prodigies of the proletariat.’ With regard to the last of these, he wrote that: ‘a dictatorial committee composed of workers is certainly the most conceited and incompetent, and hence the most anti-revolutionary, thing that can be found [...] (It is better to have doubtful enemies in power than dubious friends)’. He saw ‘anarchic initiative,’ ‘reasoned will’ and ‘the autonomy of each’ as the conditions for the social revolution of the proletariat, the first expression of which had been the barricades of June 1848 (see *Revolutions of 1848*). In Déjacque’s view, a government resulting from an insurrection remains a reactionary fetter on the free initiative of the proletariat. Or rather, such free initiative can only arise and develop by the masses ridding themselves of the ‘authoritarian prejudices’ by means of which the state reproduces itself in its primary function of representation and delegation. Déjacque wrote that: ‘By government I understand all delegation, all power outside the people,’ for which must be substituted, in a process whereby politics is transcended, the ‘people in direct possession of their sovereignty,’ or the ‘organised commune.’ For Déjacque, the communist anarchist utopia would fulfil the function of inciting each proletarian to explore his or her own human potentialities, in addition to correcting the ignorance of the proletarians concerning ‘social science.’”^[26]

The International Workingmen’s Association (1864–1876)

Main article: First International

The *collectivist anarchists* advocated remuneration for the type and amount of labor adhering to the principle “to each according to deeds”.^[33] but held out the possibility of a post-revolutionary transition to a communist system of distribution according to need. As Bakunin’s associate, James Guillaume, put it in his essay, *Ideas on Social Organization* (1876): “When [...] production comes to outstrip consumption ... everyone will draw what he needs from the abundant social reserve of commodities, without fear of depletion; and the moral sentiment which will be more highly developed among free and equal workers will prevent, or greatly reduce, abuse and waste.”^[34]

Anarchist communism as a coherent, modern economic-political philosophy was first formulated in the Italian section of the First International by Carlo Cafiero, Emilio Covelli, Errico Malatesta, Andrea Costa and other ex-Mazzinian Republicans.^[25] The collectivist anarchists sought to collectivize ownership of the means of production while retaining payment proportional to the amount and kind of labor of each individual, but the anarcho-

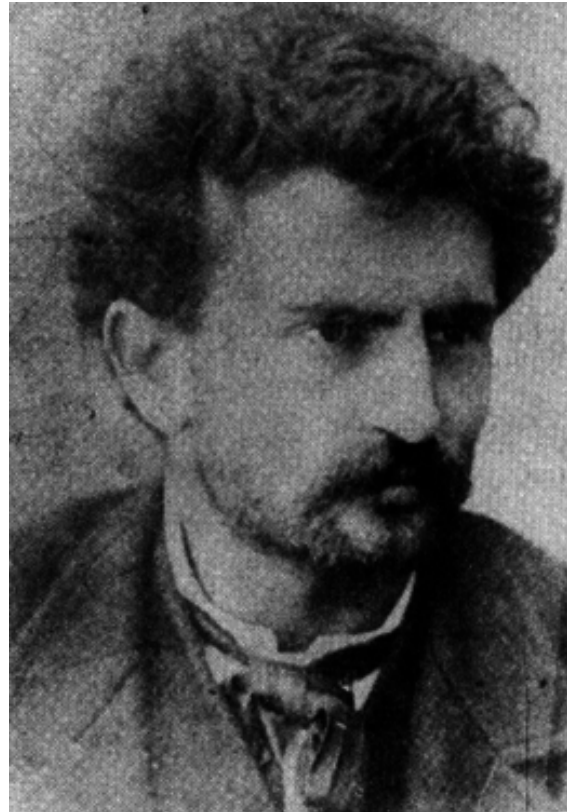


Carlo Cafiero

communists sought to extend the concept of collective ownership to the products of labor as well. While both groups argued against capitalism, the anarchist communists departed from Proudhon and Bakunin, who maintained that individuals have a right to the product of their individual labor and to be remunerated for their particular contribution to production. But, Errico Malatesta stated that “instead of running the risk of making a confusion in trying to distinguish what you and I each do, let us all work and put everything in common. In this way each will give to society all that his strength permits until enough is produced for every one; and each will take all that he needs, limiting his needs only in those things of which there is not yet plenty for every one.”^[35]

Cafiero explains in *Anarchy and Communism* (1880) that private property in the product of labor will lead to unequal accumulation of capital and, therefore, the reappearance of social classes and their antagonisms, and thus the resurrection of the state: “If we preserve the individual appropriation of the products of labour, we would be forced to preserve money, leaving more or less accumulation of wealth according to more or less merit rather than need of individuals.”^[23] At the Florence Conference of the Italian Federation of the International in 1876, held in a forest outside Florence due to police activity, they declared the principles of anarcho-communism, beginning with:

“The Italian Federation considers the collective property of the products of labour as the necessary complement to the collectivist pro-



Errico Malatesta

gramme, the aid of all for the satisfaction of the needs of each being the only rule of production and consumption which corresponds to the principle of solidarity. The federal congress at Florence has eloquently demonstrated the opinion of the Italian International on this point...”

The above report was made in an article by Malatesta and Cafiero in the (Swiss) Jura Federation's bulletin later that year.

Peter Kropotkin

Main article: Peter Kropotkin

Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921), often seen as the most important theorist of anarchist communism, outlined his economic ideas in *The Conquest of Bread* and *Fields, Factories and Workshops*. Kropotkin felt that cooperation is more beneficial than competition, arguing in his major scientific work *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* that this was well-illustrated in nature. He advocated the abolition of private property (while retaining respect for personal property) through the “expropriation of the whole of social wealth” by the people themselves,^[36] and for the economy to be co-ordinated through a horizontal network of voluntary associations^[37] where goods are dis-

tributed according to the physical needs of the individual, rather than according to labor.^[38] He further argued that these “needs,” as society progressed, would not merely be physical needs but “[a]s soon as his material wants are satisfied, other needs, of an artistic character, will thrust themselves forward the more ardently. Aims of life vary with each and every individual; and the more society is civilized, the more will individuality be developed, and the more will desires be varied.”^[39]

He maintained that, in anarcho-communism:

...houses, fields, and factories will no longer be **private property**, and that they will belong to the commune or the nation and money, wages, and trade would be abolished.
— Peter Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*^[40]



Peter Kropotkin

Individuals and groups would use and control whatever resources they needed, as the aim of anarchist communism was to place “the product reaped or manufactured at the disposal of all, leaving to each the liberty to consume them as he pleases in his own home.”^[41] He supported the expropriation of **private property** into the **commons** or **public goods** (while retaining respect for **personal property**), to ensure that everyone would have access to what they needed without being forced to sell their labour to get it.

We do not want to rob any one of his coat, but we wish to give to the workers all those things the lack of which makes them fall an easy prey to the exploiter, and we will do our utmost that none shall lack aught, that not a single man shall be forced to sell the strength of his right arm to obtain a bare subsistence for himself and his babes. This is what we mean when we talk of Expropriation...
— Peter Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*^[42]

He said that a “peasant who is in possession of just the amount of land he can cultivate”, and “a family inhabiting a house which affords them just enough space [...] considered necessary for that number of people” and the **artisan** “working with their own tools or handloom” would not be interfered with,^[43] arguing that “[t]he landlord owes his riches to the poverty of the peasants, and the wealth of the capitalist comes from the same source”.^[43]

In summation, Kropotkin described an anarchist communist economy as functioning like this:

Imagine a society, comprising a few million inhabitants, engaged in agriculture and a great variety of industries—Paris, for example, with the Department of Seine-et-Oise. Suppose that in this society all children learn to work with their hands as well as with their brains. Admit that all adults, save women, engaged in the education of their children, bind themselves to work 5 hours a day from the age of twenty or twenty-two to forty-five or fifty, and that they follow occupations they have chosen in any one branch of human work considered necessary. Such a society could in return guarantee well-being to all its members; that is to say, a more substantial well-being than that enjoyed to-day by the middle classes. And, moreover, each worker belonging to this society would have at his disposal at least 5 hours a day which he could devote to science, art, and individual needs which do not come under the category of necessities, but will probably do so later on, when man’s productivity will have augmented, and those objects will no longer appear luxurious or inaccessible.

— Peter Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*^[44]

While many anarcho-communists are opposed to trade, some post-left and post-scarcity anarcho-communists, and ones with **syndicalist** sympathies, are not opposed to trade. Some support a non-monetary form of trade in the form of non-monetary commons. Others such as Tiziana Terranova easily see anarcho-communism being compatible with a non-hierarchical, open access, free association, non-monetary form of trade such as **P2P**.^[45]

Organizationalism vs. insurrectionarism and expansion

Main article: **Insurrectionary anarchism**

In 1876, at the Berne conference of the **International Working Men’s Association**, the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta argued that the revolution “consists more of deeds than words”, and that action was the most effective

form of propaganda. In the bulletin of the Jura Federation he declared “the Italian federation believes that the insurrectional fact, destined to affirm socialist principles by deed, is the most efficacious means of propaganda”.^[46]

As anarcho-communism emerged in the mid-19th century it had an intense debate with bakuninist collectivism and as such within the anarchist movement over participation in syndicalism and the workers movement as well as on other issues.^[26] So “In the theory of the revolution” of anarcho-communism as elaborated by Peter Kropotkin and others “it is the risen people who are the real agent and not the working class organised in the enterprise (the cells of the capitalist mode of production) and seeking to assert itself as labour power, as a more 'rational' industrial body or social brain (manager) than the employers”.^[26]



Luigi Galleani influential anarchist advocate of insurrectionary anarchism

So “between 1880 and 1890”^[26] with the “perspective of an immanent revolution”,^[26] who was “opposed to the official workers’ movement, which was then in the process of formation (general Social Democratisation). They were opposed not only to political (statist) struggles but also to strikes which put forward wage or other claims, or which were organised by trade unions.”^[26] But “While they were not opposed to strikes as such, they were opposed to trade unions and the struggle for the eight-hour day. This anti-reformist tendency was accompanied by an anti-organisational tendency, and its partisans declared themselves in favour of agitation amongst the unemployed for the expropriation of foodstuffs and other articles, for the expropriatory strike and, in some cases, for 'individual recuperation' or acts of terrorism.”^[26]

Even after Peter Kropotkin and others overcame their initial reservations and decided to enter labor unions,^[26] there remained “the anti-syndicalist anarchist-communists, who in France were grouped around Sebastien Faure's *Le Libertaire*. From 1905 onwards, the Russian counterparts of these anti-syndicalist anarchist-communists become partisans of economic terrorism and illegal 'expropriations'.”^[26] Illegalism as a practice emerged and within it “[t]he acts of the anarchist bombers and assassins ('propaganda by the deed') and the anarchist burglars ('individual reappropriation') expressed their desperation and their personal, violent rejection of an intolerable society. Moreover, they were clearly meant to be exemplary, invitations to revolt.”^[47]

Proponents and activists of these tactics among others included Johann Most, Luigi Galleani, Victor Serge, Giuseppe Ciancabilla, and Severino Di Giovanni. The Italian Giuseppe Ciancabilla (1872–1904) wrote in “Against organization” that “we don't want tactical programs, and consequently we don't want organization. Having established the aim, the goal to which we hold, we leave every anarchist free to choose from the means that his sense, his education, his temperament, his fighting spirit suggest to him as best. We don't form fixed programs and we don't form small or great parties. But we come together spontaneously, and not with permanent criteria, according to momentary affinities for a specific purpose, and we constantly change these groups as soon as the purpose for which we had associated ceases to be, and other aims and needs arise and develop in us and push us to seek new collaborators, people who think as we do in the specific circumstance.”^[48]

By the 1880s anarcho-communism was already present in the United States as can be seen in the publication of the journal *Freedom: A Revolutionary Anarchist-Communist Monthly* by Lucy Parsons and Lizzy Holmes.^[49] Lucy Parsons debated in her time in the US with fellow anarcho-communist Emma Goldman over issues of free love and feminism.^[49] Another anarcho-communist journal later appeared in the US called *The Firebrand*. Most anarchist publications in the US were in Yiddish, German, or Russian, but *Free Society* was published in English, permitting the dissemination of anarchist communist thought to English-speaking populations in the US.^[50] Around that time these American anarcho-communist sectors entered in debate with the individualist anarchist group around Benjamin Tucker.^[51] In February 1888 Berkman left for the United States from his native Russia.^[52] Soon after his arrival in New York City, Berkman became an anarchist through his involvement with groups that had formed to campaign to free the men convicted of the 1886 Haymarket bombing.^[53] He, as well as Emma Goldman, soon came under the influence of Johann Most, the best-known anarchist in the United States, and an advocate of propaganda of the deed—*attentat*, or violence carried out to encourage the masses to revolt.^{[54][55]} Berkman be-

came a typesetter for Most's newspaper *Freiheit*.^[53]

According to anarchist historian Max Nettlau, the first use of the term "libertarian communism" was in November 1880, when a French anarchist congress employed it to more clearly identify its doctrines.^[56] The French anarchist journalist Sébastien Faure started the weekly paper *Le Libéraire* (*The Libertarian*) in 1895.^[57]

Revolution, platformism, and synthesisism

Main articles: Anarchism in Russia, Free Territory, Platformism, and Synthesis anarchism

In Ukraine the anarcho-communist guerrilla leader



Nestor Makhno

Nestor Makhno led an independent anarchist army in Ukraine during the Russian Civil War. A commander of the peasant *Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine*, also known as the *Anarchist Black Army*, Makhno led a guerrilla campaign opposing both the Bolshevik "Reds" and monarchist "Whites". The revolutionary autonomous movement of which he was a part made various tactical military pacts while fighting various forces of reaction and organizing the *Free Territory of Ukraine*, an anarchist society, committed to resisting state authority, whether capitalist or Bolshevik.^{[58][59]} After successfully repelling Austro-Hungarian, White, and Ukrainian Nationalist forces, the Makhnovists militia forces and anarchist communist territories in the Ukraine were eventually crushed by Bolshevik military forces.

In the Mexican Revolution the Mexican Liberal Party was established and during the early 1910s it led a series of military offensives leading to the conquest and occupation of certain towns and districts in Baja California with the leadership of anarcho-communist Ricardo Flores Magón.^[60] Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread*, which Flores Magón considered a kind of anarchist bible, served as basis for the short-lived revolutionary communes in Baja California during the "Magónista" Revolt of 1911.^[60] During the Mexican Revolution Emiliano Zapata and his army and allies, including Pancho Villa, fought for agrarian reform in Mexico. Specifically, they wanted to establish communal land rights for Mexico's indigenous population, which had mostly lost its land to the wealthy elite of European descent. Zapata was partly influenced by Ricardo Flores Magón. The influence of Flores Magón on Zapata can be seen in the Zapatistas' *Plan de Ayala*, but even more noticeably in their slogan (this slogan was never used by Zapata) "*Tierra y libertad*" or "land and liberty", the title and maxim of Flores Magón's most famous work. Zapata's introduction to anarchism came via a local schoolteacher, Otilio Montaña Sánchez – later a general in Zapata's army, executed on May 17, 1917 – who exposed Zapata to the works of Peter Kropotkin and Flores Magón at the same time as Zapata was observing and beginning to participate in the struggles of the peasants for the land.

A group of exiled Russian anarchists attempted to address and explain the anarchist movement's failures during the Russian Revolution. They wrote the *Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists* which was written in 1926 by *Dielo Truda* ("Workers' Cause"). The pamphlet is an analysis of the basic anarchist beliefs, a vision of an anarchist society, and recommendations as to how an anarchist organization should be structured. The four main principles by which an anarchist organization should operate, according to the *Platform*, are ideological unity, tactical unity, collective action, and federalism. The platform argues that "We have vital need of an organization which, having attracted most of the participants in the anarchist movement, would establish a common tactical and political line for anarchism and thereby serve as a guide for the whole movement".

The Platform attracted strong criticism from many sectors on the anarchist movement of the time including some of the most influential anarchists such as Voline, Errico Malatesta, Luigi Fabbri, Camillo Berneri, Max Nettlau, Alexander Berkman,^[61] Emma Goldman and Gregori Maximoff.^[62] Malatesta, after initially opposing the Platform, later came to agreement with the Platform confirming that the original difference of opinion was due to linguistic confusion: "I find myself more or less in agreement with their way of conceiving the anarchist organisation (being very far from the authoritarian spirit which the "Platform" seemed to reveal) and I confirm my belief that behind the linguistic differences really lie identical positions."^[63]



Sébastien Faure, French anarcho-communist proponent of synthesis anarchism

Two texts were made by the anarchist communists Sébastien Faure and Volin as responses to the Platform, each proposing different models, are the basis for what became known as the organisation of synthesis, or simply "synthesism".^[64] Voline published in 1924 a paper calling for "the anarchist synthesis" and was also the author of the article in Sébastien Faure's *Encyclopedie Anarchiste* on the same topic.^[65] The main purpose behind the synthesis was that the anarchist movement in most countries was divided into three main tendencies: communist anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism, and individualist anarchism^[65] and so such an organization could contain anarchists of this 3 tendencies very well. Faure in his text "Anarchist synthesis" has the view that "these currents were not contradictory but complementary, each having a role within anarchism: anarcho-syndicalism as the strength of the mass organisations and the best way for the practice of anarchism; libertarian communism as a proposed future society based on the distribution of the fruits of labour according to the needs of each one; anarcho-individualism as a negation of oppression and affirming the individual right to development of the individual, seeking to please them in every way."^[64] The Dielo Truda platform in Spain also met with strong criticism. Miguel Jimenez, a founding member of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI), summarized this as follows: too much influence in it of marxism, it erroneously divided and reduced anarchists

between individualist anarchists and anarcho-communist sections, and it wanted to unify the anarchist movement along the lines of the anarcho-communists. He saw anarchism as more complex than that, that anarchist tendencies are not mutually exclusive as the platformists saw it and that both individualist and communist views could accommodate anarchosyndicalism.^[66] Sébastien Faure had strong contacts in Spain and so his proposal had more impact in Spanish anarchists than the Dielo Truda platform even though individualist anarchist influence in Spain was less strong than it was in France. The main goal there was conciling anarcho-communism with anarcho-syndicalism.^[67]

Gruppo Comunista Anarchico di Firenze held that the during early twentieth century, the terms *libertarian communism* and *anarchist communism* became synonymous within the international anarchist movement as a result of the close connection they had in Spain (see *Anarchism in Spain*) (with *libertarian communism* becoming the prevalent term).^[68]

The Spanish Revolution

Main article: *Spanish Revolution*

The most extensive application of anarcho-communist ideas (i.e., established around the ideas as they exist today and achieving worldwide attention and knowledge in the historical canon), happened in the anarchist territories during the *Spanish Revolution*.^[27] In Spain, the national anarcho-syndicalist trade union *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* initially refused to join a popular front electoral alliance, and abstention by CNT supporters led to a right wing election victory. But in 1936, the CNT changed its policy and anarchist votes helped bring the popular front back to power. Months later, the former ruling class responded with an attempted coup causing the *Spanish Civil War* (1936–1939).^[69] In response to the army rebellion, an *anarchist-inspired* movement of peasants and workers, supported by armed militias, took control of *Barcelona* and of large areas of rural Spain where they *collectivised* the land.^{[70][71]} But even before the fascist victory in 1939, the anarchists were losing ground in a bitter struggle with the *Stalinists*, who controlled the distribution of military aid to the Republican cause from the *Soviet Union*. The events known as the *Spanish Revolution* was a workers' *social revolution* that began during the outbreak of the *Spanish Civil War* in 1936 and resulted in the widespread implementation of *anarchist* and more broadly *libertarian socialist* organizational principles throughout various portions of the country for two to three years, primarily *Catalonia*, *Aragon*, *Andalusia*, and parts of the *Levante*. Much of Spain's economy was put under worker control; in anarchist strongholds like *Catalonia*, the figure was as high as 75%, but lower in areas with heavy *Communist Party of Spain* influence, as the *Soviet-allied* party actively resisted attempts at

collectivization enactment. Factories were run through worker committees, agrarian areas became collectivised and run as libertarian communes. Anarchist historian Sam Dolgoff estimated that about eight million people participated directly or at least indirectly in the Spanish Revolution,^[72] which he claimed “came closer to realizing the ideal of the free stateless society on a vast scale than any other revolution in history”.^[73] Stalinist-led troops suppressed the collectives and persecuted both dissident Marxists and anarchists.^[74]

Post-war years

Anarcho-communism entered into internal debates once again over the issue of organization in the post-World War II era. Founded in October 1935 the Anarcho-Communist Federation of Argentina (FACA, Federación Anarco-Comunista Argentina) in 1955 renamed itself as the Argentine Libertarian Federation. The Fédération Anarchiste (FA) was founded in Paris on December 2, 1945, and elected the platformist anarcho-communist George Fontenis as its first secretary the next year. It was composed of a majority of activists from the former FA (which supported Voline's Synthesis) and some members of the former Union Anarchiste, which supported the CNT-FAI support to the Republican government during the Spanish Civil War, as well as some young Resistants. On 1950 a clandestine group formed within the FA called Organisation Pensée Bataille (OPB) led by George Fontenis.^[75] The *Manifesto of Libertarian Communism* was written in 1953 by Georges Fontenis for the *Fédération Communiste Libertaire* of France. It is one of the key texts of the anarchist-communist current known as platformism.^[76] The OPB pushed for a move which saw the FA change its name into the Fédération Communiste Libertaire (FCL) after the 1953 Congress in Paris, while an article in *Le Libertaire* indicated the end of the cooperation with the French Surrealist Group led by André Breton. The new decision making process was founded on unanimity: each person has a right of veto on the orientations of the federation. The FCL published the same year the *Manifeste du communisme libertaire*. Several groups quit the FCL in December 1955, disagreeing with the decision to present “revolutionary candidates” to the legislative elections. On August 15–20, 1954, the Ve intercontinental plenum of the CNT took place. A group called Entente anarchiste appeared which was formed of militants who didn't like the new ideological orientation that the OPB was giving the FCL seeing it was authoritarian and almost marxist.^[77] The FCL lasted until 1956 just after it participated in state legislative elections with 10 candidates. This move alienated some members of the FCL and thus produced the end of the organization.^[75] A group of militants who didn't agree with the FA turning into FCL reorganized a new Federation Anarchiste which was established on December, 1953.^[75] This included those who formed *L'Entente anarchiste* who joined the new FA and then dissolved L'Entente. The new base prin-

ciples of the FA were written by the individualist anarchist Charles-Auguste Bontemps and the non-platformist anarcho-communist Maurice Joyeux which established an organization with a plurality of tendencies and autonomy of groups organized around synthesist principles.^[75] According to historian Cédric Guérin, “the unconditional rejection of Marxism became from that moment onwards an identity element of the new Federation Anarchiste” and this was motivated in a big part after the previous conflict with George Fontenis and his OPB.^[75]



Voline, influential Russian anarcho-communist who went on exile to France after escaping persecution of the Soviet state

In Italy the Italian Anarchist Federation was founded in 1945 in Carrara. It adopted an “Associative Pact” and the “Anarchist Program” of Errico Malatesta. It decided to publish the weekly *Umanità Nova* retaking the name of the journal published by Errico Malatesta. Inside the FAI, the Anarchist Groups of Proletarian Action (GAAP) was founded, led by Pier Carlo Masini, which “proposed a Libertarian Party with an anarchist theory and practice adapted to the new economic, political and social reality of post-war Italy, with an internationalist outlook and effective presence in the workplaces [...] The GAAP allied themselves with the similar development within the French Anarchist movement” as led by George Fontenis.^[78] Another tendency which didn't identify either with the more classical FAI or with the GAAP started to emerge as local groups. These groups emphasized direct action, informal affinity groups and expropriation for financing anarchist activity.^[79] From within these

groups the influential insurrectionary anarchist **Alfredo Maria Bonanno** will emerge influenced by the practice of the Spanish exiled anarchist **José Lluis Facerías**.^[79] In the early seventies a platformist tendency emerged within the **Italian Anarchist Federation** which argued for more strategic coherence and social insertion in the workers movement while rejecting the syntesist “Associative Pact” of **Malatesta** which the FAI adhered to. These groups started organizing themselves outside the FAI in organizations such as O.R.A. from **Liguria** which organized a Congress attended by 250 delegates of grupos from 60 locations. This movement was influential in the *autonomia* movements of the seventies. They published *Fronte Libertario della lotta di classe* in **Bologna** and *Comunismo libertario* from **Modena**.^[80] The **Federation of Anarchist Communists** (Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchici), or FdCA, was established in 1985 in **Italy** from the fusion of the *Organizzazione Rivoluzionaria Anarchica* (Revolutionary Anarchist Organisation) and the *Unione dei Comunisti Anarchici della Toscana* (Tuscan Union of Anarchist Communists).

The **International of Anarchist Federations** (IAF/IFA) was founded during an international anarchist conference in **Carrara** in 1968 by the three existing European anarchist federations of France (Fédération Anarchiste), Italy (Federazione Anarchica Italiana) and Spain (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) as well as the **Bulgarian** federation in French exile. These organizations were also inspired on synthesisist principles.^[65]

Contemporary times

Libertarian Communism was a socialist journal founded in 1974 and produced in part by members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.^[81] The synthesisist **Italian Anarchist Federation** and the platformist **Federation of Anarchist Communists** continue existing today in **Italy** but insurrectionary anarchism continues to be relevant as the recent establishment of the **Informal Anarchist Federation** shows. In the seventies in France the **Fédération Anarchiste** evolved into a joining of the principles of both synthesisist anarchism and platformism^[75] but later the platformist organizations **Libertarian Communist Organization** (France) in 1976 and **Alternative libertaire** in 1991 appeared with this last one existing until today alongside the synthesisist **Fédération Anarchiste**. In recent times platformist organisations founded the now-defunct **International Libertarian Solidarity** network and its successor, the **Anarkismo** network; which is run collaboratively by roughly 30 platformist organisations around the world. On the other hand, contemporary insurrectionary anarchism inherits the views and tactics of anti-organizational anarcho-communism^{[26][82]} and “illegalism”.^{[83][84]} The **Informal Anarchist Federation** (not to be confused with the synthesisist **Italian Anarchist Federation** also FAI) is an Italian insurrectionary anarchist organization.^[85] It has been described by Italian

intelligence sources as a “horizontal” structure of various anarchist terrorist groups, united in their beliefs in revolutionary armed action. In 2003, the group claimed responsibility for a bomb campaign targeting several European Union institutions.^{[86][87]} Currently alongside the previously mentioned federations, the **International of Anarchist Federations** includes the **Argentine Libertarian Federation**, the **Anarchist Federation of Belarus**, the **Federation of Anarchists in Bulgaria**, the **Czech-Slovak Anarchist Federation**, the **Federation of German speaking Anarchists in Germany and Switzerland**, and the **Anarchist Federation** in the **United Kingdom and Ireland**.^[88]

2.3.2 Economic theory

The abolition of wage labor is central to anarchist communism. With distribution of wealth being based on self-determined needs, people would be free to engage in whatever activities they found most fulfilling and would no longer have to engage in work for which they have neither the temperament nor the aptitude.^[22]

Anarchist communists argue that there is no valid way of measuring the value of any one person’s economic contributions because all wealth is a collective product of current and preceding generations.^[89] For instance, one could not measure the value of a factory worker’s daily production without taking into account how transportation, food, water, shelter, relaxation, machine efficiency, emotional mood etc. contributed to their production. To truly give numerical economic value to anything, an overwhelming amount of externalities and contributing factors would need to be taken into account – especially current or past labor contributing to the ability to utilize future labor. As Kropotkin put it: “No distinction can be drawn between the work of each man. Measuring the work by its results leads us to absurdity; dividing and measuring them by hours spent on the work also leads us to absurdity. One thing remains: put the needs above the works, and first of all recognize the right to live, and later on, to the comforts of life, for all those who take their share in production..”^[90]

Communist anarchism shares many traits with collectivist anarchism, but the two are distinct. Collectivist anarchism believes in collective ownership while communist anarchism negates the entire concept of ownership in favor of the concept of usage.^[91] Crucially, the abstract relationship of “landlord” and “tenant” would no longer exist, as such titles are held to occur under conditional legal coercion and are not absolutely necessary to occupy buildings or spaces. (Intellectual property rights would also cease, since they are a form of private property.) In addition to believing rent and other fees are exploitative, anarcho-communists feel these are arbitrary pressures inducing people to carry out unrelated functions. For example, they question why one should have to work for ‘X hours’ a day to merely live somewhere. So instead of working conditionally for the sake of the wage



The Conquest of Bread by Peter Kropotkin, influential work which presents the economic vision of anarcho-communism

earned, they believe in working directly for the objective at hand.^[22]

2.3.3 Philosophical debates

Motivation

Anarchist communists reject the claim that wage labor is necessary because people are lazy and selfish by “human nature”. They often point out that even the so-called “idle rich” sometimes find useful things to do despite having all their needs satisfied by the labour of others. Anarcho-communists generally do not agree with the belief in a pre-set “human nature”, arguing that human culture and behavior is very largely determined by **socialization** and the **mode of production**. Many anarchist communists, like Peter Kropotkin, also believe that human evolutionary tendency is for humans to cooperate with each other for mutual benefit and survival instead of existing as lone competitors.^[92]

While anarchist communists such as Peter Kropotkin and Murray Bookchin believed that the members of such a society would voluntarily perform all necessary labour because they would recognize the benefits of communal enterprise and mutual aid,^[93] other anarchist communists such as Nestor Makhno and Ricardo Flores Magón argue

that all those able to work in an anarchist communist society should be obligated to do so, excepting groups like children, the elderly, the sick, or the infirm.^{[94][95][96][97]} Kropotkin did not think **laziness** or **sabotage** would be a major problem in an authentically anarchist-communist society, but he did agree that a freely associated anarchist commune could, and probably should, deliberately disassociate from those not fulfilling their communal agreement to do their share of work.^[98]

Freedom, work, and leisure

Anarchist communists support communism as a means for ensuring the greatest freedom and well-being for everyone, rather than only the wealthy and powerful. In this sense, anarchist communism is a profoundly **egalitarian** philosophy.

Anarchist communism as an anarchist philosophy is against hierarchy in all its forms.^[99] Anarchist communists do not think that anyone has the right to be anyone else’s master, or ‘boss’ as this is a concept of capitalism and the state and implies authority over the individual. Some contemporary anarchist communists and advocates of **post-left anarchy**, such as Bob Black, reject the concept of work altogether in favor of turning necessary subsistence tasks into voluntary free play.^{[22][100]}

Peter Kropotkin said that the main authoritarian mistakes in communist experiments of the past were their being based on “religious enthusiasm”^[101] and the desire to live “as a family”^[102] where the individual had to “submit to the dictates of a punctilious morality”.^[103] For him anarcho-communism should be based on the right of free association and disassociation for individuals and groups and on significantly lowering the amount of hours each individual dedicates to necessary labor.^[104] He says that “to recognise a variety of occupations as the basis of all progress and to organise in such a way that man may be absolutely free during his leisure time, whilst he may also vary his work, a change for which his early education and instruction will have prepared him—this can easily be put in practice in a Communist society—this, again, means the emancipation of the individual, who will find doors open in every direction for his complete development”.^{[22][104]}

Individualism and collectivism

Some anarcho-communists (and **collectivist anarchists** as well) reject “individualism” and “collectivism” as illusory concepts.^[105] They argue that an individual sacrificing themselves for the “greater”, or being ruled by the “community” or “society”, is not possible because society is composed of individuals rather than being a cohesive unit separate from the individual, and argue that collective control over the individual is tyrannical and thus antithetical to anarchism.^[106] Others, such as Lucien van der

Walt and Michael Schmidt, argue that: “The anarchists did not [...] identify freedom with the right of everybody to do exactly what one pleased but with a social order in which collective effort and responsibilities—that is to say, obligations—would provide the material basis and social nexus in which individual freedom could exist.” They argued that “genuine freedom and individuality could only exist in a free society” and that in contrast to “misanthropic bourgeois individualism” anarchism was based in “a deep love of freedom, understood as a social product, a deep respect for human rights, a profound celebration of humankind and its potential and a commitment to a form of society where a ‘true individuality’ was irrevocably linked to ‘the highest communist sociability’”.[22][107]

Egoist philosophical positions are important in anarcho-communist insurrectionary anarchism. In the early 20th century the Italian individualist anarchist Renzo Novatore advocated both revolution and anarcho-communism when he said “revolution is the fire of our will and a need of our solitary minds; it is an obligation of the libertarian aristocracy. To create new ethical values. To create new aesthetic values. To communalize material wealth. To individualize spiritual wealth.”[15] From Stirnerist positions he also disrespected private property when he said that “[o]nly ethical and spiritual wealth” was “invulnerable. This is the true property of individuals. The rest no! The rest is vulnerable! And all that is vulnerable will be violated!”[15] This can also be seen in the contemporary writings of insurrectionary anarchism, as can be seen in the work of Wolfi Landstreicher, Alfredo Bonanno, and others.[108][109] Post-left anarcho-communist Bob Black, after analysing insurrectionary anarcho-communist Luigi Galleani’s view on anarcho-communism, went as far as saying that “communism is the final fulfillment of individualism [...] The apparent contradiction between individualism and communism rests on a misunderstanding of both [...] Subjectivity is also objective: the individual really is subjective. It is nonsense to speak of ‘emphatically prioritizing the social over the individual,’ [...] You may as well speak of prioritizing the chicken over the egg. Anarchy is a ‘method of individualization.’ It aims to combine the greatest individual development with the greatest communal unity.”[22][110]

On the article by Max Baginski called “Stirner: The Ego and His Own”, published in the American anarchist magazine *Mother Earth*, there is the following affirmation: “Modern Communists are more individualistic than Stirner. To them, not merely religion, morality, family and State are spooks, but property also is no more than a spook, in whose name the individual is enslaved—and how enslaved! The individuality is nowadays held in far stronger bondage by property, than by the combined power of State, religion and morality [...] The prime condition is that the individual should not be forced to humiliate and lower himself for the sake of property and subsistence. Communism thus creates a basis for the liberty and

Eigenheit of the individual. I am a Communist because I am an Individualist. Fully as heartily the Communists concur with Stirner when he puts the word take in place of demand—that leads to the dissolution of private property, to expropriation. Individualism and Communism go hand in hand.”[111]

Property

Anarchist communists counter the capitalist conception that communal property can only be maintained by force and that such a position is neither fixed in nature^[112] nor unchangeable in practice, citing numerous examples of communal behavior occurring naturally even within capitalist systems.^[113] Anarchist communists call for the abolition of private property while maintaining respect for personal property. As such the prominent anarcho-communist Alexander Berkman maintained that “The revolution abolishes private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and with it goes capitalistic business. Personal possession remains only in the things you use. Thus, your watch is your own, but the watch factory belongs to the people. Land, machinery, and all other public utilities will be collective property, neither to be bought nor sold. Actual use will be considered the only title—not to ownership but to possession. The organization of the coal miners, for example, will be in charge of the coal mines, not as owners but as the operating agency. Similarly will the railroad brotherhoods run the railroads, and so on. Collective possession, cooperatively managed in the interests of the community, will take the place of personal ownership privately conducted for profit.”^[114]

The commune as an economic democracy

Anarcho-communism has been critical of a simple call for worker’s ownership of workplaces and their administration as cooperatives. While not at odds with syndicalism as a tactic, it opposes the vision of anarcho-syndicalism as a theory, which sees a post-capitalist economy being made up of federations of industrial syndicates.

Instead, anarcho-communism proposes that the future society be organised territorially through free communes (localities), instead of industrially through workers’ unions (syndicates). Each commune is perceived as an integrated political-economic unit, removing the distinction between work and community, as well as existing as part of a wider communal-confederation made up of other such autonomous communes, linked together via voluntary contractual agreements. This is seen as overcoming the economic-centrism of more “workerist” forms of socialism which focus on the workplace alone as a site of struggle.

Murray Bookchin has put it this way:

But what of the *syndicalist* ideal of “collectivized” self-managed enterprises that are coordinated by like occupations on a national level and coordinated geographically by “collectives” on a local level? [...] Here, the traditional socialist criticism of this syndicalist form of economic management is not without its point: the corporate or private capitalist, “worker-controlled” or not—ironically, a technique in the repertoire of industrial management that is coming very much into vogue today as “workplace democracy” and “employee ownership” and constitutes no threat whatever to private property and capitalism [...] In any case, “economic democracy” has not simply meant “workplace democracy” and “employee ownership.”

Many workers, in fact, would like to get away from their factories if they could and find more creative artisanal types of work, not simply “participate” in “planning” their own misery. What “economic democracy” meant in its profoundest sense was free, “democratic” access to the means of life, the counterpart of political democracy, that is, the guarantee of freedom from material want. It is a dirty bourgeois trick, in which many radicals unknowingly participate, that “economic democracy” has been re-interpreted as “employee ownership” and “workplace democracy” and has come to mean workers’ “participation” in profit sharing and industrial management rather than freedom from the tyranny of the factory, rationalized labor, and “planned production,” which is usually exploitative production with the complicity of the workers.^[115]

As such:

“Whereas the syndicalist alternative re-privatizes the economy into “self-managed” collectives and opens the way to their degeneration into traditional forms of private property—whether “collectively” owned or not—libertarian municipalism politicizes the economy and dissolves it into the civic domain. Neither factory or land appear as separate interests within the communal collective. Nor can workers, farmers, technicians, engineers, professionals, and the like perpetuate their vocational identities as separate interests that exist apart from the citizen body in face-to-face assemblies. “Property” is integrated into the commune as a material constituent of its libertarian institutional framework, indeed as a part of a larger whole that is controlled by the citizen body in assembly as citizens—not as vocationally oriented interest groups.”^[115]

The word “communism” in anarcho-communism should thus be taken to refer to a polity of communes, as well as an economy of the *commons*.

The revolution and the transition

For *platformist* anarcho-communist Wayne Price:

Today’s proposals for *Parecon*, in which workers are rewarded for the intensity and duration of their labor in a cooperative economy, would fit into Bakunin’s or Marx’s concept of a transitory, beginning, phase, of a free society [...] Kropotkin rejected the two-phase approach of the Marxists and the anarchist-collectivists. Instead he proposed that a revolutionary society should “transform itself immediately into a communist society, that is, should go immediately into what Marx had regarded as the “more advanced”, completed, phase of communism. Kropotkin and those who agreed with him called themselves “anarchist-communists” (or “communist anarchists”), although they continued to regard themselves as a part of the broader socialist movement.^[116]

Leninists believe that without a transitional period of state control (their interpretation of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*), it would be impossible for any revolution to maintain the momentum or cohesion to defend the new society against external and internal threats. *Friedrich Engels* noted: “Without a previous social revolution the abolition of the state is nonsense; the abolition of capital is in itself the social revolution and involves a change in the whole method of production.”^[117] Alternatively, such quotations have been interpreted by Anarcho-communists supportive of Marx and Engels to suggest the abolition of capitalism and the state simultaneously, not the creation of a new state. Anarchists reject the Marxist–Leninist model of the “dictatorship of the proletariat,” arguing that any revolutionary minority taking over state power would be just as authoritarian as the ruling class in capitalism to defend the new state, and would eventually constitute itself as a new ruling class. As an extension of this, Anarcho-communists counter-argue that decentralized, stateless collective federations are sufficient to give both power to workers and preserve personal freedom and point to the fact that no socialist state has ever showed signs of “withering away”. Again, the Spanish Revolution is cited as an example of successful anarchist military mobilization, albeit one crushed by superior forces.

Free association of communes as opposed to the nation-state

Anarcho-communism calls for a **confederal** form in relationships of mutual aid and **free association** between communes as an alternative to the **centralism** of the **nation-state**. Peter Kropotkin thus suggested that:

Representative government has accomplished its historical mission; it has given a mortal blow to court-rule; and by its debates it has awakened public interest in public questions. But to see in it the government of the future socialist society is to commit a gross error. Each economic phase of life implies its own political phase; and it is impossible to touch the very basis of the present economic life—private property—without a corresponding change in the very basis of the political organization. Life already shows in which direction the change will be made. Not in increasing the powers of the State, but in resorting to free organization and free federation in all those branches which are now considered as attributes of the State.^[118]

As such:

[N]o community can hope to achieve economic autarchy, nor should it try to do so unless it wishes to become self-enclosed and parochial, not only “self-sufficient”. Hence the confederation of communes “the Commune of communes” is reworked economically as well as politically into a shared universe of publicly managed resources. The management of the economy, precisely because it is a public activity, does not degenerate into privatized interactions between enterprises; rather it develops into confederalized interactions between municipalities. That is to say, the very elements of societal interaction are expanded from real or potential privatized components to institutionally real public components. Confederation becomes a public project by definition, not only because of shared needs and resources. If there is any way to avoid the emergence of the city-state, not to speak of self-serving bourgeois “cooperatives,” it is through a municipalization of political life that is so complete that politics embraces not only what we call the public sphere but material means of life as well.^[115]

2.3.4 Example societies through history

Early examples

There have been several attempts, both successful and unsuccessful, at creating other anarchist-communist societies throughout much of the world. Anarchist-communists and some **green anarchists** (especially **anarcho-primitivists**) argue that **hunter-gatherer** tribes, like families, were early forms of anarchist-communism, due to their egalitarian nature.

Early Christian communities have been described as having anarcho-communist characteristics.^[119] Frank Seaver Billings described “**Jesusism**” as a combination of anarchism and communism.^[120] Examples of later Christian egalitarian communities include the **Diggers**.

Gift economies

See also: **Gift economy** and **Digital commons** (economics)

In anthropology and the social sciences, a gift economy (or gift culture) is a mode of exchange where valuable **goods and services** are regularly given without any explicit agreement for immediate or future rewards (i.e. no formal *quid pro quo* exists).^[121] Ideally, voluntary and recurring gift exchange circulates and redistributes wealth throughout a community, and serves to build societal ties and obligations.^[122] In contrast to a **barter economy** or a **market economy**, social norms and custom governs gift exchange, rather than an explicit exchange of goods or services for **money** or some other **commodity**.^[123]



Watercolor by James G. Swan depicting the Klallam people of chief Chetzemoka at Port Townsend, with one of Chetzemoka's wives distributing potlatch.

Traditional societies dominated by gift exchange were small in scale and geographically remote from each other. As states formed to regulate trade and commerce within their boundaries, market exchange came to dominate. Nonetheless, the practice of gift exchange continues to play an important role in modern society.^[124] One promi-

nent example is scientific research, which can be described as a gift economy.^[125] Contrary to popular conception, there is no evidence that societies relied primarily on **barter** before using **money** for trade.^[126] Instead, non-monetary societies operated largely along the principles of gift economics, and in more complex economies, on **debt**.^{[127][128]} When barter did in fact occur, it was usually between either complete strangers or would-be enemies.^[129]

The expansion of the Internet has witnessed a resurgence of the gift economy, especially in the technology sector. Engineers, scientists and software developers create **open-source software** projects. The **Linux kernel** and the **GNU** operating system are prototypical examples for the gift economy's prominence in the technology sector and its active role in instating the use of **permissive free software** and **copyleft** licenses, which allow free reuse of software and knowledge. Other examples include: **file-sharing**, the **commons**, **open access**. Anarchist scholar Uri Gordon has said that:

“the collaborative development of **free software** like the **Linux** operating system and applications such as **OpenOffice** clearly approximate an informational anarchist communism. Moreover, for anarchists it is precisely the logic of **expropriation** and **electronic piracy** that enables a radical political extension of the cultural ideals of the free manipulation, circulation and use of information associated with the “**hacker ethic**” (Himanen 2001). The space of illegality created by **P2P (peer-to-peer) file-sharing** opens up the possibility, not only of the open circulation of freely-given information and software as it is on the Internet today, but also of conscious copyright violation. The Internet, then, enables not only communist relations around information, but also the militant contamination and erosion of non-communist regimes of knowledge—a technological “**weapon**” to equalise access to information, eating away at intellectual property rights by rendering them unenforceable.”^[130]

The interest in such economic forms goes back to **Peter Kropotkin**, who saw in the hunter-gatherer tribes he had visited the paradigm of “**mutual aid**”.^[131] anarchist anthropologist **David Graeber** in his 2011 book *Debt: The First 5000 Years* argues that with the advent of the great **Axial Age** civilizations, the nexus between coinage and the calculability of economic values was concomitant with the disrupt of what Graeber calls “human economies,” as found among the **Iroquois**, **Celts**, **Inuit**, **Tiv**, **Nuer**, and the **Malagasy** people of **Madagascar** among other groups which, according to Graeber, held a radically different conception of debt and social relations, based on the radical incalculability of human life and the constant creation and recreation of social bonds through

gifts, marriages and general sociability. The author postulates the growth of a “**military-coinage-slave complex**” around this time, through which mercenary armies looted cities and human beings were cut from their social context to work as slaves in Greece, Rome and elsewhere in the Eurasian continent. The extreme violence of the period marked by the rise of great empires in China, India and the Mediterranean was, in this way, connected with the advent of large-scale slavery and the use of coins to pay soldiers, together with the obligation enforced by the State for its subjects to pay its taxes in currency. This was also the same time that the great religions spread out and the general questions of philosophical enquiry emerged on world history—many of those directly related, as in Plato's Republic, with the nature of debt and its relation to ethics.

Anarchist Spain and later examples

The best known examples of an *anarchist communist* society, established around the ideas as they exist today, that received worldwide attention and knowledge in the historical canon, are the anarchist territories during the **Spanish Revolution** and the **Free Territory** during the **Russian Revolution**. Through the efforts and influence of the **Spanish Anarchists** during the **Spanish Revolution** within the **Spanish Civil War**, starting in 1936 anarchist communism existed in most of **Aragon**, parts of the **Levante** and **Andalusia**, as well as in the stronghold of **Anarchist Catalonia** before being brutally crushed by the combined forces of **Francoism**, **Hitler**, **Mussolini**, **Spanish Communist Party** repression (backed by the **USSR**) as well as economic and armaments blockades from the capitalist countries and the **Spanish Republic** itself. The **Spanish example**, in which high levels of mobilisation and swift improvements to production were implemented by anarchists, is often cited as an example of an anarchist-communist society which saw rapid improvements to both industrial and scientific output.^[132]

During the **Russian Revolution**, anarchists such as **Nestor Makhno** worked to create and defend—through the **Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine**—anarchist communism in the **Free Territory** of the **Ukraine** from 1919 before being conquered by the **Bolsheviks** in 1921. Later movements include the free territories of **Hungary** during the **Hungarian Revolution** of 1956.

Contemporary examples

The **Korean Anarchist Movement** in **Korea** led by **Kim Jwa Jin** briefly brought anarcho-communism to **Korea**. The success was short-lived and much less widespread than the anarchism in **Spain**.^[133]

Give-away shops, **free shops**, or **free stores**, are stores where all goods are free. They are similar to **charity**



Inside Utrecht Giveaway shop. The banner reads: “The earth has enough for everyone’s need, but not for everyone’s greed. Take no more than you could use yourself.”

shops, with mostly second-hand items—only everything is available at no cost. Whether it is a **book**, a piece of furniture, a garment or a **household** item, it is all freely given away, although some operate a one-in, one-out-type policy (swap shops). The free store is a form of constructive **direct action** that provides a shopping alternative to a **monetary** framework, allowing people to exchange goods and services outside of a money-based economy. The anarchist 1960s countercultural group The Diggers^[134] opened **free stores** which simply gave away their stock, provided free food, distributed free drugs, gave away money, organized free music concerts, and performed works of political art.^[135] The Diggers took their name from the original English Diggers led by Gerrard Winstanley^[136] and sought to create a mini-society free of money and **capitalism**.^[137] Although free stores have not been uncommon in the United States since the 1960s, the **freegan** movement has inspired the establishment of more free stores. Today the idea is kept alive by the new generations of **social centres**, anarchists and environmentalists who view the idea as an intriguing way to raise awareness about **consumer culture** and to promote the reuse of commodities.

Aspects of the **Free Software** community, like the **Free Software** movement, the **GNU Project** and its copyleft principle are a type of a gift economy for information and software; a gift economy is the preferred economic system of anarcho-communists.^[138] Programmers make the **source code** of their programs available for anyone to copy, modify and improve. Individual programmers gain prestige and respect, and the community benefits from better software. Markus Giesler, in his ethnography *Consumer Gift Systems*, explored music downloading as a system of social solidarity based on gift transactions.^{[139][140]} Some organizations such as online commons (**Wikipedia**, the **Wikimedia Commons**), wikis, and Indymedia are held up as examples of functioning anarcho-communistic organizations.^[138]

2.3.5 See also

- Autonomism
- Anarcho-syndicalism
- Consensus democracy
- Communalism (political philosophy)
- Communization
- Council communism
- Direct democracy
- Free association (communism and anarchism)
- Free Territory
- Gift economy
- Insurrectionary anarchism
- Libertarian Communism (journal)
- Libertarian Marxism
- Libertarian socialism
- Money-free economy
- Platformism
- Pure communism
- Social anarchism
- Spanish Revolution of 1936
- Workers’ council

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- [3] “Anarchist communism is also known as anarcho-communism, communist anarchism, or, sometimes, libertarian communism or ‘ancom’.”“Anarchist communism - an introduction” by Libcom.org”
- [4] The terms libertarian communism and anarchist communism thus became synonymous within the international anarchist movement as a result of the close connection they had in Spain (with libertarian communism becoming the prevalent term).”“Anarchist Communism & Libertarian Communism” by Gruppo Comunista Anarchico di Firenze. from “L’informatore di parte”, No.4, October 1979, quarterly journal of the Gruppo Comunista Anarchico di Firenze

- [5] "The 'Manifesto of Libertarian Communism' was written in 1953 by Georges Fontenis for the Federation Communiste Libertaire of France. It is one of the key texts of the anarchist-communist current." "Manifesto of Libertarian Communism" by Georges Fontenis
- [6] "In 1926 a group of exiled Russian anarchists in France, the Delo Truda (Workers' Cause) group, published this pamphlet. It arose not from some academic study but from their experiences in the 1917 Russian revolution." "The Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists" by Delo Truda
- [7] "The Schism Between Individualist and Communist Anarchism" by Wendy McElroy
- [8] "Anarchist communism is also known as anarcho-communism, communist anarchism, or, sometimes, libertarian communism." *Anarchist communism - an introduction* by Jacques Roux
- [9] "The revolution abolishes private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and with it goes capitalistic business. Personal possession remains only in the things you use. Thus, your watch is your own, but the watch factory belongs to the people." Alexander Berkman. "What Is Communist Anarchism?"
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- [14] Christopher Gray, *Leaving the Twentieth Century*, p. 88.
- [15] "Towards the creative Nothing" by Renzo Novatore
- [16] Post-left anarcho-communist Bob Black after analysing insurrectionary anarcho-communist Luigi Galleani's view on anarcho-communism went as far as saying that "communism is the final fulfillment of individualism...The apparent contradiction between individualism and communism rests on a misunderstanding of both...Subjectivity is also objective: the individual really is subjective. It is nonsense to speak of 'emphatically prioritizing the social over the individual,'...You may as well speak of prioritizing the chicken over the egg. Anarchy is a "method of individualization." It aims to combine the greatest individual development with the greatest communal unity." Bob Black. *Nightmares of Reason*.
- [17] "Modern Communists are more individualistic than Stirner. To them, not merely religion, morality, family and State are spooks, but property also is no more than a spook, in whose name the individual is enslaved - and how enslaved!...Communism thus creates a basis for the liberty and Eigenheit of the individual. I am a Communist because I am an Individualist. Fully as heartily the Communists concur with Stirner when he puts the word take in place of demand - that leads to the dissolution of property, to expropriation. Individualism and Communism go hand in hand." Max Baginski. "Stirner: The Ego and His Own" on *Mother Earth*. Vol. 2. No. 3 MAY, 1907
- [18] "Communism is the one which guarantees the greatest amount of individual liberty — provided that the idea that begets the community be Liberty, Anarchy...Communism guarantees economic freedom better than any other form of association, because it can guarantee wellbeing, even luxury, in return for a few hours of work instead of a day's work." "Communism and Anarchy" by Peter Kropotkin
- [19] This other society will be libertarian communism, in which social solidarity and free individuality find their full expression, and in which these two ideas develop in perfect harmony. *Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists* by Dielo Truda (Workers' Cause)
- [20] "I see the dichotomies made between individualism and communism, individual revolt and class struggle, the struggle against human exploitation and the exploitation of nature as false dichotomies and feel that those who accept them are impoverishing their own critique and struggle." "MY PERSPECTIVES" by Willful Disobedience Vol. 2, No. 12
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2.3.7 Further reading

- Alexander Berkman, *What is Communist Anarchism?*, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*, others
- Murray Bookchin *Post Scarcity Anarchism* (1971 and 2004). ISBN 1-904859-06-2
- Carlo Cafiero. *Revolution*. Black Cat Press. ISBN 978-1-926878-11-9
- Luigi Fabbri *Anarchism and Communism*
- Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchici, *Anarchist Communists: A Question Of Class*, others
- Ricardo Flores Magón *Dreams of Freedom: A Ricardo Flores Magón Reader*. Chaz Bufe and Mitchell Cowen Verter (ed.) 2005.
- Georges Fontenis. *Manifesto of Libertarian Communism*
- Luigi Galleani. *Anarchy Will Be!: Selected Writings Of Luigi Galleani*. AK Press. 2007. ISBN 978-1-904859-29-1
- Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays, Living My Life*, others
- Robert Graham, *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas, Volume 1: From Anarchy to Anarchism (300CE-1939)* (“Table Of Contents”. Blackrosebooks.net. Retrieved 2010-09-20.) contains extensive selections from the anarchist communists, including Joseph Déjacque, Carlo Cafiero, Peter Kropotkin, Luigi Galleani, Errico Malatesta, Charlotte Wilson, Ricardo Flores Magón, Shifu, Hatta Shuzo, Alexander Berkman, Voline, and Isaac Puente.
- Peter Kropotkin *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, 1998 paperback, London: Freedom Press. ISBN 0-900384-36-0, also at Project Gutenberg
- Peter Kropotkin *The Conquest of Bread*, first published 1892, also at Anarchy Archives
- Peter Kropotkin *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, available at Anarchy Archives
- Peter Kropotkin *Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Ideals*

- Peter Kropotkin *"Communism and Anarchy"*
- Makhno, Mett, Arshinov, Valevski, Linski, *The Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists* (available in: Castellano, čeština, Deutsch, English, Ἑλληνικά, Français, Italiano, Ivrit, Magyar, Nederlands, Polska, Português, Русский, Svenska, Türkçe, Македонски)
- Errico Malatesta *A Talk About Anarchist Communism Between Two Workers*
- Jessica Moran. "The Firebrand and the Forging of a New Anarchism: Anarchist Communism and Free Love."
- Johann Most. "Anarchist Communism"
- Alain Pengam. *Anarchist-Communism*
- Isaac Puente *Libertarian Communism*
- Ilan Shalif. *GLIMPSES INTO THE YEAR 2100 (50 years after the revolution) Daily life in the libertarian communist society*
- Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt. *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism (Counter-Power vol. 1)*. AK Press. 2009
- *The Rise and Fall of The Green Mountain Anarchist Collective*, 2015.

2.3.8 External links

- Anarkismo.net – Anarchist communist news maintained by platformist organizations with discussion and theory from across the globe
- libcom.org – The home of anarchism and libertarian communism in the UK
- Anarchocommunism texts at The Anarchist Library
- Kropotkin: The Coming Revolution – short documentary to introduce the idea of anarchist communism in Kropotkin's own words.

Anarcho-communist theorists archives

- Alexander Berkman
- Luigi Galleani
- Emma Goldman
- Peter Kropotkin
- Ricardo Flores Magón
- Errico Malatesta
- Nestor Makhno

- Johann Most
- Wayne Price
- Lucien van der Walt

2.4 Marxism

For the political ideology commonly associated with states governed by Communist parties, see [Marxism–Leninism](#).

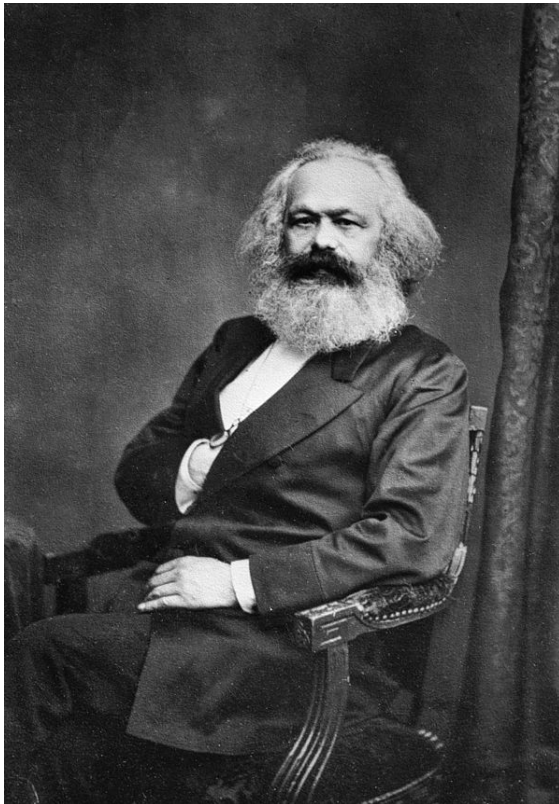
Marxism is a method of socioeconomic analysis that analyzes class relations and societal conflict using a materialist interpretation of historical development and a dialectical view of social transformation. It originates from the mid-to-late 19th century works of German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Marxist methodology originally used a method of economic and sociopolitical inquiry known as [historical materialism](#) to analyze and critique the development of capitalism and the role of [class struggle](#) in systemic economic change. According to Marxist perspective, class conflict within capitalism arises due to intensifying contradictions between the highly productive mechanized and [socialized production](#) performed by the [proletariat](#), and the private ownership and appropriation of the [surplus product](#) (profit) by a small minority of the population who are private owners called the [bourgeoisie](#). As the contradiction becomes apparent to the proletariat through the [alienation of labor](#), social unrest between the two antagonistic classes will intensify, until it culminates in [social revolution](#). The eventual long-term outcome of this revolution would be the establishment of [socialism](#) – a socioeconomic system based on [social ownership](#) of the means of production, [distribution based on one's contribution](#), and [production organized directly for use](#). As the productive forces and technology continued to advance, Marx hypothesized that socialism would eventually give way to a [communist stage](#) of social development, which would be a classless, stateless, humane society erected on [common ownership](#) and the principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

Marxism has since developed into different branches and schools of thought, and there is now no single definitive Marxist theory.^[1] Different Marxian schools place a greater emphasis on certain aspects of [classical Marxism](#) while de-emphasizing or rejecting other aspects, and sometimes combine Marxist analysis with non-Marxian concepts; as a result, they might reach contradictory conclusions from each other.^[2] Lately, however, there is movement toward the recognition that the main aspect of Marxism is philosophy of dialectical materialism and historicism,^[3] which should result in more agreement between different schools.

Marxist analyses and methodologies have influenced multiple political ideologies and social movements, and Marxist understandings of history and society have been adopted by some academics in the disciplines of archaeology, anthropology,^[4] media studies,^[5] political science, theater, history, sociology, art history and theory, cultural studies, education, economics, geography, literary criticism, aesthetics, critical psychology, and philosophy.^[6]

2.4.1 Overview



Karl Marx

The Marxian analysis begins with an analysis of the material conditions and the economic activities required to satisfy society's material needs. It is assumed that the form of economic organization, or **mode of production**, gives rise to, or at least directly influences, most other social phenomena – including social relations, political and legal systems, moral codes and ideology. The economic system and these social relations form a **base and superstructure**. As **forces of production**, most notably **technology**, improve, existing forms of social organization become inefficient and stifle further progress. As **Karl Marx** observed: “At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the pro-

ductive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution.”^[7] These inefficiencies manifest themselves as social contradictions in society in the form of **class struggle**.^[8] Under the **capitalist mode of production**, this struggle materializes between the minority (the **bourgeoisie**) who own the means of production, and the vast majority of the population (the **proletariat**) who produce goods and services. Starting with the assumption that **social change** occurs because of the struggle between different **classes** within society who are under contradiction against each other, a Marxist analyst would summarize by saying that **capitalism** exploits and oppresses the proletariat, which leads to a **proletarian revolution**.

Capitalism (according to Marxist theory) can no longer sustain the living standards of the population due to its need to compensate for **falling rates of profit** by driving down wages, cutting social benefits and pursuing military aggression. The **socialist** system would succeed capitalism as humanity's mode of production through workers' **revolution**. According to Marxism, especially arising from **crisis theory**, **socialism** is a historical necessity (but not an inevitability).^[9]

In a socialist society **private property**, in the form of the means of production, would be replaced by co-operative ownership. A socialist economy would not base production on the creation of private profits, but on the criteria of satisfying human needs – that is, **production would be carried out directly for use**. As Engels said: “Then the capitalist mode of appropriation in which the product enslaves first the producer, and then appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the product that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production; upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production on the other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.”^[10]

2.4.2 Concepts

Historical materialism

Main article: **Historical materialism**

“The discovery of the materialist conception of history, or rather, the consistent continuation and extension of materialism into the domain of social phenomenon, removed two chief defects of earlier historical theories. In the first place, they at best examined only the ideological motives of the historical activity of human beings, without grasping the objective laws governing the development of the system of social relations ... in the second place, the earlier theories did not cover the activities of the *masses* of the population, whereas historical materialism made it possible for the first time to study with the accuracy of the **natural sciences** the social conditions of the

life of the masses and the changes in these conditions.”
Russian Marxist theoretician and revolutionary Vladimir Lenin, 1913.^[11]

Society does not consist of individuals,
but expresses the sum of interrelations, the
relations within which these individuals stand.
— Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, 1858^[12]

The historical materialist theory of history^[13] analyses the underlying causes of societal development and change from the perspective of the collective ways that humans make their living. All constituent features of a society (social classes, political pyramid, ideologies) are assumed to stem from economic activity, an idea often portrayed with the metaphor of the **base and superstructure**.

The base and superstructure metaphor portrays the totality of social relations by which humans produce and re-produce their social existence. According to Marx, “The sum total of the forces of production accessible to men determines the condition of society,” and forms a society’s economic *base*. The base includes the material forces of production, that is, the labour and material means of production, and relations of production, i.e. the social and political arrangements that regulate production and distribution. From this base rises a *superstructure* of legal and political “forms of social consciousness” of political and legal institutions that derive from the economic base which conditions the superstructure and a society’s dominant ideology. Conflicts between the development of material productive forces and the relations of production provokes social revolutions, and thus, the resultant changes to the economic base will lead to the transformation of the superstructure.^[14] This relationship is reflexive; at first the base gives rise to the superstructure and remains the foundation of a form of social organization. Hence, that formed social organization can act again upon both parts of the base and superstructure, so, that relationship not one-way but a dialogue (a **dialectic**), expressed and driven by conflicts and contradictions. As Friedrich Engels clarified: “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.”^[15]

Marx considered these socio-economic conflicts as the driving force of human history since these recurring conflicts have manifested themselves as distinct transitional stages of development in Western Europe. Accordingly, Marx designated human history as encompassing four stages of development in relations of production.^[16]

1. *Primitive Communism*: as in co-operative tribal societies.
2. *Slave Society*: a development of tribal to city-state; aristocracy is born.
3. *Feudalism*: aristocrats are the ruling class; merchants evolve into capitalists.
4. *Capitalism*: capitalists are the ruling class, who create and employ the proletariat.

Criticism of capitalism

According to the Marxist theoretician and revolutionary Vladimir Lenin, “the principal content of Marxism” was “Marx’s economic doctrine”.^[17] Marx believed that the capitalist bourgeois and their economists were promoting what he saw as the lie that “The interests of the capitalist and of the worker are ... one and the same”; he believed that they did this by purporting the concept that “the fastest possible growth of productive **capital**” was best not only for the wealthy capitalists but also for the workers because it provided them with employment.^[18]

Exploitation is a matter of **surplus labour** – the amount of labour one performs beyond what one receives in goods. Exploitation has been a socioeconomic feature of every class society, and is one of the principal features distinguishing the social classes. The power of one social class to control the **means of production** enables its exploitation of the other classes.

In capitalism, the **labour theory of value** is the operative concern; the **value** of a **commodity** equals the socially necessary labour time required to produce it. Under that condition, **surplus value** (the difference between the value produced and the value received by a labourer) is synonymous with the term “surplus labour”; thus, capitalist exploitation is realised as deriving surplus value from the worker.

In pre-capitalist economies, exploitation of the worker was achieved via physical coercion. In the capitalist mode of production, that result is more subtly achieved; because the worker does not own the means of production, he or she must voluntarily enter into an exploitive work relationship with a capitalist in order to earn the necessities of life. The worker’s entry into such employment is voluntary in that he or she chooses which capitalist to work for. However, the worker must work or starve. Thus, exploitation is inevitable, and the “voluntary” nature of a worker participating in a capitalist society is illusory.

Alienation is the estrangement of people from their humanity (German: *Gattungswesen*, “species-essence”, “species-being”), which is a systematic result of capitalism. Under capitalism, the fruits of production belong to the employers, who expropriate the surplus created by others, and so generate alienated labourers.^[19] In Marx’s view, alienation is an objective characterization of the

worker's situation in capitalism – his or her self-awareness of this condition is not prerequisite.

Social classes

The identity of a social class derives from its relationship to the **means of production**; Marx describes the social classes in capitalist societies:

- **Proletariat**: “the class of modern wage labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live”.^[20] As Andrei Platonov expressed “The working class is my home country and my future is linked with the proletariat.”^[21] The capitalist mode of production establishes the conditions enabling the bourgeoisie to **exploit** the proletariat because the workers' labour generates a **surplus value** greater than the workers' wages.
- **Bourgeoisie**: those who “own the means of production” and buy labour power from the proletariat, thus exploiting the proletariat; they subdivide as bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie.
 - **Petite bourgeoisie** are those who work and can afford to buy little labour power i.e. small business owners, peasant landlords, trade workers et al. Marxism predicts that the continual reinvention of the means of production eventually would destroy the petite bourgeoisie, degrading them from the middle class to the proletariat.
- **Lumpenproletariat**: the outcasts of society such as criminals, vagabonds, beggars, prostitutes, et al., who have no stake in the economy and no mind of their own and so are decoyed by every bidder.
- **Landlords**: a historically important social class whose members retain some wealth and power.
- **Peasantry and farmers**: a scattered class incapable of organizing and effecting socio-economic change, most of whom would enter the proletariat while some became landlords.

Class consciousness denotes the awareness – of itself and the social world – that a social class possesses, and its capacity to rationally act in their best interests; hence, class consciousness is required *before* they can effect a successful revolution.

Without defining **ideology**,^[22] Marx used the term to denote the production of images of social reality; according to Engels, “ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, it is true, but with a false consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him remain unknown to him; otherwise it simply would not be

an ideological process. Hence he imagines false or seeming motive forces”.^[23] Because the ruling class controls the society's means of production, the superstructure of society (the ruling social ideas), are determined by the best interests of the ruling class. In *The German Ideology*, “the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is, at the same time, its ruling intellectual force”.^[24]

The term “**political economy**” originally denoted the study of the conditions under which economic production was organised in the capitalist system. In Marxism, political economy is the study of the means of production, specifically of capital, and how that manifests as economic activity.

“Marxism taught me what society was. I was like a blindfolded man in a forest, who doesn't even know where north or south is. If you don't eventually come to truly understand the history of the class struggle, or at least have a clear idea that society is divided between the rich and the poor, and that some people subjugate and exploit other people, you're lost in a forest, not knowing anything.”

Cuban revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist politician **Fidel Castro** on discovering Marxism, 2009.^[25]

2.4.3 Relation with industrial revolution

This new way of thinking was invented because socialists believed that public ownership will help workers that were abused by their employers. They also thought that the government having control of factories, mines, textile industries and other businesses would abolish poverty and increase equality. These thoughts argued that the government should plan the economy rather than depend on the free market capitalism (invisible hand). One of Marx's arguments was that the bourgeoisie abused the proletariat. Marx thought that with socialism this situation would stop. He believed that capitalism will destroy itself, because the proletariat would revolt and produce what society needs. This would give economic equality to all the population and for this to happen there would not be private property and this will cause social classes to disappear. This would bring an equal share of goods and services.

2.4.4 Revolution, socialism, and communism

Marxists believe that the transition from capitalism to socialism is an inevitable part of the development of human society; as Lenin stated, “it is evident that Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society [into a socialist society] wholly and exclusively from the economic law of motion of contemporary society.”^[26]

Marxists believe that a socialist society will be far better

for the majority of the populace than its capitalist counterpart. Prior to the Russian revolution of 1917, Lenin wrote that “The socialization of production is bound to lead to the conversion of the means of production into the property of society ... This conversion will directly result in an immense increase in productivity of labour, a reduction of working hours, and the replacement of the remnants, the ruins of small-scale, primitive, disunited production by collective and improved labour.”^[27]

The failure of the 1905 revolution and the failure of socialist movements to resist the outbreak of World War 1 led to renewed theoretical effort and valuable contributions from Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg towards an appreciation of Marx’s crisis theory and efforts to formulate a theory of imperialism.^[28]

2.4.5 Classical Marxism

Main article: [Classical Marxism](#)

The term Classical Marxism denotes the collection of socio-eco-political theories expounded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. “Marxism,” as Ernest Mandel remarked, “is always open, always critical, always self-critical.” As such, Classical Marxism distinguishes between “Marxism” as broadly perceived, and “what Marx believed;” thus, in 1883, Marx wrote to the French labour leader Jules Guesde and to Paul Lafargue (Marx’s son-in-law) – both of whom claimed to represent Marxist principles – accusing them of “revolutionary phrasemongering” and of denying the value of reformist struggle; from Marx’s letter derives the paraphrase: “If that is Marxism, then I am not a Marxist.”^{[29][30]} American Marxist scholar Hal Draper responded to this comment by saying: “There are few thinkers in modern history whose thought has been so badly misrepresented, by Marxists and anti-Marxists alike.”^[31] On the other hand, the book *Communism: The Great Misunderstanding* argues that the source of such misrepresentations lays in ignoring the philosophy of Marxism, which is dialectical materialism. In large, this was due to the fact that *The German Ideology*, in which Marx and Engels developed this philosophy, did not find a publisher for almost a hundred years.

Criticism

Main article: [Criticisms of Marxism](#)

Some Marxists have criticised the academic institutionalisation of Marxism for being too shallow and detached from political action. For instance, Zimbabwean Trotskyist Alex Callinicos, himself a professional academic, stated that “Its practitioners remind one of Narcissus, who in the Greek legend fell in love with his own reflection ... Sometimes it is necessary

to devote time to clarifying and developing the concepts that we use, but indeed for Western Marxists this has become an end in itself. The result is a body of writings incomprehensible to all but a tiny minority of highly qualified scholars.”^[32]

2.4.6 Academic Marxism



One of the 20th century’s most prominent Marxist academics; the Australian archaeologist V. Gordon Childe

Marxism has been adopted by a large number of academics and other scholars working in various disciplines.

The theoretical development of Marxist archaeology was first developed in the Soviet Union in 1929, when a young archaeologist named Vladislav I. Ravdonikas (1894–1976) published a report entitled “For a Soviet history of material culture”. Within this work, the very discipline of archaeology as it then stood was criticised as being inherently bourgeois and therefore anti-socialist, and so, as a part of the academic reforms instituted in the Soviet Union under the administration of Premier Joseph Stalin, a great emphasis was placed on the adoption of Marxist archaeology throughout the country.^[33] These theoretical developments were subsequently adopted by archaeologists working in capitalist states outside of the Leninist bloc, most notably by the Australian academic V. Gordon Childe (1892–1957), who used Marxist theory in his understandings of the development of human society.^[34]

2.4.7 Etymology

The term “Marxism” was popularized by **Karl Kautsky** who considered himself an “orthodox” Marxist during the dispute between the orthodox and revisionist followers of Marx.^[35] Kautsky’s revisionist rival **Eduard Bernstein** also later adopted use of the term.^[35] Engels did not support the use of the term “Marxism” to describe either Marx’s or his views.^[36] Engels claimed that the term was being abusively used as a rhetorical qualifier by those attempting to cast themselves as “real” followers of Marx while casting others in different terms, such as “Lassallians”.^[36] In 1882, Engels claimed that Marx had criticized self-proclaimed “Marxist” **Paul Lafargue**, by saying that if Lafargue’s views were considered “Marxist”, then “[o]ne thing is certain and that is that I am not a Marxist”.^[36]

2.4.8 History

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

Main articles: **Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels**

Karl Marx (5 May 1818 – 14 March 1883) was a Ger-



Friedrich Engels

man philosopher, political economist, and socialist revolutionary, who addressed the matters of alienation and exploitation of the working class, the capitalist mode of production, and historical materialism. He is famous for analysing history in terms of class struggle, summarised

in the initial line introducing the *Communist Manifesto* (1848): “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles”.

Friedrich Engels (28 November 1820 – 5 August 1895) was a German political philosopher who together with Marx co-developed communist theory. Marx and Engels first met in September 1844. Discovering that they had similar views of philosophy and socialism, they collaborated and wrote works such as *Die heilige Familie* (*The Holy Family*). After Marx was deported from France in January 1845, they moved to Belgium, which then permitted greater freedom of expression than other European countries; in January 1846, they returned to Brussels to establish the Communist Correspondence Committee.

In 1847, they began writing *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), based on Engels’ *The Principles of Communism*; six weeks later, they published the 12,000-word pamphlet in February 1848. In March, Belgium expelled them, and they moved to Cologne, where they published the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, a politically radical newspaper. Again, by 1849, they had to leave Cologne for London. The Prussian authorities pressured the British government to expel Marx and Engels, but Prime Minister Lord John Russell refused.

After Marx’s death in 1883, Engels became the editor and translator of Marx’s writings. With his *Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884) – analysing monogamous marriage as guaranteeing male social domination of women, a concept analogous, in communist theory, to the capitalist class’s economic domination of the working class – Engels made intellectually significant contributions to feminist theory and Marxist feminism.

Late 20th century

Political Marxism In 1959, the Cuban Revolution led to the victory of Fidel Castro and his July 26 Movement. Although the revolution had not been explicitly socialist, upon victory Castro ascended to the position of Prime Minister and eventually adopted the Leninist model of socialist development, forging an alliance with the Soviet Union.^[37] One of the leaders of the revolution, the Argentine Marxist revolutionary **Che Guevara** (1928–1967), subsequently went on to aid revolutionary socialist movements in Congo-Kinshasa and Bolivia, eventually being killed by the Bolivian government, possibly on the orders of the CIA, though the CIA agent sent to search for Guevara, Felix Rodriguez expressed a desire to keep him alive as a possible bargaining tool with the Cuban government; he would posthumously go on to become an internationally recognised icon.

In the People’s Republic of China, the Maoist government undertook the Cultural Revolution from 1966 through to 1976 in order to purge capitalist elements from Chinese society and entrench socialism. However, upon Mao’s death, his rivals seized political power and under the Pre-

miership of Deng Xiaoping (1978–1992), many of Mao's Cultural Revolution era policies were revised or abandoned and much of the state sector privatised.

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw the collapse of most of those socialist states that had professed a Marxist–Leninist ideology. In the late 1970s and 1980s, the emergence of the **New Right** and **neoliberal capitalism** as the dominant ideological trends in western politics – championed by U.S. **President Ronald Reagan** and U.K. **Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher** – led the west to take a more aggressive stand against the Soviet Union and its Leninist allies. Meanwhile, in the Soviet Union, the reformist **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–) became Premier in March 1985, and began to move away from Leninist-based models of development towards social democracy. Ultimately, Gorbachev's reforms, coupled with rising levels of popular ethnic nationalism in the Soviet Union, led to the state's dissolution in late 1991 into a series of constituent nations, all of which abandoned Marxist–Leninist models for socialism, with most converting to capitalist economies.

21st century

Political Marxism At the turn of the 21st century, China, Cuba, Laos and Vietnam remained the only officially Marxist–Leninist states remaining, although a Maoist government led by **Prachanda** (1954–) was elected into power in Nepal in 2008 following a long guerrilla struggle.

The early 21st century also saw the election of socialist governments in several Latin American nations, in what has come to be known as the "**Pink tide**". Dominated by the Venezuelan government of **Hugo Chávez**, this trend also saw the election of **Evo Morales** in Bolivia, **Rafael Correa** in Ecuador and **Daniel Ortega** in Nicaragua. Forging political and economic alliances through international organisations like the **Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas**, these socialist governments allied themselves with Marxist–Leninist Cuba, and although none of them espoused a Leninist path directly, most admitted to being significantly influenced by Marxist theory.

For Italian Marxist Gianni Vattimo in his 2011 book *Hermeneutic Communism* "this new weak communism differs substantially from its previous Soviet (and current Chinese) realization, because the South American countries follow democratic electoral procedures and also manage to decentralize the state bureaucratic system through the *misiones* (social missions for community projects). In sum, if weakened communism is felt as a specter in the West, it is not only because of media distortions but also for the alternative it represents through the same democratic procedures that the West constantly professes to cherish but is hesitant to apply"^[38]

2.4.9 Criticisms

Main article: **Criticisms of Marxism**

Criticisms of Marxism have come from various political ideologies. Additionally, there are intellectual critiques of Marxism that contest certain assumptions prevalent in Marx's thought and Marxism after him, without exactly rejecting Marxist politics.^[39] Other, contemporary supporters of Marxism argue that many aspects of Marxist thought are viable, but that the corpus is incomplete or outdated in regards to certain aspects of economic, political or **social theory**. They may therefore combine some Marxist concepts with the ideas of other theorists such as **Max Weber**: the **Frankfurt school** is one example.

General criticisms

Philosopher and historian of ideas **Leszek Kołakowski** criticizes the laws of dialectics as fundamentally erroneous. Stating that some are "truisms with no specific Marxist content", others "philosophical dogmas that cannot be proved by scientific means", and some just "nonsense". He believes that some Marxist laws can be interpreted differently, but that these interpretations still in general fall into one of the two categories of error.^[40]

Okishio's theorem shows that if capitalists use cost-cutting techniques and real wages do not increase, the rate of profit has to rise which casts doubt about Marx's view that the rate of profit would tend to fail.^[41]

The allegations of inconsistency have been a large part of Marxian economics and the debates around it since the 1970s.^[42] Andrew Kliman argues that this undermines Marx's critiques and the correction of the alleged inconsistencies, because internally inconsistent theories cannot be right by definition.^[43]

Epistemological and empirical critiques

Marx's predictions have been criticized because they have allegedly failed, with some pointing towards the GDP per capita increasing generally in capitalist economies compared to less market oriented economies, the capitalist economies not suffering worsening economic crises leading to the overthrow of the capitalist system, and communist revolutions not occurring in the most advanced capitalist nations, but instead in undeveloped regions.^{[44][45]}

Philosopher of science **Karl Popper** has argued that historical materialism is not falsifiable and therefore, pseudoscience.^[46] Popper believed that Marxism was originally scientific, in that it was a theory that was genuinely predictive. When these predictions did not happen, Popper argues that the theory avoided falsification by ad hoc hypotheses which make it fit with the facts. Because of this, Popper believes it had degenerated into pseudo-

scientific dogma from a genuine science.^[47]

Socialist critiques

Democratic socialists and social democrats reject the idea that socialism can be accomplished only through extralegal class conflict and a proletarian revolution. The relationship between Marx and other socialist thinkers and organizations—rooted in Marxism’s “scientific” and anti-utopian socialism, among other factors—has divided Marxists from other socialists since Marx’s life. Also, after Marx’s death, and with the emergence of Marxism, there have been dissensions within Marxism itself; a notable example is the splitting of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Orthodox Marxism became counterposed to a less dogmatic, more innovative, or even revisionist Marxism.

Anarchist and libertarian critiques

Main articles: [Anarchism and Marxism](#) and [Libertarian socialism](#)

Anarchism has had a strained relationship with Marxism since Marx’s life. Anarchists and libertarian socialists reject the need for a transitory state phase, claiming that socialism can only be established through decentralized, non-coercive organization. Individualist anarchists, who are often neither socialists nor capitalists, reject Marxism as a statist ideology. Anarchist Mikhail Bakunin criticized Marx for his authoritarian bent.^[48] The phrases “barracks socialism” or “barracks communism” became a shorthand for this critique, evoking the image of citizens’ lives being as regimented as the lives of conscripts in a barracks.^[49]

Economic critiques

Other critiques come from an economic standpoint. V. K. Dmitriev, writing in 1898,^[50] Ladislaus von Bortkiewicz, writing in 1906–07,^[51] and subsequent critics have alleged that Marx’s value theory and law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall are internally inconsistent. In other words, the critics allege that Marx drew conclusions that actually do not follow from his theoretical premises. Once these alleged errors are corrected, his conclusion that aggregate price and profit are determined by, and equal to, aggregate value and surplus value no longer holds true. This result calls into question his theory that the exploitation of workers is the sole source of profit.^[52]

Both Marxism and socialism have received considerable critical analysis from multiple generations of Austrian economists in terms of scientific methodology, economic theory, and political implications.^{[53][54]} During the marginal revolution, subjective value theory was

rediscovered by Carl Menger, a development which fundamentally undermined the British cost theories of value. The restoration of subjectivism and praxeological methodology previously used by classical economists including Richard Cantillon, Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, Jean-Baptiste Say, and Frédéric Bastiat led Menger to criticise historicist methodology in general. Second-generation Austrian economist Eugen Böhm von Bawerk used praxeological and subjectivist methodology to attack the law of value fundamentally. Non-Marxist economists have regarded his criticism as definitive, with Gottfried Haberler arguing that Böhm-Bawerk’s critique of Marx’s economics was so thorough and devastating that as of the 1960s no Marxian scholar had conclusively refuted it.^[55] Third-generation Austrian Ludwig von Mises sparked the economic calculation debate by identifying that without price signals in capital goods, all other aspects of the market economy are irrational. This led him to declare “... that rational economic activity is impossible in a socialist commonwealth.”^[56]

2.4.10 See also

- [Analytical Marxism](#)
- [Marxism-Leninism](#)
- [Austromarxism](#)
- [Democracy in Marxism](#)
- [Freudo-Marxism](#)
- [Instrumental Marxism](#)
- [Karl Marx House](#)
- [Karl Marx in film](#)
- *[Karl Marx’s Theory of History](#)*
- [Legal Marxism](#)
- [Libertarian Marxism](#)
- *[Living Marxism](#)*
- [Marxian Class Theory](#)
- [Marxism and religion](#)
- *[Marxism and Freedom](#)*
- *[Marxism and the U.S.A.](#)*
- *[Marxism Today](#)*
- [Marxist film theory](#)
- [Marxist hip hop](#)
- [Marxist international relations theory](#)
- [Marxist Workers’ League \(US\)](#)

- *Marxists Internet Archive*
- Marx Memorial Library
- Marx's notebooks on technology
- Marx's theory of human nature
- Neo-Marxism
- Open Marxism
- Post-Marxism
- Pre-Marx socialists
- Reification (Marxism)
- *Rethinking Marxism*
- Revolutionary Marxist League
- *Specters of Marx*
- *The Marxism of Che Guevara*

2.4.11 References

Footnotes

- [1] Wolff and Resnick, Richard and Stephen (August 1987). *Economics: Marxian versus Neoclassical*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. p. 130. ISBN 0-8018-3480-5. The German Marxists extended the theory to groups and issues Marx had barely touched. Marxian analyses of the legal system, of the social role of women, of foreign trade, of international rivalries among capitalist nations, and the role of parliamentary democracy in the transition to socialism drew animated debates ... Marxian theory (singular) gave way to Marxian theories (plural).
- [2] O'Hara, Phillip (September 2003). *Encyclopedia of Political Economy, Volume 2*. Routledge. p. 107. ISBN 0-415-24187-1. Marxist political economists differ over their definitions of capitalism, socialism and communism. These differences are so fundamental, the arguments among differently persuaded Marxist political economists have sometimes been as intense as their oppositions to political economies that celebrate capitalism.
- [3] Ermak, Gennady (2016). *Communism: The Great Misunderstanding*. ISBN 1533082898.
- [4] Bridget O'Laughlin (1975) *Marxist Approaches in Anthropology* Annual Review of Anthropology Vol. 4: pp. 341–70 (October 1975) doi:10.1146/annurev.an.04.100175.002013.
William Roseberry (1997) *Marx and Anthropology* Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 26: pp. 25–46 (October 1997) doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.26.1.25
- [5] S. L. Becker (1984) "Marxist Approaches to Media Studies: The British Experience", *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 1(1): pp. 66–80.
- [6] See Manuel Alvarado, Robin Gutch, and Tana Wollen (1987) *Learning the Media: Introduction to Media Teaching*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- [7] *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Introduction 1859
- [8] *Comparing Economic Systems in the Twenty-First Century*, 2003, by Gregory and Stuart. P.62, *Marx's Theory of Change*. ISBN 0-618-26181-8.
- [9] Free will, non-predestination and non-determinism are emphasized in Marx's famous quote "Men make their own history ..." The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Karl Marx 1852.
- [10] *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Chapter three 1882
- [11] Lenin 1967 (1913). p. 15.
- [12] *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, by Karl Marx & Martin Nicolaus, *Penguin Classics*, 1993, ISBN 0-14-044575-7, p. 265
- [13] Evans, p. 53; Marx's account of the theory is the Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859). . Another exposition of the theory is in *The German Ideology*. It, too, is available online from marxists.org.
- [14] See *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), Preface, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, with some notes by R. Rojas, and Engels: *Anti-Dühring* (1877), Introduction General
- [15] *Communist manifesto*, chapter one 1847
- [16] Marx does not claim to have produced a master-key to history. Historical materialism is not "an historico-philosophic theory of the *marche generale*, imposed by fate upon every people, whatever the historic circumstances in which it finds itself", K. Marx, Letter to editor of the Russian newspaper paper *Otetchestvennye Zapiskym*, 1877. He explains that his ideas are based upon a concrete study of the actual conditions in Europe.
- [17] Lenin 1967 (1913). p. 7.
- [18] Marx 1849.
- [19] "Alienation" entry, *A Dictionary of Sociology*
- [20] Engels, Friedrich (1888). *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. London. pp. Footnote. Retrieved 15 March 2015.
- [21] Andrei Platonov, the 20th-century Russian writer
- [22] Joseph McCarney: *Ideology and False Consciousness*, April 2005
- [23] Engels: Letter to Franz Mehring, (London 14 July 1893), Donna Torr, translator, in *Marx and Engels Correspondence*, International Publishers, 1968
- [24] "Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology*".
- [25] Castro and Ramonet 2009. p. 100.
- [26] Lenin 1967 (1913). p. 35.

- [27] Lenin 1967 (1913). p. 35–36.
- [28] Samezo Kuruma (September 1929). “An Introduction to the Theory of Crisis.” At Marxists.org, trans. Michael Schauerte. Originally from the *Journal of the Ohara Institute for Social Research*, vol. 4, no. 1.
- [29] “Accusing Guesde and Lafargue of ‘revolutionary phrasemongering’ and of denying the value of reformist struggles, Marx made his famous remark that, if their politics represented Marxism, ‘ce qu’il y a de certain c’est que moi, je ne suis pas Marxiste’ (‘what is certain is that I myself am not a Marxist’).” See: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1880/05/parti-ouvrier.htm>
- [30] Hall, Stuart; Dave Morely; Kuan-Hsing Chen (1996). *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge. p. 418. ISBN 978-0-415-08803-9. Retrieved 4 March 2013. I have no hesitation in saying that this represents a gigantic crudification and simplification of Marx’s work – the kind of simplification and reductionism which once led him, in despair, to say “if that is marxism, then I am not a marxist”
- [31] Not found in search function at Draper Arkiv
- [32] Callinicos 2010. p. 12.
- [33] Trigger 2007. pp. 326–40.
- [34] Green 1981. p. 79.
- [35] Georges Haupt, Peter Fawcett, Eric Hobsbawm. *Aspects of International Socialism, 1871–1914: Essays by Georges Haupt*. Paperback Edition. Cambridge, England, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010. pp. 18–19.
- [36] Georges Haupt, Peter Fawcett, Eric Hobsbawm. *Aspects of International Socialism, 1871–1914: Essays by Georges Haupt*. Paperback Edition. Cambridge, England, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010. pp. 12.
- [37] See Coltman 2003 and Bourne 1986.
- [38] Gianni Vattimo and Santiago Zabala. *Hermeneutic Communism: From Heidegger to Marx* Columbia University Press. 2011. p. 122
- [39] For example, Baudrillard, Jean (1973). *The Mirror of Production*.
- [40] Kołakowski, Leszek (2005). *Main Currents of Marxism*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. p. 909. ISBN 9780393329438.
- [41] M. C. Howard and J. E. King. (1992) A History of Marxian Economics: Volume II, 1929–1990, chapter 7, sects. II–IV. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.
- [42] See M. C. Howard and J. E. King, 1992, *A History of Marxian Economics: Volume II, 1929–1990*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.
- [43] Kliman states that “Marx’s value theory would be necessarily wrong if it were internally inconsistent. Internally inconsistent theories may be appealing, intuitively plausible and even obvious, and consistent with all available empirical evidence—but they cannot be right. It is necessary to reject them or correct them. Thus the alleged proofs of inconsistency trump all other considerations, disqualifying Marx’s theory at the starting gate. By doing so, they provide the principal justification for the suppression of this theory as well as the suppression of, and the denial of resources needed to carry out, present-day research based upon it. This greatly inhibits its further development. So does the very charge of inconsistency. What person of intellectual integrity would want to join a research program founded on (what he believes to be) a theory that is internally inconsistent and therefore false?” (Andrew Kliman, *Reclaiming Marx’s “Capital”: A Refutation of the Myth of Inconsistency*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007, p. 3, emphasis in original). However, in his book, Kliman presents an interpretation where these inconsistencies can be eliminated. The connection between the inconsistency allegations and the lack of study of Marx’s theories was argued further by John Cassidy (“The Return of Karl Marx,” *The New Yorker*, Oct. 20 & 27, 1997, p. 252): “His mathematical model of the economy, which depended on the idea that labor is the source of all value, was riven with internal inconsistencies and is rarely studied these days.”
- [44] Andrew Kliman, *Reclaiming Marx’s “Capital”*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, p. 208, emphases in original.
- [45] “GDP per capita growth (annual %)". World Bank. 2016. Retrieved May 22, 2016.
- [46] Popper, Sir Karl (1963). “Science as Falsification”. www.stephenjagould.org. Retrieved 2015-11-22.
- [47] Popper, Sir Karl (2002). *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*. Routledge. p. 449. ISBN 0-415-28594-1.
- [48] Bakunin, Mikhail (5 October 1872), *Letter to La Liberté, quoted in Bakunin on Anarchy, translated and edited by Sam Dolgoff, 1971*
- [49] Sperber, Jonathan (2013), *Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life*, W.W. Norton & Co.
- [50] V. K. Dmitriev, 1974 (1898), *Economic Essays on Value, Competition and Utility*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press
- [51] Ladislaus von Bortkiewicz, 1952 (1906–1907), “Value and Price in the Marxian System”, *International Economic Papers* 2, 5–60; Ladislaus von Bortkiewicz, 1984 (1907), “On the Correction of Marx’s Fundamental Theoretical Construction in the Third Volume of *Capital*”. In Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk 1984 (1896), *Karl Marx and the Close of his System*, Philadelphia: Orion Editions.
- [52] M. C. Howard and J. E. King. (1992) A History of Marxian Economics: Volume II, 1929–1990, chapter 12, sect. III. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.
- [53] What We Can Know About The World. Hans F. Sennholz.
- [54] Omnipotent Government. Ludwig Von Mises
- [55] Gottfried Haberler in Milorad M. Drachkovitch (ed.), *Marxist Ideology in the Contemporary World – Its Appeals and Paradoxes* (New York: Praeger, 1966), p. 124

- [56] Von Mises, Ludwig (1990). *Economic calculation in the Socialist Commonwealth* (PDF). Ludwig von Mises Institute. Retrieved 2008-09-08.

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2.4.12 External links

2.5 Libertarian Marxism

Libertarian Marxism refers to a broad scope of economic and political philosophies that emphasize the "anti-authoritarian" aspects of **Marxism**. Early currents of libertarian Marxism, known as **left communism**, emerged in opposition to **Marxism–Leninism**^[1] and its derivatives, such as **Stalinism**, **Ceaușism** and **Maoism**. Libertarian Marxism is also often critical of **reformist** positions, such as those held by **social democrats**. Libertarian Marxist currents often draw from **Marx** and **Engels**' later works, specifically the *Grundrisse* and *The Civil War in France*;^[2] emphasizing the Marxist belief in the ability of the **working class** to forge its own destiny without the need for a revolutionary party or state to mediate or aid its liberation.^[3] Along with **anarchism**, libertarian Marxism is one of the main currents of **libertarian socialism**.^[4]

Libertarian Marxism includes such currents as council communism, De Leonism, Socialisme ou Barbarie Lettrism/Situationism and operaismo/autonomism, and the New Left.^[5] Libertarian Marxism has often had a strong influence on both post-left and social anarchists. Notable theorists of libertarian Marxism have included Anton Pannekoek, Raya Dunayevskaya, CLR James, E. P. Thompson, Rosa Luxemburg, Antonio Negri, Cornelius Castoriadis, Maurice Brinton, Guy Debord, Daniel Guérin, Fredy Perlman, Ernesto Screpanti, and Raoul Vaneigem.

2.5.1 Overview

Marxism started to develop a libertarian strand of thought after specific circumstances. "One does find early expressions of such perspectives in **Morris** and the **Socialist Party of Great Britain** (the SPGB), then again around the events of 1905, with the growing concern at the bureaucratisation and de-radicalisation of international socialism".^[6] William Morris established the **Socialist League** in December 1884, which was encouraged by **Friedrich Engels** and **Eleanor Marx**. As the leading figure in the organization Morris embarked on a relentless series of speeches and talks on street corners, in working men's clubs and lecture theatres across England and Scotland. From 1887, **anarchists** began to outnumber

Marxists in the Socialist League.^[7] The 3rd Annual Conference of the League, held in London on 29 May 1887 marked the change, with a majority of the 24 branch delegates voting in favor of an anarchist-sponsored resolution declaring that “This conference endorses the policy of abstention from parliamentary action, hitherto pursued by the League, and sees no sufficient reason for altering it.”^[8] Morris played peacemaker but sided with the anti-Parliamentarians, who won control of the League, which consequently lost the support of Engels and saw the departure of Eleanor Marx and her partner Edward Aveling to form the separate Bloomsbury Socialist Society.

20th century

However, “the most important ruptures are to be traced to the insurgency during and after the First World War. Disillusioned with the capitulation of the social democrats, excited by the emergence of workers’ councils, and slowly distanced from Leninism, many communists came to reject the claims of socialist parties and to put their faith instead in the masses.” For these socialists, “[t]he intuition of the masses in action can have more genius in it than the work of the greatest individual genius”. Luxemburg’s workerism and spontaneism are exemplary of positions later taken up by the far-left of the period—Pannekoek, Roland Holst, and Gorter in the Netherlands, Sylvia Pankhurst in Britain, Gramsci in Italy, Lukacs in Hungary. In these formulations, the dictatorship of the proletariat was to be the dictatorship of a class, “not of a party or of a clique”.^[6] However, within this line of thought, “[t]he tension between anti-vanguardism and vanguardism has frequently resolved itself in two diametrically opposed ways: the first involved a drift towards the party; the second saw a move towards the idea of complete proletarian spontaneity.... The first course is exemplified most clearly in Gramsci and Lukacs.... The second course is illustrated in the tendency, developing from the Dutch and German far-lefts, which inclined towards the complete eradication of the party form.”^[6]

In the emerging Soviet state, there appeared left-wing uprisings against the Bolsheviks which were a series of rebellions and uprisings against the Bolsheviks led or supported by left wing groups including Socialist Revolutionaries,^[9] Left Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, and anarchists.^[10] Some were in support of the White Movement while some tried to be an independent force. The uprisings started in 1918 and continued through the Russian Civil War and after until 1922. In response, the Bolsheviks increasingly abandoned attempts to get these groups to join the government and suppressed them with force.

Theory

For “many Marxian libertarian socialists, the political bankruptcy of socialist orthodoxy necessitated a theoret-

ical break. This break took a number of forms. The Bordigists and the SPGB championed a super-Marxian intransigence in theoretical matters. Other socialists made a return 'behind Marx' to the anti-positivist programme of German idealism. Libertarian socialism has frequently linked its anti-authoritarian political aspirations with this theoretical differentiation from orthodoxy.... Karl Korsch... remained a libertarian socialist for a large part of his life and because of the persistent urge towards theoretical openness in his work. Korsch rejected the eternal and static, and he was obsessed by the essential role of practice in a theory’s truth. For Korsch, no theory could escape history, not even Marxism. In this vein, Korsch even credited the stimulus for Marx’s *Capital* to the movement of the oppressed classes.”^[6]

In rejecting both capitalism and the state, some libertarian socialists align themselves with anarchists in opposition to both capitalist representative democracy and to authoritarian forms of Marxism. Although anarchists and Marxists share an ultimate goal of a stateless society, anarchists criticise most Marxists for advocating a transitional phase under which the state is used to achieve this aim. Nonetheless, libertarian Marxist tendencies such as autonomist Marxism and council communism have historically been intertwined with the anarchist movement. Anarchist movements have come into conflict with both capitalist and Marxist forces, sometimes at the same time, as in the Spanish Civil War, though as in that war Marxists themselves are often divided in support or opposition to anarchism. Other political persecutions under bureaucratic parties have resulted in a strong historical antagonism between anarchists and libertarian Marxists on the one hand, and Leninist Marxists and their derivatives such as Maoists on the other. In recent history, however, libertarian socialists have repeatedly formed temporary alliances with Marxist-Leninist groups in order to protest institutions they both reject. Part of this antagonism can be traced to the International Workingmen’s Association, the *First International*, a congress of radical workers, where Mikhail Bakunin, who was fairly representative of anarchist views, and Karl Marx, whom anarchists accused of being an “authoritarian”, came into conflict on various issues. Bakunin’s viewpoint on the illegitimacy of the state as an institution and the role of electoral politics was starkly counterposed to Marx’s views in the First International. Marx and Bakunin’s disputes eventually led to Marx taking control of the First International and expelling Bakunin and his followers from the organization. This was the beginning of a long-running feud and schism between libertarian socialists and what they call “authoritarian communists”, or alternatively just “authoritarians”. Some Marxists have formulated views that closely resemble syndicalism, and thus express more affinity with anarchist ideas. Several libertarian socialists, notably Noam Chomsky, believe that anarchism shares much in common with certain variants of Marxism such as the council communism of Marxist Anton Pannekoek. In Chomsky’s *Notes on Anarchism*,^[11] he suggests the possibility “that

some form of council communism is the natural form of revolutionary socialism in an industrial society. It reflects the belief that democracy is severely limited when the industrial system is controlled by any form of autocratic elite, whether of owners, managers, and technocrats, a 'vanguard' party, or a State bureaucracy."

Postwar



Cornelius Castoriadis, theorist of the group Socialisme ou Barbarie

In the mid-20th century, some libertarian socialist groups emerged from disagreements with Trotskyism which presented itself as Leninist anti-Stalinism. As such, the French group *Socialisme ou Barbarie* emerged from the Trotskyist Fourth International, where Castoriadis and Claude Lefort constituted a Chaulieu–Montal Tendency in the French *Parti Communiste Internationaliste* in 1946. In 1948, they experienced their "final disenchantment with Trotskyism",^[12] leading them to break away to form *Socialisme ou Barbarie*, whose journal began appearing in March 1949. Castoriadis later said of this period that "the main audience of the group and of the journal was formed by groups of the old, radical left: Bordigists, council communists, some anarchists and some offspring of the German 'left' of the 1920s".^[13] In the United Kingdom, the group *Solidarity* was founded in 1960 by a small group of expelled members of the *Trotskyist Socialist Labour League*. Almost from the start, it was strongly influenced by the French *Socialisme ou Barbarie* group, in particular by its intellectual leader Cornelius Castoriadis, whose essays were among the many pamphlets *Solidarity* produced. The intellectual leader of the group was Chris Pallis (who wrote under the name Maurice Brinton).^[14]

In the People's Republic of China (PRC) since 1967,

the terms *ultra-Left* and *left communist* refers to political theory and practice self-defined as further "left" than that of the central Maoist leaders at the height of the GPCR ("Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"). The terms are also used retroactively to describe some early 20th century Chinese anarchist orientations. As a slur, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has used the term *ultra-left* more broadly to denounce any orientation it considers further "left" than the party line. According to the latter usage, in 1978 the CPC Central Committee denounced as "ultra-left" the line of Mao Zedong from 1956 until his death in 1976. *Ultra-left* refers to those GPCR rebel positions that diverged from the central Maoist line by identifying an antagonistic contradiction between the CPC-PRC party-state itself and the masses of workers and "peasants"^[15] conceived as a single proletarian class divorced from any meaningful control over production or distribution. Whereas the central Maoist line maintained that the masses controlled the means of production through the Party's mediation, the ultra-left argued that the objective interests of bureaucrats were structurally determined by the centralist state-form in direct opposition to the objective interests of the masses, regardless of however "red" a given bureaucrat's thought might be. Whereas the central Maoist leaders encouraged the masses to criticize reactionary "ideas" and "habits" among the alleged 5% of bad cadres, giving them a chance to "turn over a new leaf" after they had undergone "thought reform," the ultra-left argued that cultural revolution had to give way to political revolution "in which one class overthrows another class".^{[16][17]}

The emergence of the New Left in the 1950s and 1960s led to a revival of interest in libertarian socialism.^[18] The New Left's critique of the Old Left's authoritarianism was associated with a strong interest in personal liberty, autonomy (see the thinking of Cornelius Castoriadis) and led to a rediscovery of older socialist traditions, such as left communism, council communism, and the Industrial Workers of the World. The New Left also led to a revival of anarchism. Journals like *Radical America* and *Black Mask* in America, *Solidarity*, *Big Flame* and *Democracy & Nature*, succeeded by *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*,^[19] in the UK, introduced a range of left libertarian ideas to a new generation.

In 1969, French platformist anarcho-communist Daniel Guérin published an essay called "Libertarian Marxism?" in which he dealt with the debate between Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin at the First International and afterwards suggested that "[l]ibertarian marxism [sic] rejects determinism and fatalism, giving the greater place to individual will, intuition, imagination, reflex speeds, and to the deep instincts of the masses, which are more far-seeing in hours of crisis than the reasonings of the 'elites'; libertarian marxism [sic] thinks of the effects of surprise, provocation and boldness, refuses to be cluttered and paralysed by a heavy 'scientific' apparatus, doesn't equivocate or bluff, and guards itself from adventurism as much as



Members of the Situationist International Michèle Bernstein, Guy Debord, and Asger Jorn in 1957.

from fear of the unknown.”^[20]

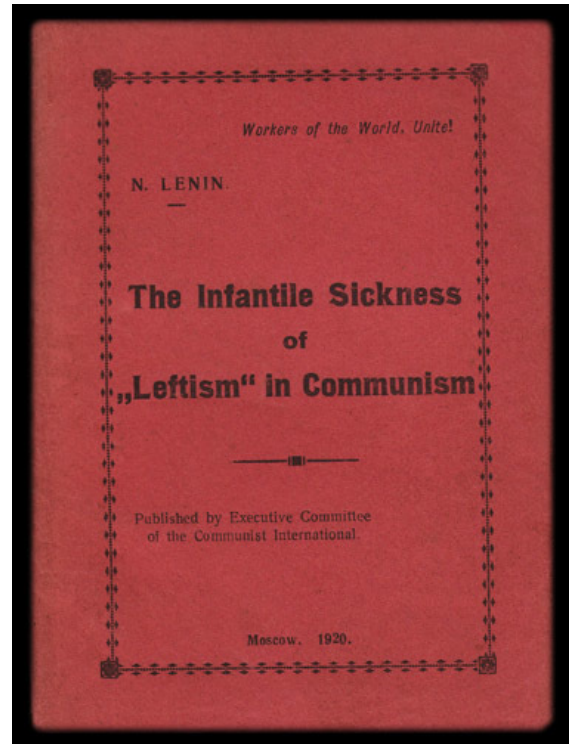
Autonomist Marxism, neo-Marxism and situationist theory are also regarded as being anti-authoritarian variants of Marxism that are firmly within the libertarian socialist tradition. Related to this were intellectuals who were influenced by Italian left communist Amadeo Bordiga but who disagreed with his Leninist positions, including Jacques Camatte, editor of the French publication *Invariance*, and Gilles Dauve who published *Troploin* with Karl Nesic.

2.5.2 Notable libertarian Marxist tendencies

De Leonism

Main article: De Leonism

De Leonism, occasionally known as Marxism-DeLeonism, is a form of syndicalist Marxism developed by Daniel De Leon. De Leon was an early leader of the first United States socialist political party, the Socialist Labor Party of America. De Leon combined the rising theories of syndicalism in his time with orthodox Marxism. According to De Leonist theory, militant industrial unions are the vehicle of class struggle. Industrial Unions serving the interests of the proletariat will bring about the change needed to establish a socialist



First English edition of Lenin’s “Left-Wing” Communism: An Infantile Disorder, published by the Executive Committee of the Communist International for delegates to its 2nd World Congress.^[21] In this text Lenin attacks left communists and council communists

system. The only way this differs from some currents in anarcho-syndicalism is that, according to De Leonist thinking, a revolutionary political party is also necessary to fight for the proletariat on the political field.

De Leonism lies outside the Leninist tradition of communism. It predates Leninism as De Leonism’s principles developed in the early 1890s with De Leon’s assuming leadership of the Socialist Labor Party; Leninism and its vanguard party idea took shape after the 1902 publication of Lenin’s *What Is to Be Done?*. The highly decentralized and democratic nature of the proposed De Leonist government is in contrast to the democratic centralism of Marxism–Leninism and what they see as the dictatorial nature of the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China and other “communist” states. The success of the De Leonist plan depends on achieving majority support among the people both in the workplaces and at the polls, in contrast to the Leninist notion that a small vanguard party should lead the working class to carry out the revolution.

Council communism

Main article: Council Communism

Council communism was a radical left movement originating in Germany and the Netherlands in the 1920s. Its primary organization was the Communist Workers Party



Anton Pannekoek, one of the main theorists of council communism

of Germany (KAPD). Council communism continues today as a theoretical and activist position within Marxism, and also within libertarian socialism. The central argument of council communism, in contrast to those of social democracy and Leninist communism, is that workers' councils arising in the factories and municipalities are the natural and legitimate form of working class organisation and government power. This view is opposed to the reformist and Bolshevik stress on vanguard parties, parliaments, or the state.

The core principle of council communism is that the state and the economy should be managed by workers' councils, composed of delegates elected at workplaces and recallable at any moment. As such, council communists oppose state-run "bureaucratic socialism". They also oppose the idea of a "revolutionary party", since council communists believe that a revolution led by a party will necessarily produce a party dictatorship. Council communists support a workers' democracy, which they want to produce through a federation of workers' councils.

The Russian word for council is *soviet*, and, during the early years of the revolution, workers' councils were politically significant in Russia. It was to take advantage of the aura of workplace power that the word became used by Lenin for various political organs. Indeed, the name Supreme Soviet, which the parliament was called, and that of the Soviet Union itself, make use of this terminology, but they do not imply any decentralization.

Furthermore, council communists held a critique of the Soviet Union as a capitalist state, believing that the Bolshevik revolution in Russia became a bourgeois revolution when a party bureaucracy replaced the old feudal aristocracy. Although most felt the Russian Revolution was working class in character, they believed that, because capitalist relations still existed (i.e. the workers had no say in running the economy), the Soviet Union ended up as a state capitalist country, with the state replacing the individual capitalist. Thus, council communists support workers' revolutions, but oppose one-party dictatorships.

Council communists also believed in diminishing the role of the party to one of agitation and propaganda, rejected all participation in elections or parliament, and argued that workers should leave the reactionary trade unions to form one big, revolutionary union.

Left communism

Main article: [Left communism](#)

Left communism describes the range of communist viewpoints held by the communist left, which criticizes the political ideas of the Bolsheviks at certain periods, from a position that is asserted to be more authentically Marxist and proletarian than the views of Leninism held by the Communist International after its first and during its second congress.

Although she lived before left communism became a distinct tendency, Rosa Luxemburg has heavily influenced most left communists, both politically and theoretically. Proponents of left communism have included Amadeo Bordiga, Herman Gorter, Anton Pannekoek, Otto Rühle, Karl Korsch, Sylvia Pankhurst, and Paul Mattick.

Prominent left communist groups existing today include the International Communist Current and the International Bureau for the Revolutionary Party. Also, different factions from the old Bordigist International Communist Party are considered left communist organizations.

Within Freudo-Marxism

Main article: [Freudo-Marxism](#)

Two Marxist and Freudian psychoanalytic theorists have received the libertarian label or have been associated with it due to their emphasis on anti-authoritarianism and freedom issues.

Wilhelm Reich^{[22][23][24][25]} was an Austrian psychoanalyst, a member of the second generation of psychoanalysts after Sigmund Freud, and one of the most radical figures in the history of psychiatry. He was the author of several influential books and essays, most notably *Character Analysis* (1933), *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* (1933), and *The Sexual Revolution* (1936).^[26]



*Wilhelm Reich, freudo-marxist theorist who wrote the book *The Sexual Revolution* in 1936*

His work on character contributed to the development of Anna Freud's *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence* (1936), and his idea of muscular armour—the expression of the personality in the way the body moves—shaped innovations such as body psychotherapy, Fritz Perls's Gestalt therapy, Alexander Lowen's bioenergetic analysis, and Arthur Janov's primal therapy. His writing influenced generations of intellectuals: during the 1968 student uprisings in Paris and Berlin, students scrawled his name on walls and threw copies of *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* at the police.^[27] On 23 August, six tons of his books, journals, and papers were burned in the 25th Street public incinerator in New York, the Gansevoort incinerator. The burned material included copies of several of his books, including *The Sexual Revolution*, *Character Analysis* and *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*. Though these had been published in German before Reich ever discussed orgone, he had added mention of it to the English editions, so they were caught by the injunction.^[28] As with the accumulators, the FDA was supposed only to observe the destruction. It has been cited as one of the worst examples of censorship in the United States. Reich became a consistent propagandist for sexual freedom going as far as opening free sex-counselling clinics in Vienna for working-class patients^[29] as well as coining the phrase "sexual revolution" in one of his books from the 1940s.^[30]

On the other hand, Herbert Marcuse was a German philosopher, sociologist, and political theorist, associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory. His work *Eros and Civilization* (1955) discusses the social meaning of biology - history seen not as a class struggle, but



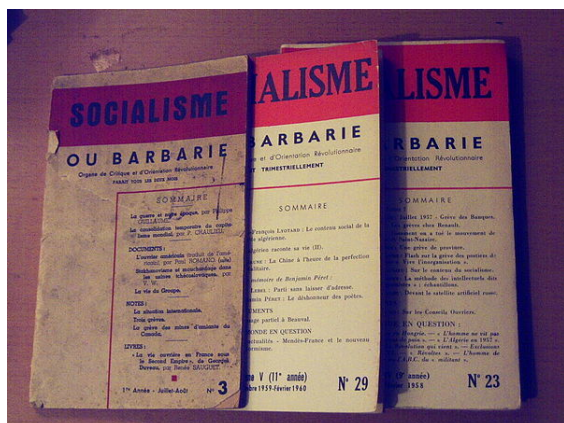
Herbert Marcuse, associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory, was an influential libertarian socialist^[31] philosopher of the New Left^[32]

a fight against repression of our instincts. It argues that "advanced industrial society" (modern capitalism) is preventing us from reaching a non-repressive society "based on a fundamentally different experience of being, a fundamentally different relation between man and nature, and fundamentally different existential relations".^[33] It contends that Freud's argument that repression is needed by civilization to persist is mistaken, as Eros is liberating and constructive. Marcuse argues that "the irreconcilable conflict is not between work (reality principle) and Eros (pleasure principle), but between alienated labour (performance principle) and Eros."^[34] Sex is allowed for "the betters" (capitalists), and for workers only when not disturbing performance. Marcuse believes that a socialist society could be a society without needing the performance of the poor and without as strong a suppression of our sexual drives: it could replace alienated labor with "non-alienated libidinal work" resulting in "a non-repressive civilization based on 'non-repressive sublimation'".^[34] "During the 1960s, Marcuse achieved world renown as "the guru of the New Left," publishing many articles and giving lectures and advice to student radicals all over the world. He travelled widely and his work was often discussed in the mass media, becoming one of the few American intellectuals to gain such attention. Never surrendering his revolutionary vision and commitments, Marcuse continued to his death to defend the Marxian theory and libertarian socialism."^[35]

Socialisme ou Barbarie

Main article: *Socialisme ou Barbarie*

Socialisme ou Barbarie ("Socialism or Barbarism") was a French-based radical libertarian socialist group of the post-World War II period, whose name comes from a phrase Rosa Luxemburg used in her 1916 essay *The Junius Pamphlet*. It existed from 1948 until 1965. The animating personality was Cornelius Castoriadis, also known



The journal *Socialisme ou Barbarie*

as Pierre Chaulieu or Paul Cardan.^[36] The group originated in the Trotskyist Fourth International, where Castoriadis and Claude Lefort constituted a Chaulieu–Montal Tendency in the French *Parti Communiste Internationaliste* in 1946. In 1948, they experienced their “final disenchantment with Trotskyism”,^[37] leading them to break away to form *Socialisme ou Barbarie*, whose journal began appearing in March 1949. Castoriadis later said of this period that “the main audience of the group and of the journal was formed by groups of the old, radical left: Bordigists, council communists, some anarchists and some offspring of the German ‘left’ of the 1920s.”^[38] The group was composed of both intellectuals and workers, and agreed with the idea that the main enemies of society were the bureaucracies which governed modern capitalism. They documented and analysed the struggle against that bureaucracy in the group’s journal. The thirteenth issue (January–March 1954), as an example, was devoted to the East German revolt of June 1953 and the strikes which erupted amongst several sectors of French workers that summer. Following from the belief that what the working class was addressing in their daily struggles was the real content of socialism, the intellectuals encouraged the workers in the group to report on every aspect of their working lives.

Situationist International

Main article: *Situationist International*

The Situationist International was a restricted group of international revolutionaries founded in 1957, and which had its peak in its influence on the unprecedented general wildcat strikes of May 1968 in France.

With their ideas rooted in Marxism and the 20th century European artistic avant-gardes, they advocated experiences of life being alternative to those admitted by the capitalist order, for the fulfillment of human primitive desires and the pursuing of a superior passional quality. For this purpose they suggested and experimented

with the *construction of situations*, namely the setting up of environments favorable for the fulfillment of such desires. Using methods drawn from the arts, they developed a series of experimental fields of study for the construction of such situations, like unitary urbanism and psychogeography.

They fought against the main obstacle on the fulfillment of such superior passional living, identified by them in advanced capitalism. Their theoretical work peaked on the highly influential book *The Society of the Spectacle* by Guy Debord. Debord argued in 1967 that spectacular features like mass media and advertising have a central role in an advanced capitalist society, which is to show a fake reality in order to mask the real capitalist degradation of human life. To overthrow such a system, the Situationist International supported the May '68 revolts, and asked the workers to *occupy the factories* and to run them with *direct democracy*, through workers’ councils composed by instantly revocable delegates.

After publishing in the last issue of the magazine an analysis of the May 1968 revolts, and the strategies that will need to be adopted in future revolutions,^[39] the SI was dissolved in 1972.^[40]

Solidarity

Main article: *Solidarity (UK)*

Solidarity was a small libertarian socialist organisation from 1960 to 1992 in the United Kingdom. It published a magazine of the same name. *Solidarity* was close to council communism in its prescriptions and was known for its emphasis on workers’ self-organisation and for its radical anti-Leninism. *Solidarity* was founded in 1960 by a small group of expelled members of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League. It was initially known as *Socialism Reaffirmed*. The group published a journal, *Agitator*, which after six issues was renamed *Solidarity*, from which the organisation took its new name. Almost from the start it was strongly influenced by the French *Socialisme ou Barbarie* group, in particular by its intellectual leader Cornelius Castoriadis, whose essays were among the many pamphlets *Solidarity* produced. *Solidarity* existed as a nationwide organisation with groups in London and many other cities until 1981, when it imploded after a series of political disputes. *Solidarity* the magazine continued to be published by the London group until 1992; other former *Solidarity* members were behind *Wildcat* in Manchester and *Here and Now* magazine in Glasgow. The intellectual leader of the group was Chris Pallis, whose pamphlets (written under the name Maurice Brinton) included *Paris May 1968*, *The Bolsheviks and Workers’ Control 1917-21* and ‘The Irrational in Politics’.^[41] Other key *Solidarity* writers were Andy Anderson (author of *Hungary 1956*), Ken Weller (who wrote several pamphlets on industrial struggles and over-

saw the group's Motor Bulletins on the car industry), **Joe Jacobs** (*Out of the Ghetto*), **John Quail** (*The Slow-Burning Fuse*), **Phil Mailer** (*Portugal: The Impossible Revolution*) **John King** (*The Political Economy of Marx, A History of Marxian Economics*), George Williamson (writing as James Finlayson, *Urban Devastation - The Planning of Incarceration*), [David Lamb] (*Mutinies*) and **Liz Willis** (*Women in the Spanish Revolution*).

Autonomism

Main article: **Autonomism**

Autonomism refers to a set of left-wing political and



Antonio Negri, main theorist of Italian autonomism.

social movements and theories close to the socialist movement. As an identifiable theoretical system it first emerged in Italy in the 1960s from workerist (*operaismo*) communism. Later, post-Marxist and anarchist tendencies became significant after influence from the Situationists, the failure of Italian far-left movements in the 1970s, and the emergence of a number of important theorists including **Antonio Negri**, who had contributed to the 1969 founding of *Potere Operaio*, Mario Tronti, Paolo Virno, etc.

Through translations made available by Danilo Montaldi and others, the Italian autonomists drew upon previous activist research in the United States by the Johnson-Forest Tendency and in France by the group *Socialisme ou Barbarie*.

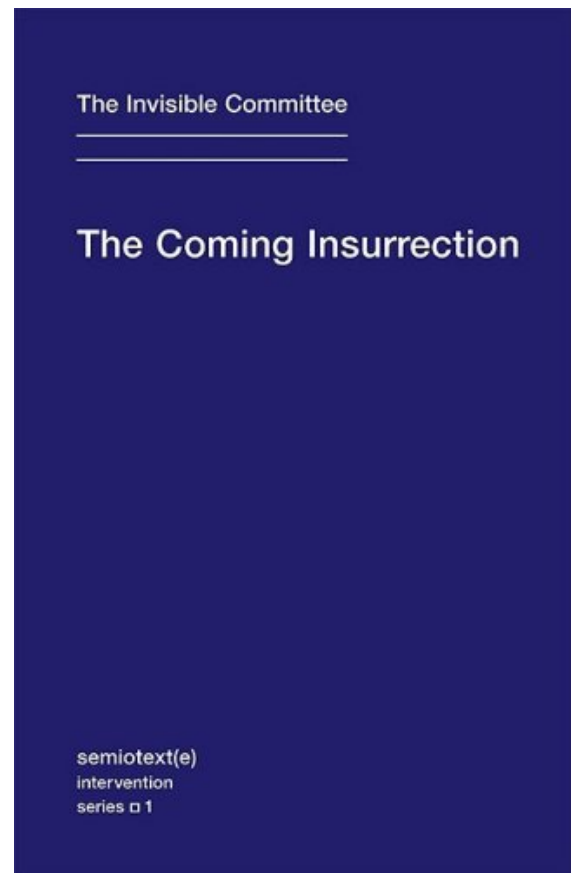
It influenced the German and Dutch Autonomes, the worldwide Social Centre movement, and today is influential in Italy, France, and to a lesser extent the English-speaking countries. Those who describe themselves as autonomists now vary from Marxists to post-structuralists and anarchists. The Autonomist Marxist and *Autonomes*

movements provided inspiration to some on the revolutionary left in English speaking countries, particularly among anarchists, many of whom have adopted autonomist tactics. Some English-speaking anarchists even describe themselves as *Autonomists*. The Italian *operaismo* movement also influenced Marxist academics such as **Harry Cleaver**, **John Holloway**, Steve Wright, and Nick Dyer-Witheford.

Communization

Main article: **Communization**

Communization mainly refers to a contemporary



A copy of the communization text The Coming Insurrection

communist theory in which we find is a “mixing-up of insurrectionist anarchism, the communist ultra-left, postautonomists, anti-political currents, groups like the Invisible Committee, as well as more explicitly ‘communizing’ currents, such as *Théorie Communiste* and *End-notes*. Obviously at the heart of the word is communism and, as the shift to communization suggests, communism as a particular activity and process...”^[42]

The association of the term communization with a self-identified “ultra-left” was cemented in France in the 1970s, where it came to describe not a transition to a higher phase of communism but a vision of communist revolution itself. Thus the 1975 Pamphlet *A World With-*

out Money states: “insurrection and communisation are intimately linked. There would not be first a period of insurrection and then later, thanks to this insurrection, the transformation of social reality. The insurrectional process derives its force from communisation itself.”

The term is still used in this sense in France today and has spread into English usage as a result of the translation of texts by Gilles Dauvé and *Théorie Communiste*, two key figures in this tendency. But in the late 1990s a close but not identical sense of “communization” was developed by the French post-situationist group Tiqqun. In keeping with their ultra-left predecessors, Tiqqun’s predilection for the term seems to be its emphasis on communism as an immediate process rather than a far-off goal, but for Tiqqun it is no longer synonymous with “the revolution” considered as an historical event, but rather becomes identifiable with all sorts of activities – from squatting and setting up communes to simply “sharing” – that would typically be understood as “pre-revolutionary”.^[43] From an ultra-left perspective such a politics of “dropping-out” or, as Tiqqun put it, “desertion” — setting up spaces and practices that are held to partially autonomous from capitalism — is typically dismissed as either naïve or reactionary.^[44] Due to the popularity of the Tiqqun-related works *Call* and *The Coming Insurrection* in US anarchist circles it tended to be this latter sense of “communization” that was employed in US anarchist and “insurrectionist” communiques, notably within the Californian student movement of 2009–2010.^[45]

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- [5] “A libertarian Marxist tendency map”. Libcom.org. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
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- [7] Beer, *A History of British Socialism*, vol. 2, pg. 256.
- [8] *Marx-Engels Collected Works: Volume 48*. New York: International Publishers, 2001; pg. 538, fn. 95.
- [9] Carr, E.H. – *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917–1923*. W. W. Norton & Company 1985.
- [10] Avrich, Paul. “Russian Anarchists and the Civil War”, *Russian Review*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Jul., 1968), pp. 296–306. Blackwell Publishing
- [11] Noam Chomsky *Notes on Anarchism*
- [12] Castoriadis, Cornelius (1975). “An Interview”. *Telos* (23), p. 133
- [13] Castoriadis, Cornelius (1975). “An Interview”. *Telos* (23), p. 134
- [14] Brinton, Maurice (Goodway, David ed). *For Workers’ Power: the selected writings of Maurice Brinton*. AK Press. 2004. ISBN 1-904859-07-0
- [15] “Peasant (???)” was the official term for workers on people’s communes. According to the Ultra-Left, both peasants and (urban) workers together composed a proletarian class divorced from any meaningful control over production or distribution.
- [16] See, for instance, “Whither China?” by Yang Xiguang.
- [17] The 70s Collective, ed. 1996. *China: The Revolution is Dead, Long Live the Revolution*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- [18] Robin Hahnel, *Economic Justice and Democracy: From Competition to Cooperation Part II* ISBN 0-415-93344-7
- [19] The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy. Includemocracy.org. Retrieved on 2011-12-28.
- [20] “Libertarian Marxism?” by Daniel Guérin”. Theanarchistlibrary.org. 2011-04-23. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
- [21] Charles Shipman, *It Had to Be Revolution: Memoirs of an American Radical*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993; pg. 107.
- [22] “Wilhelm Reich is again the main pioneer in this field (an excellent, short introduction to his ideas can be found in Maurice Brinton’s *The Irrational in Politics*). In *Children of the Future*, Reich made numerous suggestions, based on his research and clinical experience, for parents, psychologists, and educators striving to develop libertarian methods of child rearing. (He did not use the term “libertarian,” but that is what his methods are.) Hence, in this and the following sections we will summarise Reich’s main ideas as well as those of other libertarian psychologists and educators who have been influenced by him, such as A.S. Neill and Alexander Lowen.” “J.6 What methods of child rearing do anarchists advocate?” in *An Anarchist FAQ* by Various Authors.
- [23] “In an earlier article (“Some Thoughts on Libertarianism,” *Broadsheet* No. 35), I argued that to define a position as “anti-authoritarian” is not, in fact, to define the position at all “but merely to indicate a relationship of opposition to another position, the authoritarian one...On the psycho-analytic side, Wilhelm Reich (*The Sexual Revolution*, Peter Neville-Vision Press, London, 1951| *Character Analysis*, Orgone Institute Press, N.Y., 1945; and *The Function of the Orgasm*, Orgone Institute Press, N.Y., 1942) was preferred to Freud because, despite his own weaknesses

- his Utopian tendencies and his eventual drift into “orgones” and “bions” – Reich laid more emphasis on the social conditions of mental events than did Freud (see, e.g., A.J. Baker, “Reich’s Criticism of Freud,” *Libertarian* No. 3, January 1960).” “A Reading List for Libertarians” by David Iverson. *Broadsheet* No. 39
- [24] “I will also discuss other left-libertarians who wrote about Reich, as they bear on the general discussion of Reich’s ideas...In 1944, Paul Goodman, author of *Growing Up Absurd*, *The Empire City*, and co-author of *Gestalt Therapy*, began to discover the work of Wilhelm Reich for his American audience in the tiny libertarian socialist and anarchist milieu.” *Orgone Addicts: Wilhelm Reich Versus The Situationists*. “*Orgone Addicts Wilhelm Reich versus the Situationists*” by Jim Martin
- [25] “In the summer of 1950-51, numerous member of the A.C.C. and other interested people held a series of meetings in the Ironworkers’ Hall with a view to forming a downtown political society. Here a division developed between a more radical wing (including e.g. Waters and Grahame Harrison) and a more conservative wing (including e.g. Stove and Eric Dowling). The general orientation of these meetings may be judged from the fact that when Harry Hooton proposed “Anarchist” and some of the conservative proposed “Democratic” as the name for the new Society, both were rejected and “Libertarian Society” was adopted as an acceptable title. Likewise then accepted as the motto for this Society - and continued by the later Libertarian society - was the early Marx quotation used by Wilhelm Reich as the motto for his *The Sexual Revolution*, viz: “Since it is not for us to create a plan for the future that will hold for all time, all the more surely what we contemporaries have to do is the uncompromising critical evaluation of all that exists, uncompromising in the sense that our criticism fears neither its own results nor the conflict with the powers that be.” “SYDNEY LIBERTARIANISM & THE PUSH” by A.J. Baker, in *Broadsheet*, No 81, March, 1975. (abridged)
- [26] That he was one of the most radical figures in psychiatry, see Sheppard 1973.
- Danto 2007, p. 43: “Wilhelm Reich, the second generation psychoanalyst perhaps most often associated with political radicalism ...”
 - Turner 2011, p. 114: “[Reich’s mobile clinic was] perhaps the most radical, politically engaged psychoanalytic enterprise to date.”
 - For the publication and significance of *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* and *Character Analysis*, see Sharaf 1994, pp. 163–164, 168.
 - For *Character Analysis* being an important contribution to psychoanalytic theory, see:
 - Young-Bruehl 2008, p. 157: “Reich, a year and a half younger than Anna Freud, was the youngest instructor at the Training Institute, where his classes on psychoanalytic technique, later presented in a book called *Character Analysis*, were crucial to his whole group of contemporaries.”
 - Sterba 1982, p. 35: “This book [*Character Analysis*] serves even today as an excellent introduction to psychoanalytic technique. In my opinion, Reich’s understanding of and technical approach to resistance prepared the way for Anna Freud’s *Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence* (1936).”
 - Guntrip 1961, p. 105: “... the two important books of the middle 1930s, *Character Analysis* (1935) by Wilhelm Reich and *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence* (1936) by Anna Freud.”
 - For more on the influence of *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, see Kirkpatrick 1947, Burgess 1947; Bendix 1947; and Turner 2011, p. 152.
- [27] For Anna Freud, see Bugental, Schneider and Pierson 2001, p. 14: “Anna Freud’s work on the ego and the mechanisms of defense developed from Reich’s early research (A. Freud, 1936/1948).”
- For Perls, Lowen and Janov, see Sharaf 1994, p. 4.
 - For the students, see Elkind, 18 April 1971; and Turner 2011, pp. 13–14.
- [28] Sharaf 1994, pp. 419, pp. 460–461.
- [29] Sex-Pol stood for the German Society of Proletarian Sexual Politics. Danto writes that Reich offered a mixture of “psychoanalytic counseling, Marxist advice and contraceptives,” and argued for a sexual permissiveness, including for young people and the unmarried, that unsettled other psychoanalysts and the political left. The clinics were immediately overcrowded by people seeking help. Danto, Elizabeth Ann (2007). *Freud’s Free Clinics: Psychoanalysis & Social Justice, 1918–1938*, Columbia University Press, first published 2005., pp. 118–120, 137, 198, 208.
- [30] *The Sexual Revolution, 1945* (*Die Sexualität im Kulturkampf*, translated by Theodore P. Wolfe)
- [31] “During the 1960s, Marcuse achieved world renown as “the guru of the New Left,” publishing many articles and giving lectures and advice to student radicals all over the world. He travelled widely and his work was often discussed in the mass media, becoming one of the few American intellectuals to gain such attention. Never surrendering his revolutionary vision and commitments, Marcuse continued to his death to defend the Marxian theory and libertarian socialism.” Douglas Kellner “*Marcuse, Herbert*”
- [32] Douglas Kellner *Herbert arcuse*
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- [35] Douglas Kellner “*Marcuse, Herbert*”

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- [37] Castoriadis, Cornelius (1975). "An Interview". *Telos* (23): 133.
- [38] Castoriadis, Cornelius (1975). "An Interview". *Telos* (23): 134.
- [39] *The Beginning of an Era* (part1, part 2) Situationist International #12, 1969
- [40] Karen Elliot (2001-06-01). "Situationism in a nutshell". Barbelith Webzine. Retrieved 2008-06-23.
- [41] Now collected in a book, Maurice Brinton, *For Workers' Power*.
- [42] Benjamin Noys (ed). *Communization and its Discontents: Contestation, Critique, and Contemporary Struggles*. Minor Compositions, Autonomedia. 2011. 1st ed.
- [43] "As we apprehend it, the process of instituting communism can only take the form of a collection of acts of *communisation*, of making common such-and-such space, such-and-such machine, such-and-such knowledge. That is to say, the elaboration of the mode of sharing that attaches to them. Insurrection itself is just an accelerator, a decisive moment in this process." Anonymous, *Call*
- [44] For a critique of Tiqqun from an ultra-left perspective, as well as a description of the opposition between the two sense of "communization" See also Dauvé and Nesic, "Un Appel et une Invite".
- [45] See e.g. "After the Fall: Communiqués from Occupied California"

- *The British Communist Left, 1914–1945* (ISBN 1897980116)

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- Situationist International online
- "Libertarian Marxism's Relation to Anarchism" by Wayne Price
- "Franz Kafka and Libertarian Socialism" by Michael Löwy.
- For Communism – John Gray WebSite: large online library of libertarian communist texts
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- The International Communist Current, itself a Left Communist grouping, has produced a series of studies of what it views as its own antecedents. The book on the German-Dutch current, which is by Philippe Bourrinet (who later left the ICC), in particular contains an exhaustive bibliography.
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Chapter 3

Gandhism

3.1 Gandhism

Gandhism is a body of ideas of that describes the inspiration, vision and the life work of **Mohandas Gandhi**. It is particularly associated with his contributions to the idea of **nonviolent resistance**, sometimes also called **civil resistance**. The two pillars of Gandhism are truth and non-violence.

The term “Gandhism” also encompasses what Gandhi’s ideas, words and actions mean to people around the world, and how they used them for guidance in building their own future. Gandhism also permeates into the realm of the individual human being, non-political and non-social. A **Gandhian** can mean either an individual who follows, or a specific philosophy which is attributed to, Gandhism. Professor **Ramjee Singh** has called Gandhi a **bodhisattva** (bodhisattva is the Sanskrit term for anyone who, motivated by great compassion, has generated *bodhicitta*, which is a spontaneous wish to attain **buddhahood** for the benefit of all sentient beings. Bodhisattvas are a popular subject in Buddhist art of the twentieth century).^[1]

However, Gandhi did not approve of 'Gandhism', as he explained:

“There is no such thing as “Gandhism” and I do not want to leave any sect after me. I do not claim to have originated any new principle or doctrine. I have simply tried in my own way to apply the eternal truths to our daily life and problems...The opinions I have formed and the conclusions I have arrived at are not final. I may change them tomorrow. I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills.”^[2]

3.1.1 Satyagraha

Main article: **Satyagraha**

Satyagraha is formed by two Sanskrit words Satya (truth) and Agraha (holding firmly to). The term was popularised during the **Indian Independence Movement**, and is used

in many **Indian languages** including **Hindi**.

Satya

The pivotal and defining element of Gandhism is **satya**, a **Sanskrit** word for truth.^{[3][4]} It also refers to a virtue in **Indian religions**, referring to being truthful in one’s thought, speech and action.^[5]

Gandhi said: “The Truth is far more powerful than any weapon of mass destruction.”^[6]

3.1.2 Brahmacharya and ahimsa

See also: **Brahmacharya**, **Ahimsa**, **Henry David Thoreau**, and **Leo Tolstoy**

The concept of nonviolence (ahimsa) and nonviolent resistance has a long history in Indian religious thought and has had many revivals in Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Muslim and Christian contexts. Gandhi explains his philosophy and way of life in his autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. He was quoted as saying:

“What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans, and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty and democracy?”^[7]

“It has always been easier to destroy than to create”.^[8]

“There are many causes that I am prepared to die for but no causes that I am prepared to kill for”.^[9]

At the age of 36, Gandhi adopted the vow of **brahmacharya**, or celibacy. He committed himself to the control of the senses, thoughts and actions. Celibacy was important to Gandhi for not only purifying himself of any **lust** and sexual urges, but also to purify his love for his wife as genuine and not an outlet for any turmoil or aggression within his mind.

Ahimsa, or non-violence, was another key tenet of Gandhi's beliefs. He held that total non-violence would rid a person of anger, obsession and destructive impulses. While his vegetarianism was inspired by his rearing in the Hindu-Jain culture of **Gujarat**, it was also an extension of ahimsa.

On 6 July 1940, Gandhi published an article in *Harijan* which applied these philosophies to the question of British involvement in **World War II**. Homer Jack notes in his reprint of this article, "To Every Briton" (*The Gandhi Reader*^[10]) that, "to Gandhi, all war was wrong, and suddenly it 'came to him like a flash' to appeal to the British to adopt the method of non-violence."^[11] In this article, Gandhi stated,

I appeal to every Briton, wherever he may be now, to accept the method of non-violence instead of that of war, for the adjustment of relations between nations and other matters [...] I do not want Britain to be defeated, nor do I want her to be victorious in a trial of brute strength [...] I venture to present you with a nobler and braver way worthier of the bravest soldier. I want you to fight Nazism without arms, or, if I am to maintain military terminology, with non-violent arms. I would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. Let them take possession of your beautiful island, with your many beautiful buildings. You will give all these but neither your souls, nor your minds. If these gentlemen choose to occupy your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourself, man, woman, and child, to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them [...] my non-violence demands universal love, and you are not a small part of it. It is that love which has prompted my appeal to you.^[12]

3.1.3 Economics

Main articles: **Gandhian economics** and **Swadeshi**

Gandhi espoused an economic theory of **simple living** and **self-sufficiency**/import substitution, rather than generating exports like Japan and South Korea did. He envisioned a more agrarian India upon independence that would focus on meeting the material needs of its citizenry prior to generating wealth and industrialising.

Khadi

Gandhi also adopted the clothing style of most Indians in the early 20th century. His adoption of **khadi**, or home-spun cloth, was intended to help eradicate the evils of poverty, social and economic discrimination. It was also aimed as a challenge to the contrast that he saw between most Indians, who were poor and traditional, and the richer classes of educated, liberal-minded Indians who had adopted Western mannerisms, clothing and practices.

The clothing policy was designed to protest against British economic policies in India. Millions of poor Indian workers were unemployed and entrenched in poverty, which Gandhi linked to the industrialisation of cotton processing in Britain. Gandhi promoted khadi as a direct boycott of the **Lancashire cotton industry**, linking **British imperialism** to **Indian poverty**. He focused on persuading all members of the **Indian National Congress** to spend some time each day hand-spinning on the **charkha** (spinning wheel). In addition to its point as an economic campaign, the drive for hand-spinning was an attempt to connect the privileged Indian **brahmins** and lawyers of Congress to connect with the mass of Indian peasantry.

Many prominent figures of the **Indian independence movement**, including **Motilal Nehru**, were persuaded by Gandhi to renounce their smart London-made clothes in favour of khadi.

3.1.4 Fasting

To Gandhi, **fasting** was an important method of exerting mental control over base desires. In his autobiography, Gandhi analyses the need to fast to eradicate his desire for delicious, spicy food. He believed that abstention would diminish his sensual faculties, bringing the body increasingly under the mind's absolute control. Gandhi was opposed to the partaking of meat, alcohol, stimulants, salt and most spices, and also eliminated different types of cooking from the food he ate.

Fasting would also put the body through unusual hardship, which Gandhi believed would cleanse the spirit by stimulating the courage to withstand all impulses and pain. Gandhi undertook a "Fast Unto Death" on three notable occasions:

- when he wanted to stop all revolutionary activities after the **Chauri Chaura** incident of 1922;
- when he feared that the 1934 **Communal Award** giving separate electorates to **Untouchable** Hindus would politically divide the **Hindu** people;
- and in 1947, when he wanted to stop the bloodshed between Hindus and Muslims in **Bengal** and **Delhi**.

In all three cases, Gandhi was able to abandon his fast before death. There was some controversy over the 1934

fast, which brought him into conflict with the Untouchable leader **B.R. Ambedkar**. In the end, Gandhi and Ambedkar both made some concessions to negotiate the **Poona Pact**, which abandoned the call for separate electorates in turn for voluntary representation and a commitment to abolish untouchability.

Gandhi also used the fasts as a penance, blaming himself for inciting Chauri Chaura and the divisive communal politics of both 1934 and 1947, especially the **Partition of India**. Gandhi sought to purify his soul and expiate his sins, in what he saw as his role in allowing terrible tragedies to happen. It took a heavy toll on his physical health and often brought him close to death.

3.1.5 Religion

See also: **Bhagavad Gita**, **Dharma**, **Hinduism**, **Jainism**, and **Buddhism**

Gandhi described his religious beliefs as being rooted in Hinduism and, in particular, the **Bhagavad Gita**:

“Hinduism as I know it entirely satisfies my soul, fills my whole being. When doubts haunt me, when disappointments stare me in the face, and when I see not one ray of light on the horizon, I turn to the **Bhagavad Gita**, and find a verse to comfort me; and I immediately begin to smile in the midst of overwhelming sorrow. My life has been full of tragedies and if they have not left any visible and indelible effect on me, I owe it to the teachings of the **Bhagavad Gita**.”^[13]

He professed the philosophy of Hindu Universalism (also see **Universalism**), which maintains that all religions contain truth and therefore worthy of toleration and respect. It was articulated by Gandhi:

“After long study and experience, I have come to the conclusion that all religions are true all religions have some error in them; all religions are almost as dear to me as my own Hinduism, in as much as all human beings should be as dear to one as one’s own close relatives. My own veneration for other faiths is the same as that for my own faith; therefore no thought of conversion is possible.”^[14]

Gandhi believed that at the core of every religion was truth (*satya*), non-violence (*ahimsa*) and the Golden Rule. Despite his belief in Hinduism, Gandhi was also critical of many of the social practices of Hindus and sought to reform the religion.

“Thus if I could not accept Christianity either as a perfect, or the greatest religion, neither

was I then convinced of Hinduism being such. Hindu defects were pressingly visible to me. If **untouchability** could be a part of Hinduism, it could but be a rotten part or an excrescence. I could not understand the *raison d’être* of a multitude of sects and castes. What was the meaning of saying that the **Vedas** were the inspired Word of God? If they were inspired, why not also the Bible and the **Koran**? As Christian friends were endeavouring to convert me, so were Muslim friends. Abdullah Sheth had kept on inducing me to study Islam, and of course he had always something to say regarding its beauty.”^[13]

He then went on to say:

“As soon as we lose the moral basis, we cease to be religious. There is no such thing as religion over-riding morality. Man, for instance, cannot be untruthful, cruel or incontinent and claim to have God on his side.”^[15]

Gandhi was critical of the hypocrisy in organised religion, rather than the principles on which they were based.

Later in his life when he was asked whether he was a Hindu, he replied:

“Yes I am. I am also a Christian, a Muslim, a **Buddhist** and a Jew.”^[16]

Gandhi’s religious views are reflected in the hymns his group often sang:

- **Vaishnav jan** to Call them Vishnava, those who understand the sufferings of others...
- **Raghupati Raghava Raja Ram** Call him Rama or God or Allah...

3.1.6 Nehru’s India

See also: **Sarvodaya**

Gandhi was assassinated in 1948, but his teachings and philosophy would play a major role in India’s economic and social development and foreign relations for decades to come.

Sarvodaya is a term meaning ‘universal uplift’ or ‘progress of all’. It was coined by Gandhi in 1908 as a title for his translation of John Ruskin’s *Unto This Last*. Later, non-violence leader **Vinoba Bhave** used the term to refer to

the struggle of post-independence Gandhians to ensure that self-determination and equality reached the masses and the downtrodden. Sarvodaya workers associated with Vinoba, including **Jaya Prakash Narayan** and **Dada Dharmadhikari**, undertook various projects aimed at encouraging popular self-organisation during the 1950s and 1960s. Many groups descended from these networks continue to function locally in India today.

The **Prime Minister of India**, **Jawaharlal Nehru**, was often considered Gandhi's successor, although he was not religious and often disagreed with Gandhi. He was, however, deeply influenced by Gandhi personally as well as politically, and used his premiership to pursue ideological policies based on Gandhi's principles.

Nehru's foreign policy was staunch anti-colonialism and neutrality in the **Cold War**. Nehru backed the independence movement in Tanzania and other African nations, as well as the **Civil Rights Movement** in the United States and the anti-apartheid struggle of **Nelson Mandela** and the **African National Congress** in South Africa. Nehru refused to align with either the United States or the **Soviet Union**, and helped found the **Non-Aligned Movement**.

Nehru also pushed through major legislation that granted legal rights and freedoms to Indian women, and outlawed **untouchability** and many different kinds of social discrimination, in the face of strong opposition from orthodox Hindus.

Not all of Nehru's policies were Gandhian. Nehru refused to condemn the **USSR's** 1956–57 invasion of Hungary to put down an anti-communist, popular revolt. Some of his economic policies were criticised for removing the right of property and freedoms from the landowning peasants of **Gujarat** for whom Gandhi had fought in the early 1920s. India's economic policies under Nehru were highly different from Gandhi's with Nehru following a socialist model. Nehru also brought Goa and Hyderabad into the Indian union through military invasion.

Nehru's biggest failure is often considered to be the 1962 **Sino-Indian War**, though his policy is said to have been inspired by Gandhian **pacifism**. In this instance, it led to the defeat of the **Indian Army** against a surprise Chinese invasion. Nehru had neglected the defence budget and disallowed the Army to prepare, which caught the soldiers in India's north eastern frontier off-guard with lack of supplies and reinforcements.

3.1.7 Freedom

See also: **Apartheid**, **Tiananmen Square protests of 1989**, and **Civil Rights Movement**

Gandhi's deep commitment and disciplined belief in non-violent civil disobedience as a way to oppose forms of oppression or injustice has inspired many subsequent political figures, including **Martin Luther King Jr.** of the

United States, **Julius Nyerere** of Tanzania, **Nelson Mandela** and **Steve Biko** of South Africa, **Lech Wałęsa** of Poland and **Aung San Suu Kyi** of Myanmar.

Gandhi's early life work in South Africa between the years 1910 and 1915, for the improved rights of Indian residents living under the white minority South African government inspired the later work of the **African National Congress (ANC)**. From the 1950s, the ANC organised non-violent civil disobedience akin to the campaign advanced by the **Indian National Congress** under the inspiration of Gandhi between the 1920s and 1940s. ANC activists braved the harsh tactics of the police to protest against the oppressive South African government. Many, especially Mandela, languished for decades in jail, while the world outside was divided in its effort to remove **apartheid**. **Steve Biko**, perhaps the most vocal adherent to non-violent civil resistance, was allegedly murdered in 1977 by agents of the government. When the first universal, free elections were held in South Africa in 1994, the ANC was elected and Mandela became president. Mandela made a special visit to India and publicly honoured Gandhi as the man who inspired the freedom struggle of black South Africans. Statues of Gandhi have been erected in **Natal**, **Pretoria** and **Johannesburg**.

Martin Luther King Jr., a young Christian minister and a leader of the **Civil Rights Movement** seeking the emancipation of African Americans from racial segregation in the American South, and also from economic and social injustice and political disenfranchisement, traveled to India in 1962 to meet **Jawaharlal Nehru**. The two discussed Gandhi's teachings, and the methodology of organising peaceful resistance. The graphic imagery of black protesters being hounded by police, beaten and brutalised, evoked admiration for King and the protesters across America and the world, and precipitated the 1964 **Civil Rights Act**.

The non-violent **Solidarity** movement of **Lech Wałęsa** of Poland overthrew a Soviet-backed communist government after two decades of peaceful resistance and strikes in 1989, precipitating the downfall of the Soviet Union.

Myanmar's **Aung San Suu Kyi** was put under house arrest, and her **National League for Democracy** suppressed in their non-violent quest for democracy and freedom in military-controlled Myanmar. This struggle was inaugurated when the military dismissed the results of the 1991 democratic elections and imposed military rule. She was released in November 2010, when free elections were to be held.

3.1.8 “Without truth, nothing”

Mohandas Gandhi's early life was a series of personal struggles to decipher the truth about life's important issues and discover the true way of living. He admitted in his autobiography to hitting his wife when he was young,^[17] and indulging in carnal pleasures out of lust,

jealousy and possessiveness, not genuine love. He had eaten meat, smoked a cigarette, and almost visited a hustler. It was only after much personal turmoil and repeated failures that Gandhi developed his philosophy.

Gandhi disliked having a cult following, and was averse to being addressed as *Mahatma*, claiming that he was not a perfect human being.

In 1942, while he had already condemned **Adolf Hitler**, **Benito Mussolini** and the Japanese militarists, Gandhi took on an offensive in civil resistance, called the **Quit India Movement**, which was even more dangerous and definitive owing to its direct call for Indian independence. Gandhi did not perceive the British as defenders of freedom due to their rule in India. He did not feel a need to take sides with world powers.

3.1.9 Gandhians

There have been Muslim Gandhians, such as **Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan**, known as the “Frontier Gandhi”; under the influence of Gandhi, he organised the Pathans of the Northwest Frontier as early as 1919.^[18] Christian Gandhians include **Horace Alexander**^[19] and **Martin Luther King**.^[20] Jewish Gandhians include Gandhi’s close associate **Herman Kallenbach**. Atheist Gandhians include **Jawaharlal Nehru** and **Anna Hazare**.^[21]

3.1.10 Promotion of Gandhian ideas

Several journals have also been published to promote Gandhian ideas. One of the most well-known is *Gandhi Marg*, an English-language journal published since 1957 by the Gandhi Peace Foundation.^[22]

Harold Dwight Lasswell, a political scientist and communications theorist, defined propaganda as the management of eclectic attitudes by manipulation of significant symbols. Based on this definition of Propaganda, Gandhi made use of significant symbols to drive his ideal of a united India free of British rule.^[23]

His ideas symbolized in propaganda stated that India was a nation capable of economic self-sufficiency without the British, a unity transcending religion would make for a stronger nation, and that the most effective method of protest was through passive resistance, including non-violence and the principle of satyagraha. In the “Quit India” speeches, Gandhi says “the proposal for the withdrawal of British power is to enable India to play its due part at the present critical juncture. It is not a happy position for a big country like India to be merely helping with money and material obtained willy-nilly from her while the United Nations are conducting the war. We cannot evoke the true spirit of sacrifice and valour, so long as we are not free.” On his ideas towards a unified India he said: “Thousands of Mussalmans have told me, that if Hindu-Muslim question was to be solved satisfactorily, it must

be done in my lifetime. I should feel flattered at this; but how can I agree to proposal which does not appeal to my reason? Hindu-Muslim unity is not a new thing. Millions of Hindus and Mussalmans have sought after it. I consciously strove for its achievement from my boyhood. While at school, I made it a point to cultivate the friendship of Muslims and Parsi co-students. I believed even at that tender age that the Hindus in India, if they wished to live in peace and amity with the other communities, should assiduously cultivate the virtue of neighbourliness. It did not matter, I felt, if I made no special effort to cultivate the friendship with Hindus, but I must make friends with at least a few Mussalmans. In India too I continued my efforts and left no stone unturned to achieve that unity. It was my life-long aspiration for it that made me offer my fullest co-operation to the Mussalmans in the Khilafat movement. Muslims throughout the country accepted me as their true friend.”^[24] Gandhi’s belief in the effectiveness of passive, non-violent resistance has been quoted as being the “belief that non-violence alone will lead men to do right under all circumstances.”

These ideas were symbolized by Gandhi through the use of significant symbols, an important proponent in the acceptance of propaganda, in his speeches and movements. On November 3, 1930, there was the speech given before the Dandi March which possibly could have been one of Gandhi’s last speeches, in which the significant symbol of the march itself demonstrates the exclusively non-violent struggle to empower a self-sufficient India. Beginning in Ahmedabad and concluding in Dandi, Gujarat, the march saw Gandhi and his supporters directly disobey the Rowlatt Act which imposed heavy taxation and enforced British monopoly on the salt market.^[25] The Khadi movement, part of the larger swadeshi movement, employed the significant symbol of the burning of British cloth in order to manipulate attitudes towards boycotting British goods and rejecting Western culture and urging the return to ancient, precolonial culture. Gandhi obtained a wheel and engaged his disciples in spinning their own cloth called Khadi; this commitment to hand spinning was an essential element to Gandhi’s philosophy and politics.^[26] On December 1, 1948, Gandhi dictated his speech on the eve of the last fast. Using the fast as a form of significant symbolism, he justifies it as “a fast which a votary of non-violence sometimes feels impelled to undertake by way of protest against some wrong done by society, and this he does when as a votary of Ahimsa has no other remedy left. Such an occasion has come my way.” This fast was conducted in line with his idea of a nation’s communities and religions brought together. Gandhi’s fast was only to end when he was satisfied with the reunion of hearts of all the communities brought about without any outside pressure, but from an awakened sense of duty.^[27]

3.1.11 Criticism and controversy

See also: Partition of India and Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

Gandhi's rigid ahimsa implies pacifism, and is thus a source of criticism from across the political spectrum.

Concept of partition

As a rule, Gandhi was opposed to the concept of partition as it contradicted his vision of religious unity.^[28] Of the partition of India to create Pakistan, he wrote in *Harijan* on 6 October 1946:

[The demand for Pakistan] as put forth by the Muslim League is un-Islamic and I have not hesitated to call it sinful. Islam stands for unity and the brotherhood of mankind, not for disrupting the oneness of the human family. Therefore, those who want to divide India into possibly warring groups are enemies alike of India and Islam. They may cut me into pieces but they cannot make me subscribe to something which I consider to be wrong [...] we must not cease to aspire, in spite of [the] wild talk, to befriend all Muslims and hold them fast as prisoners of our love.^[29]

However, as Homer Jack notes of Gandhi's long correspondence with Jinnah on the topic of Pakistan: "Although Gandhi was personally opposed to the partition of India, he proposed an agreement [...] which provided that the Congress and the Muslim League would cooperate to attain independence under a provisional government, after which the question of partition would be decided by a plebiscite in the districts having a Muslim majority."^[30]

These dual positions on the topic of the partition of India opened Gandhi up to criticism from both Hindus and Muslims. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his contemporary fellow-travelers condemned Gandhi for undermining Muslim political rights. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and his allies condemned Gandhi, accusing him of politically appeasing Muslims while turning a blind eye to their atrocities against Hindus, and for allowing the creation of Pakistan (despite having publicly declared that "before partitioning India, my body will have to be cut into two pieces"^[31]).

In contemporary times, Marxist academicians like Ayesha Jalal blame Gandhi and the Congress for being unwilling to share power with Muslims and thus hastening partition. Hindu leaders such as Pravin Togadia, leader of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad ("World Hindu Council") and Prime Minister Narendra Modi, have also criticised Gandhi's leadership and actions on this topic. Gandhi also came under some political fire for his criticism of those

who attempted to achieve independence through armed liberation movements. His refusal to protest against the hanging of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Udham Singh and Rajguru by the British occupation authorities was a source of condemnation and intense anger for many Indians.^{[32][33]} Economists, such as Jagdish Bhagwati, have criticized Gandhi's ideas of swadeshi.

Of this criticism, Gandhi stated, "There was a time when people listened to me because I showed them how to give fight to the British without arms when they had no arms [...] but today I am told that my non-violence can be of no avail against the Hindu-Moslem riots and, therefore, people should arm themselves for self-defense."^[34]

3.1.12 See also

- Ambedkarism
- Marxism
- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
- Nelson Mandela
- Civil resistance
- Gandhigiri
- Nonviolent resistance
- Satyagraha
- Tolstoyan movement
- Trusteeship

3.1.13 Notes

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3.1.15 External links

- [Gandhian Philosophy in Short](#)
- [Gandhian ideals](#)
- [Relevance of Gandhism in Modern Polity](#)
- [Gandhian Trusteeship as an “Instrument of Human Dignity”](#)
- [Review of “Gandhian economics”](#)
- [Gandhian economics is relevant](#)
- [Gandhism and Buddhism PDF](#)
- [Studies in Gandhism](#)

3.2 Gandhian socialism

Gandhian socialism is the branch of socialism based on the nationalist interpretation of the theories of the founding father of the Republic of India, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Gandhian socialism generally centres on *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule* authored by Gandhi.

Federation of political and economical power and demonstrating a traditionalist reluctance towards the modernisation of technology and large scale industrialisation whilst emphasising self-employment and self-reliance are key features of Gandhian Socialism.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the leader of the generally rightist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and other party leaders incorporated Gandhian socialism as one of the concepts for the party.^{[1][2]}

3.2.1 References

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3.2.2 External links

3.3 Gandhian economics

Gandhian economics is a school of economic thought based on the spiritual and socio-economic principles expounded by Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi. It is largely characterised by rejection of the concept of the human being as a rational actor always seeking to maximize material self-interest that underlies classical economic thinking. Where Western economic systems were (and are) based on what he called the “multiplication of wants,”

Gandhi felt that this was both unsustainable and devastating to the human spirit. His model, by contrast, aimed at the fulfillment of needs – including the need for meaning and community. As a school of economics the resulting model contained elements of **protectionism**, **nationalism**, adherence to the principles and objectives of nonviolence and a rejection of **class war** in favor of socio-economic harmony. Gandhi’s economic ideas also aim to promote spiritual development and harmony with a rejection of **materialism**. The term “Gandhian economics” was coined by J. C. Kumarappa, a close supporter of Gandhi.^[1]

3.3.1 Gandhi’s economic ideas

Gandhi’s thinking on what we would consider socio-secular issues (he himself saw little distinction between the sacred and its expression in the social world) was influenced by John Ruskin and the American writer Henry David Thoreau. Throughout his life, Gandhi sought to develop ways to fight India’s extreme poverty, backwardness, and socio-economic challenges as a part of his wider involvement in the Indian independence movement. Gandhi’s championing of *Swadeshi* and non-cooperation were centred on the principles of economic self-sufficiency. Gandhi sought to target European-made clothing and other products as not only a symbol of British colonialism but also the source of mass unemployment and poverty, as European industrial goods had left many millions of India’s workers, craftsmen and women without a livelihood.^[2]

By championing homespun *khadi* clothing and Indian-made goods, Gandhi sought to incorporate peaceful civil resistance as a means of promoting national self-sufficiency. Gandhi led farmers of Champaran and Kheda in a *satyagraha* (civil disobedience and tax resistance) against the mill owners and landlords supported by the British government in an effort to end oppressive taxation and other policies that forced the farmers and workers into poverty and defend their economic rights. A major part of this rebellion was a commitment from the farmers to end caste discrimination and oppressive social practices against women while launching a co-operative effort to promote education, health care and self-sufficiency by producing their own clothes and food.^[2]

Gandhi and his followers also founded numerous *ashrams* in India (Gandhi had pioneered the *ashram* settlement in South Africa). The concept of an *ashram* has been compared with the *commune*, where its inhabitants would seek to produce their own food, clothing and means of living, while promoting a lifestyle of self-sufficiency, personal and spiritual development and working for wider social development. The *ashrams* included small farms and houses constructed by the inhabitants themselves. All inhabitants were expected to help in any task necessary, promoting the values of equality. Gandhi also espoused

the notion of “trusteeship,” which centred on denying material pursuits and coveting of wealth, with practitioners acting as “trustees” of other individuals and the community in their management of economic resources and property.^[3]

Contrary to many Indian socialists and communists, Gandhi was averse to all notions of class warfare and concepts of class-based revolution, which he saw as causes of social violence and disharmony. Gandhi’s concept of **egalitarianism** was centred on the preservation of human dignity rather than material development. Some of Gandhi’s closest supporters and admirers included industrialists such as **Ghanshyamdas Birla**, **Ambalal Sarabhai**, **Jamnalal Bajaj** and **J. R. D. Tata**, who adopted several of Gandhi’s progressive ideas in managing labour relations while also personally participating in Gandhi’s ashrams and socio-political work.^[4]

3.3.2 Swaraj, self-rule

Main article: **Swaraj**

Rudolph argues that after a false start in trying to emulate the English in an attempt to overcome his timidity, Gandhi discovered the inner courage he was seeking by helping his countrymen in South Africa. The new courage consisted of observing the traditional Bengali way of “self-suffering” and, in finding his own courage, he was enabled also to point out the way of ‘Satyagraha’ and ‘ahimsa’ to the whole of India.^[5] Gandhi’s writings expressed four meanings of freedom: as India’s national independence; as individual political freedom; as group freedom from poverty; and as the capacity for personal self-rule.^[6]

Gandhi was a self-described **philosophical anarchist**,^[7] and his vision of India meant an India without an underlying government.^[8] He once said that “the ideally non-violent state would be an ordered anarchy.”^[9] While political systems are largely hierarchical, with each layer of authority from the individual to the central government have increasing levels of authority over the layer below, Gandhi believed that society should be the exact opposite, where nothing is done without the consent of anyone, down to the individual. His idea was that true **self-rule** in a country means that every person rules his or herself and that there is no state which enforces laws upon the people.^[10]

This would be achieved over time with nonviolent conflict mediation, as power is divested from layers of hierarchical authorities, ultimately to the individual, which would come to embody the ethic of nonviolence. Rather than a system where rights are enforced by a higher authority, people are self-governed by mutual responsibilities. On returning from South Africa, when Gandhi received a letter asking for his participation in writing a world charter for human rights, he responded saying, “in my experi-

ence, it is far more important to have a charter for human duties.”^[11]

An independent India did not mean merely transferring the established British administrative structure into Indian hands. He warned, “you would make India English. And when it becomes English, it will be called not Hindustan but Englishtan. This is not the Swaraj I want.”^[12] Tewari argues that Gandhi saw democracy as more than a system of government; it meant promoting both individuality and the self-discipline of the community. Democracy was a moral system that distributed power and assisted the development of every social class, especially the lowest. It meant settling disputes in a nonviolent manner; it required freedom of thought and expression. For Gandhi, democracy was a way of life.^[13]

3.3.3 Gandhian economics and ethics

Gandhian economics do not draw a distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurts the moral well-being of an individual or a nation is immoral, and therefore sinful. The value of an industry should be gauged less by the dividends it pays to **shareholders** than by its effect on the bodies, souls, and spirits of the people employed in it. In essence, supreme consideration is to be given to man rather than to money.

The first basic principle of Gandhi’s economic thought is a special emphasis on ‘plain living’ which helps in cutting down your wants and being **self-reliant**. Accordingly, increasing consumer appetite is likened to animal appetite which goes the end of earth in search of their satisfaction. Thus a distinction is to be made between ‘**Standard of Living**’ and ‘**Standard of Life**’, where the former merely states the material and physical standard of food, cloth and housing. A higher standard of life, on the other hand could be attained only if, along with material advancement, there was a serious attempt to imbibe cultural and spiritual values and qualities.

The second principle of Gandhian economic thought is small scale and locally oriented production, using local resources and meeting local needs, so that employment opportunities are made available everywhere, promoting the ideal of **Sarvodaya**^{[14][15]} – the welfare of all, in contrast with the welfare of a few. This goes with a technology which is labour-using rather than labour-saving. Gandhian economy increases employment opportunities; it should not be labour displacing. Gandhi had no absolute opposition to machinery; he welcomed it where it avoids drudgery and reduces tedium. He used to cite the example of Singer sewing machine as an instance of desirable technology. He also emphasised **dignity of labour**, and criticised the society’s contemptuous attitude to manual labour. He insisted on everybody doing some ‘bread labour’.

The third principle of Gandhian economic thought, known as trusteeship principle, is that while an individual

or group of individuals is free not only to make a decent living through an economic enterprise but also to accumulate, their surplus wealth above what is necessary to meet basic needs and investment, should be held as a trust for the welfare of all, particularly of the poorest and most deprived. The three principles mentioned above, when followed, are expected to minimise economic and social inequality, and achieve Sarvodaya.

3.3.4 Underlying principles

Gandhian economics has the following underlying principles:

1. Satya (truth)
2. Ahimsa (non-violence)
3. Aparigraha (non-possession) or the idea that no one possesses anything

While *satya* and *ahimsa*, he said were 'as old as the hills', based on these two, he derived the principle of non-possession. Possession would lead to violence (to protect ones possessions and to acquire others possessions). Hence he was clear that each one would need to limit one's needs to the basic minimums. He himself was an embodiment of this idea, as his worldly possessions were just a pair of clothes, watch, stick and few utensils. He advocated this principle for all, especially for the rich and for industrialists, arguing that they should see their wealth as something they held in trust for society - hence not as owners but as trustees.

3.3.5 Social justice and equality

Gandhi has often quoted that if mankind was to progress and to realize the ideals of equality and brotherhood, it must act on the principle of paying the highest attention to the prime needs of the weakest sections of the population. Therefore, any exercise on economic planning on a national scale would be futile without uplifting these most vulnerable sections of the society in a direct manner.

In the ultimate analysis, it is the quality of the human being that has to be raised, refined and consolidated. In other words, economic planning is for the citizen, and not the citizen for national planning. Everybody should be given the right to earn according to his capacity using just means.

3.3.6 Non-violent rural economy

Gandhian economics places importance to means of achieving the aim of development and this means must be non-violent, ethical and truthful in all economic spheres. In order to achieve this means he advocated *trusteeship*,

decentralization of economic activities, labour-intensive technology and priority to weaker sections. Gandhi claims that to be non-violent an Individual needs to have a rural mindedness. It also helps in thinking of our necessities of our household in terms of rural mindedness.

The revival of the economy is made possible only when it is free from exploitation, so according to Gandhi *industrialization* on a mass-scale will lead to passive or active exploitation of the people as the problem of competition and marketing comes in. Gandhi believes that for an economy to be self-contained, it should manufacture mainly for its use even if that necessitates the use of modern machines and tools, provided it is not used as a means of exploitation of others.

3.3.7 Environmentalism

Several of Gandhi's followers developed a theory of environmentalism. J. C. Kumarappa was the first, writing a number of relevant books in the 1930s and 1940s. He and Mira Behan argued against large-scale dam-and-irrigation projects, saying that small projects were more efficacious, that organic manure was better and less dangerous than man-made chemicals, and that forests should be managed with the goal of water conservation rather than revenue maximization. The Raj and the Nehru governments paid them little attention. Guha calls Kumarappa, "The Green Gandhian," portraying him as the founder of modern environmentalism in India.^[16]

3.3.8 Concept of socialism

Gandhian economics brings a socialist perspective of overall development and tries to redefine the outlook of socialism. Gandhi espoused the notion of "*trusteeship*" which centered on denying material pursuits and coveting of wealth, with practitioners acting as "trustees" of other individuals and the community in their management of economic resources and property. Under the Gandhian economic order, the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal greed. The path of socialism should only be through non-violence and democratic method and any recourse to class-war and mutual hatred would prove to be suicidal.

3.3.9 Implementation in India

During India's independence struggle as well as after India's independence in 1947, Gandhi's advocacy of home-spun *khadi* clothing, the *khadi* attire (which included the *Gandhi cap*) developed into popular symbols of nationalism and patriotism. India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru totally differed with Gandhi, even before independence and partition of India. Gandhi did not participate in celebration of Indian independence, he was busy controlling the post partition communal violence.

Gandhian activists such as **Vinoba Bhave** and **Jayaprakash Narayan** were involved in the *Sarvodaya* movement, which sought to promote self-sufficiency amidst India's rural population by encouraging **land redistribution**, socio-economic reforms and promoting **cottage industries**. The movement sought to combat the problems of class conflict, unemployment and poverty while attempting to preserve the lifestyle and values of rural Indians, which were eroding with **industrialisation** and modernisation. *Sarvodaya* also included *Bhoodan*, or the gifting of land and agricultural resources by the landlords (called *zamindars*) to their tenant farmers in a bid to end the medieval system of *zamindari*.

Bhave and others promoted *Bhoodan* as a just and peaceful method of land redistribution in order to create economic equality, land ownership and opportunity without creating class-based conflicts. *Bhoodan* and *Sarvodaya* enjoyed notable successes in many parts of India, including **Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh**. Bhave would become a major exponent of discipline and productivity amongst India's farmers, labourers and working classes, which was a major reason for his support of the controversial **Indian Emergency (1975–1977)**. Jayaprakash Narayan also sought to use Gandhian methods to combat organised crime, **alcoholism** and other social problems.

3.3.10 Modern interpretations

The proximity of Gandhian economic thought to socialism has also evoked criticism from the advocates of **free-market economics**. To many, Gandhian economics represent an alternative to mainstream economic ideologies as a way to promote economic self-sufficiency without an emphasis on material pursuits or compromising human development. Gandhi's emphasis on peace, "trusteeship" and co-operation has been touted as an alternative to competition as well as conflict between different economic and income classes in societies. Gandhian focus on human development is also seen as an effective emphasis on the eradication of poverty, social conflict and backwardness in developing nations.

3.3.11 Notes

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- [3] Jagannath Swaroop Mathur, *Industrial civilization & Gandhian economics* (1971) p 165
- [4] Romesh K. Diwan and Mark A. Lutz, *Essays in Gandhian economics* (1987) p. 25

- [5] Susanne Hoeber, Rudolph (1963). "The New Courage: An Essay on Gandhi's Psychology". *World Politics*. **16** (1): 98–117. JSTOR 2009253.
- [6] Anthony Parel, ed., *Gandhi, Freedom, and Self-Rule* (2000) p 166
- [7] Snow, Edgar. *The Message of Gandhi*. 27 September March 1948. "Like Marx, Gandhi hated the state and wished to eliminate it, and he told me he considered himself 'a philosophical anarchist.'"
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3.3.13 External links

- Gandhian Trusteeship as an “Instrument of Human Dignity”
- Review of “Gandhian economics”
- Gandhian economics is relevant
- Abhay Ghiara’s Gandhian Economics blog

Chapter 4

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Hercules, Anthon.Eff, Stevenmitchell, Dinga Bell, Khoikhoi, Megamix, Cbohus, Aldaron, Krich, SwitChar, Emre D., Amphytrite, Nhart, Khukri, EPM, Nakon, Savidan, RolandR, Dreadstar, Nrcprm2026, Robinrobin, Koool, Polonium, Wisco, Dc2005silk, DMacks, Fatla00, Mitchumch, Nmpenguin, Curly Turkey, Pilotguy, Kukini, Blockader, Emmisa, Ohconfucius, Will Beback, The Ungovernable Force, Cast, SashatoBot, Lambiam, Nishkid64, Robomaeyhem, Green01, Harryboyles, DA3N, Giovanni33, JzG, Kuru, John, Sjock, General Ization, Writtenonsand, Camilo Rubinos, Selimtheslim, Jim Derby, Gobonobo, CPMcE, Xornok, Evan Robidoux, Jaywubba1887, Joshua Scott, IronGargoyle, Cielomobile, Bella Swan, Localist, Chrisch, RandomCritic, Francomemoria, JHunterJ, Slakr, Stwalkerster, Makyen, Calibas, MrTrev, Waggess, Treyp, Midnight-blueowl, Ryulong, Serlin, Franzose, Youradhere, TPIRFanSteve, RichardF, Jchat66, Isokrates, Crashmcbean, Badlermd, Keycard, KJS77, Levineps, BranStark, Iridescent, Donmccullen, WGe, HJMG, Electrified mocha chinchilla, Winxrockswitchsux, Voltairine-enwiki, Joseph Solis in Australia, InfinityO, Shoeofdeath, Bsskchaitanya, Mrdthree, Igoldste, Octane, Dp462090, Ewulp, Linkspamremover, Rigosantana3-enwiki, Namiba, Tawkerbot2, RookZERO, Dlohcierekim, FISHERAD, VladimirVUL, TriniSocialist, IronChris, ChrisCork, Eastlaw, Train guard, Xcentaur, J Milburn, JForget, Bryan024, Xint, Wolfdog, CmdrObot, Sarcastic Avenger, Bobfrombrockley, The ed17, Alex Shih, Vision Thing, Rawling, KyraVixen, Thewolfstar, Basawala, Bluerain, NaBUru38, ShelfSkewed, Liberal Freemason, FlyingToaster, JKWithers, Rward71, Anthony Bradbury, Kronecker, Gregbard, Hardys, Bingomzan, Jac16888, Slazenger, Cydebot, Gunderiff, Gatoclass, Aristophanes68, Dream of Goats, Gogo Dodo, Briannine, JFreeman, R-41, Rkeys, Spylab, Molindo, Xram Irak, Julia.dullien, Luckyherb, Acs4b, Dancter, Tawkerbot4, DumbBOT, Youzwan, Ameliorate!, Telex, Joel50, Tipmra, NorthernThunder, Dpu, MisterActually, ObeliskBJM, Omicronpersei8, JodyB, Victoriaedwards, Hawkwild, Daniel Olsen, Donnachadelong, FrancoGG, EnglishEfternamn, Rjm656s, Matisse, JamesAM, Thijs!bot, Jessemonroy650, MarxistJiggers, Eprb123, Ivy Shoots, Wikid77, Michael40, Drewbyh, Ultimut, Rhodog, HappyInGeneral, Zorkmid, Sagaciousuk, Serpent-A, N5iln, Mojo Hand, Afittillidie13, James uk, Marek69, Davidlawrence, Vertium, John254, SuperByelich, The Middle East Conflict Man, Bobblehead, A3RO, Red Bastard, Carroteater117, Nerdyned22, Fooltoctry, James086, Dooley, Freeway-enwiki, 3.1415, Keelm, Mnemeson, George dubya Bush, Dire straits, Gatoclass is a homo, Cafeirlandais, Roninbk, Robert plant fan, Vivalareaganrevolution, ThePedro, Jimmiey, Don't dream it's over, Kevin wong-enwiki, Fireman sam, Wikifanatic28, Theman84, Yourafool, Shopping freak, Merc owner, Gatoclass sucks, Tocino, Gatoclass stinks, Gatoclass is a loser, Perry anderson, Liftan is a homo, Anarchopedia, Uruiamme, Jimbo46, Yankee stadium, Someone who isn't MECM, Fooling noone, Imarealwildone, Dawnseeker2000, Natalie Erin, Eiffelle, Northumbrian, The Person Who Is Strange, RED DAVE, Mentifisto, Friendlyjack67, KrakatoaKatie, AntiVandalBot, Jackie chan11, WinBot, I am the novagenerata, Parader, Meck islander, Gorilla radio, Luna Santin, Seaphoto, Blue Tie, Derzsi Elekes Andor, Benjburns, Downtown deadbeat, Joel8, Foolinthewind, Joel55, Mk*, PlatonicIdeas, Jj137, Hoiaakuta, NSH001, Dylan Lake, PhJ, Naveen Sankar, Malcolm, Princeofexcess, Ghmyrtle, Indiawilliams, Canadian-Bacon, ClassicSC, Sluzzelin, BlueResistance, JAndBot, Xnux, Deflective, Husond, Barek, MER-C, DerekDD, KBAileyMN, Nthep, SoCalJustice, Roleplayer, Hut 8.5, Fsol, MSBOT, Thepeoplescube, Noonesaboobwiththepeoplescube, Im a real wild one, Psicorps, Acroterion, Magioladitis, Peterwats, Qwerty21-enwiki, Bongwarrior, VoABot II, Fusionmix, Qwertyuiop23, Trnj2000, Phort99, Tarshish, JamesBWatson, Jackbirdsong, Kinston eagle, DNS246, Economizer, Tito-, Red Wing-enwiki, Gtyron, Bill j, Folome, Ffoldd, Ihatyou12, Cilstr, Whiskey Rebellion, Avicennasis, Texxs, Snowded, Couki, Lownotes, Catgut, Animum, 28421u2232nfencenc, SyD!, Fang 23, The middle west conflict man, Anarcho-capitalism, The middle man, Mokru, ROSattin, BrentJ277, Chris G, JK., DerHexer, Philg88, PatPeter, Fantastic4boy-enwiki, Kara123, Baristarim, ArchangelMichael, Flami72, Defenestrating Monday, Yanivg, Hdt83, MartinBot, PAK Man, 52 Pickup, Matt Lewis, Jeendan, Arjun01, Middle east man, Panarchy, Rettetate, Roastytoast, I am cool123456, Yooooooooooooooooo, Je suis desole, Dwalls, Kestisl, R'n'B, CommonsDelinker, AlexiusHoratius, Brothejr, Red square 44, Cool bortherqw, PrestonH, Thiridright, J.delanoy, Dylan anglada, Pharaoh of the Wizards, DrKay, Trusilver, Erendwyn, Bogey97, Uncle Dick, All Is One, Jetman3, KeepItClean, PhilLiberty, Working Poor, Middle man from the east plus conflict, Im soooooooooo cool, Dave Dial, Laurusnobilis, Jouvenel, Icestarturtles, Katalaveno, DMcM, LordAnubisBOT, Marcel63, Chriswiki, Robertson-Glasgow, HiLo48, Plasticup, Aram33-enwiki, Colchicum, Vanished User 4517, Alexb102072, Sundar1, Belovedfreak, InspectorTiger, NewEnglandYankee, Lygophile, SJP, Inbloom2, Globalization, Madhava 1947, KylieTastic, Joshua Issac, Juliancolton, Comestyles, Inomyabcs, Improper Bostonian, Equazcion, Jamesofur, Ghostbear616, Hockeyman384925, Bonadea, Djr13, Andy Marchbanks, Ps3queen, Useight, JohnDoe0007, Intangible2.0, Halmstad, Upex, CardinalDan, RJASE1, Idioma-bot, Funandtrvl, Spellcast, Regicollis, Kelaos, Craitman17, LLCopp, Lights, Redsoxfan08, Robyn6913, Malik Shabazz, VolkovBot, Thewolf37, Pasixxxx, Johnfos, ABF, Fygde, Blackdraq, Leebo, Jeff G., Nug, Rocketman116, I'mDown, AlnoktaBOT, Soliloquial, Kyle the bot, TheOtherJesse, Cosmosmariner, Philip Trueman, Atacm middle east, TXiKiBoT, Oshwah, Cosmic Latte, Jkeene, Xenophrenic, Malinaccier, Lynxmb, Provis2, Jeremy221, Billy Ego, Vipinhari, Hqb, Wikidemon, Andysoh, Faustus Tacitus, Qxz, Threefourninesixnineeight, C.J. Griffin, Anna Lincoln, Lradrama, Zimbardo Cookie Experiment, Corvus cornix, Franz.87, Martin451, Sladuch, Solo1234, Jackfork, LeaveSleaves, Wassermann-enwiki, Figureskatingfan, Shadowlapis, Ilyushka88, Eldoosbha, Wiae, Tommyinla, RadiantRay, Madhero88, Spiral5800, Larklight, Eubulides, Billinghurst, Deviledknight, Demigod Ron, Brokenchairs, Necromantic666, Raider lovin jew, Strangerer, Falcon8765, Enviroboy, Burstsauce, RuseaC, Agüeybaná, Luffmodular, Pheny99, Cool 2002, AlleborgoBot, Jimmi Hugh, Jimmyjohn222, Munci, MrChupon, Legoktm, Sfinammamia, Ronsword, Isis07, EmxBot, Bjr35, Rob1n, Donkeyluba, Red, Demmy, Peter Stalin, SaltyBoatr, Gaelen S., M.V.E.i., SieBot, Coffee, Dusti, Robert Loring, Nubiatech, Portalian, YonaBot, Tiddly Tom, N-HH, Leejasonc, Dawn Bard, Viskonsas, Universe=atom, Teknolyze, RJaguar3, Yintan, Vanished user 82345jike4tg, Seijhiyouronka, Keilana, Redstar1987, Bentogoa, Flyer22 Reborn, AlexWaelde, Sshowers3, Prestonmag, Political Guru, Paul Markel, Oxymoron83, Antonio Lopez, Judicatus, Diyforlife, Gangsterls, Steven Crossin, Votemoose, Lightmouse, GregMaughan, Crisis, Hobartimus, Manway, Delaybased-enwiki, Cobracool, Macy, Nancy, Mas 18 dl, Maelgwnbot, C'est moi, Fuddle, Capitalismojo, The Four Deuces, Wuhwuzdat, Le vin blanc, Nimbusania, BOWMANTHEMAN, Pexise, Mtaylor848, TaerkastUA, Chegwozdziowski, Pinkadelica, Hordaland, Denisarona, The Middle East Conflict Dude, Operation Spooner, Gr8opinionater, TheCatalyst31, ImageRemovalBot, Atif.t2, Bubsadaddy, Loren.wilton, Zeropwnz0r, ClueBot, BibleThumper4 3rdHeaven&Earth, Rocket Socket, Strongsauc, Egon Bauwelinck, Manchester Liberal, Snigbrook, Pokharasam, Gene93k, Fyver, Vvibbert, Wikievil666, The Thing That Should Not Be, Smackrance, Xero-7, Rodhullan-demu, Toomanysmilies, Rjd0060, EoGuy, JanInad, Lawrence Cohen, Ndenison, Shreeniwasiyer, Arakunem, MorganaFiolet, Saddhiyama, Sting au, Meekywiki, Drmies, Uncle Milt, Joao Xavier, SuperHamster, JTBX, Boing! said Zebedee, Ryoutou, Niceguyedc, ATGUHBT, MrBosnia, Trivialist, Jdeugwillo, Puchiko, Kiss the razor's edge, LukeTheSpook, OneRandomName, Masterpiece2000, Luke4545, David Igra, Sirius85, DragonBot, Solid Rancher, Excirial, Jusdafax, CrazyChemGuy, Jxsmith, Violent Proletarian, KC109, Abrech, Zaharous, EBY3221, Tyler, EhJ, Cenarium, Fire 55, Jdaniel456, Dr. Berg, Tig, DeltaQuad, Sundiii, Singhalawap, Waterboarder2, Kvan1st, Commodevoncommode, Kaiba, Redthoreau, Waterboard Rance12, Dekisugi, SchreiberBike, IamNotU, Waterboard Rance17, Ottawa4ever, Dozer0987, Vivisect rance, Grrrlriot, Ophy4, Thingg, DRSANGLE, Aitias, Bash rrance, JDPhD, Wcp07, Versus22, Sukdyk rrance, PCHS-

NJROTC, SoxBot III, Indopug, Imprison RRance, DumZiBoT, Demolish RRance, Zenwhat, Antti29, Rrance buggerizer, Whichmore, BigK HeX, Fixer40, Dr3w505, XLinkBot, Beantwo, Aaron north, Gnowor, Rankiri, Ronithkasukar, Fatface12345, Rror, Dthomsen8, Adrachd, Avoided, Bitch696969, Peta51, Obamahater, Beach drifter, Garycompugeek, UNSC Trooper, Tim010987, WikiDao, Zbutler7, Airplaneman, Lemmey, Mtdewwatkins, Kbdankbot, HexaChord, Hang traitors2, Grcaphistory, Passportguy, Slipoutside, Hang traitors4, Spike2321, Hang traitors8, Addbot, Hang traitors8, Mpty0624, Andreave1977, Arrest traitor rance, Arrest traitor rance12, Austiinnnn, Chimeric Glider, Rolandsukks, Simonm223, Xe Cahzytr Ryz, Tencv, Trotskys tooches, Betterusername, Landon1980, Non-dropframe, Bitemerance67, Binary TSO, GSMR, Rmartin16, Bitemerance45, Proplib, Bitemerance51, Tanhabot, Ronhjones, TutterMouse, Lick-prik rrance, Hangdatbastard, Phookqu rrance, Fieldday-sunday, Laurinavicius, Startstop123, John.john.1234567, Rancie sooks, Rancie shthead, CanadianLinuxUser, Quetzaquotal, Eatmydyk rancie, Aryder779, Williambeaufoy, MrOllie, Anurag devilz, LaaknorBot, Chamal N, Bedwetting rrance, Funnymonkey91210, Detox runcie, ForgetfulDoryFish, Yespm, Traitorsin jail, Michaelwuzthere, Ranceindumpster, Massacretraitors, Glass Sword, AndersBot, Rance intrance, Bwumster, Chzz, Debresser, FCSundae, Favonian, SpBot, Lala939, Doniogo, LinkFA-Bot, DROOPz, Roland dykhead, Stalins douche, Numbo3-bot, Smiter rants, Barnaby banger, Tide rolls, SamB135, Gitmo 4jaz, Gitmo 4rancia, Krano, Gail, MuZemike, Jarble, Nosedung, Ranceinnoose, LuK3, Swarm, Ben Ben, Legobot, Counterheg, Luckas-bot, ZX81, Yobot, Rogerjung, Heyche, 2D, Apollonius 1236, Mename2332, Lynch derance2, Tohd8BohathuGh1, Sliemerance, Fraggel81, Shytbrain rrance, Stealth031, Legobot II, Kulak revenge, Behead rance2, Behead rrance3, Behead rrance6, Behead rrance9, Phinicky, Washburnmav, Greensteintony, Chewshyt rrance, Chewdiss, KamikazeBot, Trash stalinazis, Roland rancidity, Eduen, There'sNoTime, Rolands foreskin, Pisson trots, Matty, Synchronism, EgbertMcDunk, Asd147abc123, DiverDave, AnomieBOT, Floquenbeam, l1exec1, Coopkev2, Utinomen, ItanESCO, Jim1138, Abstruce, Piano non troppo, Valois bourbon, Alkiede, AdjustShift, Chuckiesdad, Bobisbob2, Kingpin13, ArcticYoshi, Ulric1313, RandomAct, Fipps revenge4, Bluerasberry, Materials scientist, Kano156, Citation bot, Rolandrance shythead, W.stanovsky, Bob Burkhardt, Maxis ftw, Frankenpuppy, ArthurBot, LilHelpa, Pedro Paulo Vasconcellos, Apjohns54, Rantsie raus, MauritsBot, Xqbot, Rantsie raus2, Ranceon endofrope, Redneckpaul, Cureden, Melmann, Addihockey10, Capricorn42, Kilagria, Pontificalibus, Captainblack1199, TheWeakWilled, Sharpieyellow, Justanothervisitor, Jmundo, Anna Frodesiak, Strich32977, Pinklitigation, Hi878, J04n, Xaovs, Frosted14, Flushawayrance, Omnipaedista, Marxwasright, Shirik, Dogtownclown, Mark Schierbecker, RibotBOT, The Interior, Cresix, Elfrovijxhsudghhgdx, Amaury, Edgarie, Passdarifle, Guitarist1897, Roliesukks, 78.26, Demolish rolie, Galloways-booger, Jean-Jacques Georges, Rodentrance, Ponce de Leon 2nd, Roliejurkingoff, Roliecoaster, Stalynsboy, Polpotsguppy, Fipplethitsback, White whirlwind, Elaqero, Shadowjams, Rantsongallows, Willdw79, Tonygirlfriend, Introman, Wikifan3543, Moosehead46, Dbader000, MondoWanda, Dougofborg, Nonamer98, Scam-Wow, Mattfox82, Tainted Conformity, RetiredWikipedian789, GliderMaven, Bballballer, Dieselfuel6, FrescoBot, Fetchmaster, Anna Roy, Sausagehiders, Tomb24, Zachalope, LucienBOT, Paine Ellsworth, Bobby72, Gr8N8, Jlan-non11, Dbader50, Stalynutsy, Snuffrants, Zd12, Stvlts, Ong saluri, Elfie67, Persia prince, Master Wikiman, Wisamhamoui, Trust Is All You Need, JesusGuest, Alex4827, Davidcrockett, PasswordUsername, Firing squad34, 3fo3, FighttheleftSD, Alexander the Lame, Cannolis, HamburgerRadio, Keberic, Frykommies, Jonqpublik, Citation bot 1, Jman1984, Trothunter, Cjberryman, Bang it hard8, Amplitude101, Intelligentsium, The8thbit, Biker Biker, Dark Charles, Truthamerica, Giant guppy, Pinethicket, I dream of horses, Error fixer7, Elockid, Edderso, Kbdooz, PrincessofLLyr, Jonesey95, Calmer Waters, Obamah8r, Skyerise, A8UDI, Jschnur, LKodaL, Serols, Labrynthia9856, SpaceFlight89, Dabeastintheeast888999, Σ, Motorizer, Foobarnix, Pillow talk6, Joey blackwell94, Civilized Man, Reconsider the static, Jauhienij, Funnykid777, Utility Monster, Bingbingbung, Sumatrik, Cnwiliams, Joklolk, Thrissel, Songbordie, MutantPlatypus, VEO15, BlaBlaDK, Tgv8925, TobeBot, Foegle, ItsZippy, Black Khaos, Cavs Corvette32, Lotje, Tova Hella, Jt white93, Dasha14, Grammarxxx, Vrenator, MrX, March3yahoo, Aoidh, Kronos1996, Mr.TotallyAwesome, Reaper Eternal, Specs112, Woverbie, Shirazz, Mr.CG, Ilovesnow2012, Cobra2cobra, 4ndyD, Tstormcandy, TINAxTURNER, Tbhotch, Reach Out to the Truth, Calvin5557, Crushers234, No autoaim, DARTH SIDIOUS 2, Andrea105, Mean as custard, Stj6, RjwilmsiBot, Auswiger, TjBot, Voo de Mar, Elsacs, Bigred1973, WildBot, Pezntboy, Lightyear69, Ashriner, Smilingsami, Billare, Slon02, Cat13cvd, Sky hook hanger, Whywhenwhohow, EmausBot, John of Reading, Dollescum, Orphan Wiki, Spikethepunkrocker, WikitanvirBot, Jjoseph8907, Ghostofnemo, Nanousis, Dewritech, Ferocious osmosis, GoingBatty, Kaboom911, RenamedUser01302013, Sp33dyphil, Joselondono, JTravisRolk, Sven-133240, Cocochie the Restorer, Tommy2010, RyanxRAGE, TuHan-Bot, Wikipelli, Dcirovic, K6ka, Loveit Fherne, A50000, Thecheesykid, Savh, Evanh2008, Rsullivan09, LordsSoldier90, ZéroBot, John Cline, PBS-AWB, Tulandro, Flong88, Polly Tunnel, Midas02, Nicolas Eynaud, Phineas fofo, Summary diss, AvicAWB, Unused000705, Everard Proudfoot, Access Denied, Semmler, MRLC94, H3l1Bot, Confession0791, AManWithNoPlan, RShah-nazarian, Rapidity, NGPriest, Wayne Slam, Resist272727, Ocaasi, Scoopczar, Thine Antique Pen, Rcsprinter123, Sbmeirow, Bigblind88, Tripsin, Ubikwit, Rnts raid, L Kensington, Donner60, Djonesuk, Jackholmes42, DumitruRaduPopa, Sailsbystars, Nicaraguan1996, Ego White Tray, Tavila1890, Redd so so dead, Financestudent, Reasonable Excuse, ChuispastonBot, Ihardlythinkso, Jcaraballo, Tricee, Mcc1789, HandsomeFella, Ace of Raves, Teapeat, Sentmm37, Rocketrod1960, JoeMclynn, Special sam99, Petr, Xanchester, Helpsome, ClueBot NG, Pilot2fly, Indyadamjones, Somedifferentstuff, Pocketmocket123, MelbourneStar, Gilderien, LittleJerry, A520, 1j2a3m4e5s, Trollface.gif, NocredRS, Bright Darkness, Fistagorilla, Cntras, Primergrey, Hazhk, Zeit Totzuschlagen, ScottSteiner, El Libro, Marechal Ney, Nekama gola, Widr, Chavet rock, Hannahchench, Truthsetfree22, Ilikeit98, Umm21212, Gate-ten, Helpful Pixie Bot, Helios932, Novusuna, Addihockey10 (automated), Anav2221, Wikipedian6996-enwiki, Secara-seth, Gob Lofa, Akankshabaghel, PhilliesPhan1234, Lowercase sigmabot, Man of the Middle Eastern Conflict, Yumad 2011, Middle Eastern Man, Alsodrinkaja, BG19bot, Feezyhoe, The Last Angry Man, Success123\$, Seymore64, Iselilja, Princeym3, Defenstrate4, Graham11, Bdiddydiddydudley, MusikAnimal, Frze, Amp71, Marcocapelle, AwamerT, Danzambar, Ilikekittensmeow, Teig123, Cadiomals, Dmanrock29, Yerevantsi, Min.neel, The Almighty Drill, Smmmaniruzzaman, AnonymousThreeZ, Snow Blizzard, Wotwunite, Rocketsac, P6hues, Jmorsen1995, Shirudo, 17purdyr, Lorientdrew, Codeandcoffeh, Shaun, Kumar90, Gmiedz, Lukeshattuck, Anbu121, Marine1269, Royal Encyclopedian Guard, BattyBot, Climate-critique, David.moreno72, Amebra, Cody.mccasland, Cyberbot II, Ytic nam, ChrisGualtieri, Big Large Monster, SD5bot, Khazar2, Ld-maa, Mcastro0605, JYBot, 4idaho, Cpt.a.haddock, Sexygranny101, Maria Barzini, Dextbot, Mpid500, Anser9, Oranday, FoCuSandLeArN, Sarg Pepper, Webclient101, Homealone1990, Charles Essie, Mogism, Prabal123koirala, Kitkat2111, Leos icepick, Natural-spring, TwoTwoHello, Sabiusaugustus, Lugia2453, Jemappelleungarcon, DavidMc694, Sriharsh1234, Marshan3q, Blogman111, Rachel Corrie Syrup, I WILL MESS WITH U, Leninostu, PieMaster2152, Thatstminecraft, TheLonelyDust, Goldmoustache, Helsabot, Mickey-dorfling, Coreya.smith, PinkAmpersand, MorbidManta, Honestmedia, Vanamonde93, CsDix, DangerouslyPersuasiveWriter, Hargument, Americaisscrewed, Castrate5, Shooottkommies, Shooottkommies2, AmarylIsGardener, Eyesnore, Tennisplayer0, Hendrick 99, Ursupatation, Nastyn8, Neo Poz, Yahel benzvi, LudicrousTripe, DavidLeighEllis, CensoredScribe, I-mt, Finnursetup, JWNocit, Aubrey-bardo, Kind Tennis Fan, RhinoMind, Micah7586, Gravuritas, AtticTapestry, Bojo1498, Barjimoa, Skr15081997, 7Sidz, Thegentleman-fromtralfamadore, Broter, Zozs, Ryk72, Monkbob, Zumoarirodoka, Dr.Delux, Thibaut120094, Filedelinkerbot, Proudcommunist111111, Kawaksajmd, Nathankgreer, BethNaught, Xs11ke, Vinicius94, FGSepton, TheGFish, DigitalBluster, Markstevenpaul, Mundopopular, KH-1, Lisagd22, Loraof, Gurjyotheman, Cynulliad, Interpuncts, AsharaDayne, Skinnywaffles, GeneralizationsAreBad, Jdcmix, Timothy-josephwood, Nøkkenbuer, KasparBot, Michaelhurwicz, MusikBot, Aardwolf A380, DanielFlamino, Mohamed rawther, Bathtoy2, CAP-TAIN RAJU, Jamiesonmitch, SrikrishnaPanchamukhi, Ali4322123334, Smushei, Amyhaha, Idkfam, Huritisho, Suman.socialist, Zaque-ryas50, CodeBadger, JaBatista97, Nuro Dragonfly, Vrrajkum, Wikinixopadme, Mar11, Marvel Hero, Qzd, Doulph88, BuNAM, HHHHHH-

HHHHSHSHSSSS, No One Hides, Laxrocks0, Gabriellaplazas, Heraclitus4, BLANKBLANKspacespace, Db02211968, Buttnakedall-day, Discord42, 21sartlt, GreenC bot, Popcornrd2, BEANS LUVTHEM, Hailey raith, CanadianWriter5000, Gulumeemee, Johngalt23, Skyntetxx87, Frigida, TangoDeathClaw, Tevlev3, Sadashitoda, BernieHo, Suyash384, Bender the Bot, Jeanady2001, Apollo The Logician, FBEJ, PrimioPrimo, Dunready, Sallie14916, Here2help, Yellow Diamond, Carterb2001, Andromeda811, Cynulliad5, Pearus, RYPJack, Jacksonudjje, Pinkshrimp, Nathanwhis, Libraryowl411, Åæ.,lpokmnji, Alabamaneighbour and Anonymous: 2655

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I dream of horses, HROestBot, Abductive, Hard Sin, Jonesey95, Onthegogo, Gregpierce2, Abudhurr, Skyerise, A8UDI, Serols, Motorizer, Schonchin, Goalyoman, Tim1357, Risker (Anne Criske) is old & has gray hair & wears glasses. 16, TobeBot, Trappist the monk, Angelicapple, Lotje, Dasha14, Dinamik-bot, Vrenator, 777sms, C9cflute2wall, Dudephat, ASmallPatchOfShadow, Tbotch, Bikepunk2, Mean as custard, Hellogoodbye96, TjBot, Alph Bot, MShabazz, Khin2718, Zujine, DASHBot, Irish South African, EmausBot, John of Reading, Nima1024, WikitanvirBot, Thomas.giovanni, JulesCollins, Darrennn, GoingBatty, ChihuahuaAssassin, Suckitman, Peaceray, RememberingLife, Modern inferno, Kaimakides, Werioth, Jjcascadia, ZéroBot, Life in General, PBS-AWB, Josve05a, Tulandro, Bryce Carmony, Soyinchescott, Jonpatterns, Veikk0.ma, Cobaltcigs, Aecwriter, Anisincold, NewSunset, AManWithNoPlan, Jarodalien, Wayne Slam, MisterDub, Centographer, Dante8, Mayur, Noodleki, BarbaricSocialistZealots, ShylkaOleh, Casio565, 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